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Marker of Death
A Note on the Swastika in Attic Geometric Art

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Abstract

The swastika is a venerable motif found in the arts of diverse peoples, cultures, and periods, with a symbolism that is, overall, benign. In the vase-painting of Geometric Greece, however, it is usually regarded as mere 'filling ornament' with no symbolic value. There have been two exceptions: one theory is that it is a solar sign, another that it is an 'ideogram of motion'. There is, in all likelihood, no single, overarching symbolism for the motif in Geometric art. Still, on a series of Geometric vases (such as the Hirschfeld Krater, Athens NM 990), patterns emerge that suggest another explanation: the swastika can be a marker of violence and death.

In the lower pictorial zone of the Hirschfeld Painter's great krater in Athens,[1] characteristically beak-faced warriors carrying radically incurved Dipylon shields drive teams of characteristically trumpet-muzzled horses left to right around the vase (*fig. 1*). Horizontal rows of dots stretch between the heads of the men and their horses. Also in the field are dot-rosettes - they hover below the heads of each team, in a careful allotment of one per chariot - and an occasional small bird perches above a vertical column of dots. Beneath each team of horses are a neat stack of zigzags and a vertical row of still more dots. Above, in the handle zone, there is a two-tiered, asymmetrical, but quintessential *ekphora*.[2] In the lower tier, on either side of the funerary wagon, there are files of mourners (mostly female, some male, some taller than others), all neatly separated by more stacks of zigzags and rows of dots. In the higher tier there are, at upper left and right, panels of concentric circles filled with star rosettes. To the left of the bier itself there are three adult males, one of whom touchingly

Fig. 1. Athens NM 990. LG I krater by the Hirschfeld Painter, detail (photo J. Hurwit).

holds a child by the hand (the child himself seems to touch the bier); a box of five female mourners appears at the far right. The corpse himself lies atop a four-legged bier, his fringed, checkered shroud suspended above him. There are zigzags and birds below the couch and a bigger bird (along with a few dot-rosettes) beneath the team; a curving row of dots mimics both the curves of the horses and the frame of the wagon. And to the right of the corpse and couch, in a difficult area made irregular by the high arcs of the horses' necks but that might still have accommodated a few more mourners,[3] there are yet more zigzags, dots, a bird, a dot-rosette, and, above all, three large hatched swastikas. They are the only swastikas on the vase (as it is preserved), and their clustering just here, at the head of the corpse and nowhere else, seems significant. It is as if the swastikas have been substituted for mourners, as if the three adult mourners immediately to the left of the bier and the three great swastikas immediately to the right of it are visually equivalent. But in any case the particularly close juxtaposition of the only corpse on the vase and the only swastikas on the vase is not likely to be random or meaningless.

Sometimes a cigar is just a cigar, and sometimes Greek Geometric filling ornaments are just filling ornaments. But sometimes they are not and, as John Boardman has advised, 'we surely dismiss too much as mere "filling"' and 'where special patterns recur in special places we must think again.'[4] Boardman himself has convincingly argued that multiple zigzags in Argive pottery can represent water or the sea. Triangular motifs, when found in purely abstract panels or bands, are just triangular motifs, but when they rise from the baseline in representations of warriors marching or animals grazing or birds perching, they acquire the character of landscape elements.[5] So, too, it has sometimes been assumed that the wide variety of circles in Geometric art, including the Attic 'Dipylon wheel' (a circle with interior cross), represent the disk of the sun and that the birds frequently attending them are symbols of the heavens,[6] while fish (especially Argive fish) have been considered 'determinatives' of Poseidon.[7] Now, we are probably wrong to seek complete consistency in or universal explanations for such signs and symbols. A motif may not in every case mean the same thing, not even on the same vase: Late Geometric representation and ornament are more subtle and flexible - and the Late Geometric temperament less doctrinaire - than has often been thought.[8] At the same time, lessons learned from more modern geometric vase-painters are cautionary and instructive: according to one early 20th-century study, some Pueblo artists knew that they had to paint certain motifs on their pots without knowing why - tradition is powerful but meaning can be lost - while others concocted explanations just to please inquiring archaeological minds.[9]

Before the Nazis ruined it for everyone,[10] the swastika was, of course, an ancient and venerable motif that was found in the arts and crafts of many peoples, cultures, and periods. Like its rectilinear relatives the battlement and meander - it, too, is nothing but right angles - it is a motif that is particularly natural and suited to the arts of weaving and basketry.[11] It is this ease of production and reproduction - not the dissemination or diffusion of the motif from any single *Ursprung*, not the symbolic manifestation of some collective unconscious shared by all peoples everywhere - that explains its appearance in distant and disparate materials, places and times. It is found in the art of the Indus River Valley at least as early as the mid-3rd millennium and, much later, in the ground plan of Sunga period burial mounds (*stupas*).[12] Schliemann (who ominously cites the symbol's supposedly Aryan origins, concluding that the Trojans themselves were Aryans) found swastikas by the hundreds incised on Early Bronze Age terracotta spindle whorls from Hissarlik.[13] Swastikas are painted on Neolithic pottery from China or woven into rank insignia from the Qing Dynasty (18th century CE),[14] and they are found on the floors of Susa A bowls from 4th-millennium Mesopotamia.[15] Swastikas (*manji*) adorn Japanese porcelain and the bases of bronze Japanese Buddhas,[16] and they are found on the toes and soles of East Asian 'Buddha footprints' or on the chest and palms of the Buddha himself.[17] Swastikas are embroidered into 6th-century BCE Hallstatt garments from southwest Germany.[18] Native Americans - the Pueblo and Navajo of the American Southwest, for example, or the Sac of Kansas - once painted them on pottery, wove them into baskets and blankets, incorporated them into sand paintings, and strung them on ceremonial beaded garters.[19] A single great swastika occupies the center of a black-and-white mosaic floor in the late Roman/early Byzantine synagogue at Ein-Gedi on the west shore of the Dead Sea (which is ironic only in hindsight).[20] Swastikas decorate the mosaic of the entrance court of the Byzantine Museum in Athens; they adorn (often below heraldic sphinxes) the bronze railings of Neo-Classical Athenian mansions (including Schliemann's own, the *Iliou Melathron* - now the Numismatic

Fig. 2. Athens NM 18062. LG I amphora by the Hirschfeld Painter (photo J. Hurwit).

Museum); and one decorates the brick entrance to McMorran House, the home of the president of the University of Oregon (built in 1925).

Attempts at interpreting the motif universally or assigning to it some single, overarching symbolism common to all cultures everywhere at all times are not likely to succeed. But although the swastika means many things, its symbolism and associations are, overall, remarkably auspicious and consistently positive. The swastika - the word itself derives from the Sanskrit *sv* ('good') and *asti* ('to be'), hence *sv-asti* ('well-being') - is in the Vedic tradition a solar sign or a sacred sign for good fortune. In Sumerian art it might also symbolize the sun or fertility.[21] It symbolizes Vishnu's solar disk for Hindus. In ancient China it could symbolize the four directions of the world and, later, could be used in place of the Chinese character *wan*, meaning 'ten thousand' or 'infinity'. For Buddhists it is a sign of benediction, good fortune, and prosperity, as well as a symbol for the Buddha's heart and mind.[22] For Sac Native Americans, the sign meant 'luck'; in Navajo myth it is the mythic whirling log of happiness, a sign of healing, or a symbol of the four winds.[23] The swastika had been, then, an overwhelmingly good, benign thing before the rise of the Third Reich.

Fig. 3. Agora P 4784. LG I Horse pyxis (photo J. Hurwit).

But we are here interested in the swastika as a common motif in the vase-painting of Geometric Greece (900-700 BCE),[24] where it is usually regarded as a mere filling ornament with no symbolic value whatsoever: like other filling ornaments, it is thought to be there simply to take up otherwise empty space, to assuage some primal *horror vacui*. The motif is most often drawn with single solid lines, and such 'linear swastikas' are always found floating freely in the field around or beside animals or human figures (*fig. 2*). There are also double-walled hatched and cross-hatched swastikas (*figs 1, 3*) and, rarely, swastikas filled with dots (*fig. 4*), and these motifs are usually (though not always) found in panels that are arranged in ornamental friezes or that are suspended singly in the black-glazed field ('metopal' or 'boxed' swastikas). There are also swastikas with extra hooks or limbs on their arms. Sometimes there are zigzags or double-axes or solid dots or dotted circles within the arms of the swastika (*fig. 3*).[25] And the swastika can 'face' either right (that is, its arms seem to revolve in a clockwise direction) or left (seemingly revolving counterclockwise): both kinds can appear in neighboring panels on the same vase or in the same field (*figs 2, 5*).[26]

It was in the 1930s that Anna Roes, focusing on Argive pottery, first proposed that the Geometric

Fig. 4. Athens NM 18123. EG I amphora (photo J. Hurwit).

Greek swastika is (like most other Geometric motifs) a solar symbol or sun standard - for her, it was adopted from and had essentially the same meaning as the motif in the Vedic/Iranian tradition.[27] Roes, however, asserted this claim without constructing an argument for it, and P. Courbin rejected the solar symbolism for swastikas (and the symbolic interpretation of most other ornaments) out of hand; for him, they are just filler after all.[28]

More useful is S. Brunnsåker's hypothesis that the swastika contributes to the dynamism of many Late Geometric scenes by connoting movement: it is not just filler, it is integral to composition. For example, of the twenty swastikas found in the 'Pithecusan Shipwreck' - and it is worth emphasizing that they are the only abstract motifs in the scene - eleven (eight right-facing, three left-facing) are apparently scattered haphazardly among fish and men, where they suggest the turmoil of the catastrophe, while nine are neatly arranged between the ship's stanchions. In Brunnsåker's reconstruction, five right-facing swastikas are more or less balanced by four left-facing swastikas that together suggest two cresting or rolling waves crashing over the center of the vessel (*fig. 5*).[29]

Elaborating upon Brunnsåker's reading of the motif, G. Ahlberg fairly concludes that the swastika is an 'ideogram of motion', a sign that enhances the energy of the scenes in which it is found, its own direction often complementing or reiterating the direction of, say, turning wheels or parading or grazing animals or marching warriors.[30] Swastikas revolve clockwise between the spokes of the wheels of the wagon in the *ekphora* on the Dipylon Master's Athens 803, for example (*fig. 6*).[31] Swastikas are the only abstract signs in the field of an LG IIa oinochoe in Boston where (in one interpretation) farmers and hounds chase a fox, and although the swastikas here face right while the hunt charges to the left, the signs supply counterpoint, and thus still enhance the dynamism of the scene.[32] Swastikas (facing right) alternate with deer grazing (to the right) around the interior of a skyphos from the Kerameikos, and both are there to lead our eye around the circle, submitting themselves to the geometrical imperative of vase-shape.[33] On the bottom of a plate from the Agora (it might have been hung, bottom up, on a wall when not in use), four left-facing swastikas set between the petals of a quatrefoil similarly suggest circular movement.[34] And the number of scenes where swastikas punctuate files of soldiers, possibly functioning as motion- or direction-enhancers, is large. To cite just a few examples: in one zone of a fragmentary krater by the Dipylon Workshop in the Louvre, swastikas fill the interstices between marching warriors and archers;[35] on the Hirschfeld Painter's amphora in Athens swastikas appear both above and below stacks of chevrons between Dipylon warriors marching to the right (*fig. 2*);[36] on the Hirschfeld Workshop's spouted krater in Copenhagen right-facing swastikas frame the helmeted heads of warriors facing left;[37] and on the LG IIb Benaki Painter's name-vase, left-facing swastikas hover beside the heads of each of the rightward processing warriors on the body of the vase, and so almost seem like musical notations rhythmically pacing the otherwise leaden parade.[38] Swastikas activate scenes of dancing, too. Two of them ap-

Fig. 5. Ischia Sp. 1/1 (the 'Pithecusan Shipwreck'). LG II (after Brunnsåker 1962, 171, fig. 7).

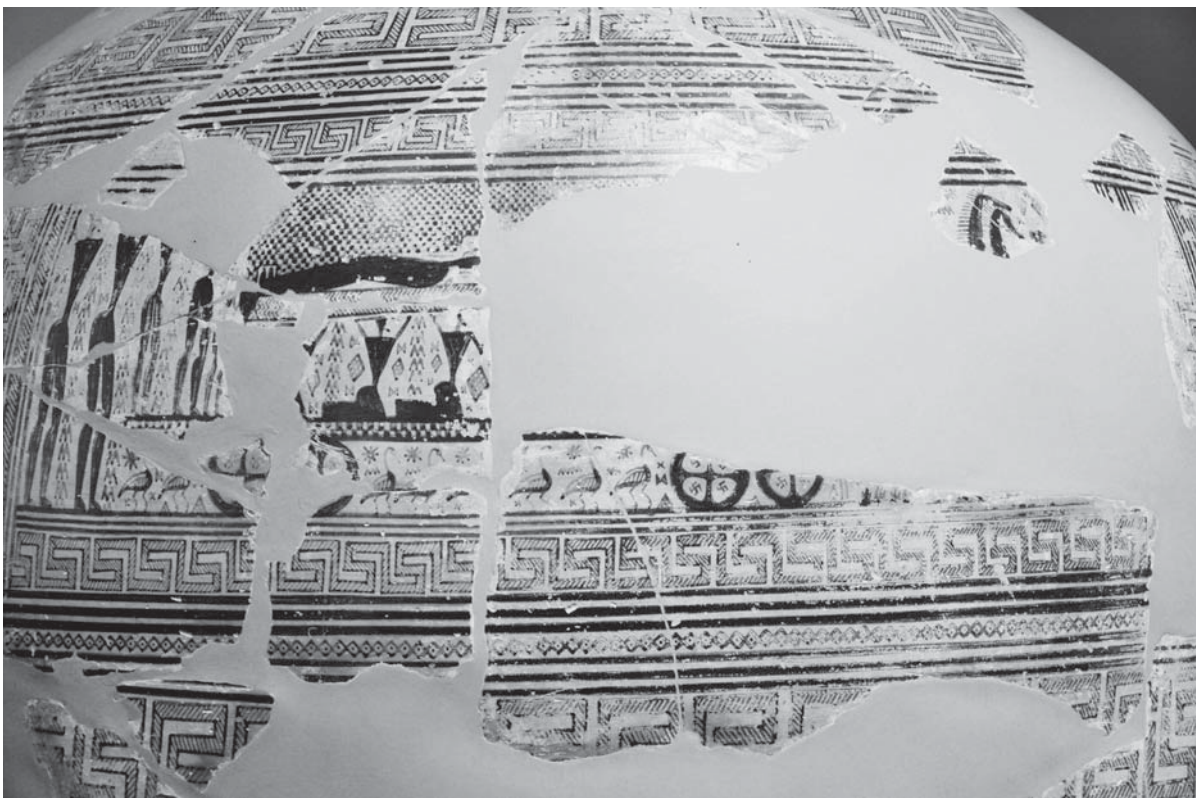

Fig. 6. Athens 803 (detail). LGIa amphora by the Dipylon Master (photo J. Hurwit).

pear between a leaping male dancer and a line of female ones holding hands and branches on an Argive fragment from the Heraion (though another appears within the reserved body of a bird just to the left of the leaper); three more swastikas float beside similar male and female dancers on another Heraion fragment.[39] And on a large *fin de siècle* pithos krater from Trachones swastikas hover beside dancers in two panels in the handle zone (they are found again, if more sparingly, between marching and chariot-borne warriors in the military frieze below).[40] In these cases and many more,

Fig. 7. Athens NM 18045. EG I amphora (detail) (photo J. Hurwit).

the motif seems to supply or accentuate a sense of motion. It is an abstract tool enhancing a representation of figures in action or imbued with potential energy.[41]

This might partly explain the common and enduring association between the swastika and the horse, an association forged virtually as soon as Attic Geometric vase-painting itself begins: on the neck of the very early Early Geometric I amphora in Athens first published by J.L. Benson (*fig. 7*).[42] Unlike their very few Protogeometric predecessors, which appear isolated on amphorae, standing coyly off-center, these horses are part of a true composition - a 'framed picture', in Benson's words - heraldically flanking a great hatched swastika. Moreover, unlike the curvaceous and jointless Protogeometric horse, these animals are rigid and articulated, broken down into their component parts like a geometric motif (horizontal bodies, segmented legs, curved but tilted necks). These horses are as angular and as rectilinear as horses can be, and so are fitting company for the huge rectilinear abstraction between them (the diagonal hatchings within the swastika not only mirror the angles of their legs but also the strokes of their manes, thus enhancing the formal integration of animal and symbol). Now, these horses are not going anywhere: their job is to frame, not to trot. But, like the seated Achilles in the formulaic language of Homer (cf. *Iliad* 9.606), horses are swift-footed even when they are standing still. And later formal associations between horse and swastika are so common that the supposition of a symbolic link is virtually inevitable. To cite a few examples: on a MG II mug from the Kerameikos with an image that seems almost the formal inverse of Athens 18045, two swastikas flank two sword-wielding horse tamers: the horse (and men) are at the center now, the swastikas functioning as their frame.[43] Linear swastikas are drawn at the feet of the three horses standing on the lid of a LG I pyxis in the Agora, while fine metopal hatched swastikas appear around the pyxis itself (*fig. 3*).[44] And on the Trachones pithos krater swastikas plentifully revolve above and below muscular, dynamic horses (one of them is prancing, with its hoof off the ground) on the shoulder.[45]

The dynamic quality of the swastika - its spinning, whirligig nature - is, I think, undeniable, but it is possible to accept the motif as an 'ideogram of motion' without insisting that motion or energy is its only connotation. For the theory that swastikas are simply or purely ideograms of motion cannot account for them all - no one theory can - and inconsistencies (it should come as no surprise) are not unknown. For example, swastikas may appropriately spin in the wheels of the wagon on Athens 803 (*fig. 6*), but double-axes are found between the spokes of the chariot wheels on Louvre A 517.[46] Did, then, the Dipylon Master consider the double-axe an ideogram of motion, too? Five swastikas mark five deer on an LG I bowl in Athens from the Dipylon Workshop, but the deer are reclining and still, and the swastikas (facing left) here probably imply not any (potential) motion in the deer but mimic their posture of turning their heads back upon themselves to the left: they are the abstract doublets of organic forms at rest.[47] And on another high-rimmed bowl by the same workshop in Munich, double-axes replace swastikas above the reclining deer: it is as if the two motifs were interchangeable and, if so, the motion-symbolism of the swastikas is diluted.[48]

Since Athens 18045 (*fig. 7*), where swastika and horse evidently appear together for the first time, is a funerary vase - a cremation urn once wrapped with a 'killed' iron spearpoint or sword - one might reasonably ask whether the power of the swastika resides at times in its capacity to symbolize or connote death. Here it is itself framed by animals who are not only symbolic of the wealthy, equestrian status of the dead whose remains the vase contained but also of the rituals associated with burial (above all, the *ekphora*). That is, the iconography of the horse here and elsewhere in Geometric art may be as much funerary as it is aristocratic.[49] But here the swastika is central and so has both formal and symbolic priority. The horses acknowledge that priority: it is not the abstract motif that seems to comment upon the nature of the horse, it is the horse that seems to acknowledge the iconic power of the swastika

Fig. 8. Basel Gs61 (detail). LG I. Courtesy Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, a loan from a private collection (photo Andreas F. Voegelin).

(with their slanted front legs they almost seem to stiffen and recoil from it). The iconic nature of the motif is also suggested by such vases as another EG I amphora in Athens with a simple band of hatching on the belly and a single panel with a dotted swastika on the neck (*fig. 4*), and a MG II neck-amphora in Tübingen, where a single reserved panel with a hatched swastika is suspended centrally between smaller panels with star rosettes on the black-glazed shoulder: the metopal swastika hangs like a tapestry.[50] And on the horse pyxis from the Agora (*fig. 3*), the alternation of metopal swastikas with 'triglyphs' whose central elements are checkerboards resembling the funerary shrouds of so many *protheseis* and *ekphorai* (including the Hirschfeld Painter's, *fig. 1*) is not likely to be coincidental.[51] Again, the horses on the lids of such pyxides in general may connote death as well as aristocratic status: they are the conveyors of corpses on funerary wagons, and they power the chariots driven by circling warriors paying homage to the dead. Admittedly, to suggest that the swastika's close association with the horse is fundamentally a funerary one, to declare the motif a symbol of death on Attic Geometric vases, to suggest that its presence among, for example, marching warriors (cf. *fig. 2*) stamps the parade as funerary as much as military, is not to do very much. Almost all Attic Geometric vases are funerary, and so funerary symbolism could be similarly proposed for virtually all the abstract and natural motifs that decorate them.[52] Still, among the many swastikas splattered over Geometric pictorial fields or carefully integrated into Geometric images, certain patterns emerge that suggest connotations of violence or death after all. And the connotations remain strong even after the transition to Protoattic around 700.

On a LG I amphora in Basel, for example, five males approach the central bier from the left and five women approach it from the right (*fig. 8*).[53] There are the usual rows of dots, the requisite vertical stacks of zigzags between mourners, and the usual birds (perched on hatched triangles) and dotted lozenges beneath the couch. But the filling ornament is tight, austere, and restrained, and there is only one really 'loose' motif to be found hovering in the field: a swastika ringed by dots set literally at the foot of the corpse, as if it were sharing the bier with the dead.[54] The association between this motif - the only swastika in the scene and on the vase - and the subject of death seems

Fig. 9. Montage of fragment in New Haven (Yale 1981.61.271) joining Louvre A 519. Dipylon Workshop. LG I. Courtesy Yale Art Gallery and Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.

powerful. It is also strong on the Hirschfeld Workshop's monumental LG I krater in New York.[55] There are no swastikas in the *prothesis* or anywhere else on the front of the vase (which is packed with various 'fillers'), but two metopal swastikas appear in a corresponding position (that is, exactly in the center of the handle zone) on the back of the vase, and two more are boxed in farther to the right. The scene of mourning on the front and the swastikas on the back seem somehow complementary.

Linear swastikas hover over five corpses piled up beside the ship on Louvre A 527, as well as over a great Dipylon warrior and the ship itself. There are rosettes in the field, too, but the swastikas lined up at the top of the scene do not seem indiscriminately chosen or deployed.[56] So, too, on a famously ambiguous LG II sherd from the Agora where, in just one of several possible interpretations, a warrior (Neoptolemos?) is about to hurl a child (Astyanax?) to his death as a distraught woman and man (Trojans?) look on, at least four swastikas (along with an assortment of other motifs) fill the field.[57] In this light the swastikas scattered over the Pithecusan Shipwreck (*fig. 5*) may now be seen not just as ideograms of motion - though they are surely that - but also as icons of violence and death. Other motifs might have suggested the chaos of the disaster as well as the swastika - dot-rosettes and double-axes, say, randomly strewn everywhere, would have sufficed to make the visual point. But no other motifs are there. It is significant that the painter of the shipwreck severely limited himself to this one abstract 'filling ornament' when he had the full range to draw from, and it is significant, too, that two swastikas (one the largest on the vase, with dots between its arms) are found just above and below the point at which the largest, most ferocious fish bites off the head of an unfortunate seaman, as if drawing our attention to it. If the motif on one level suggests the turbulence of the sea, could it not on another suggest the violence of a sea-borne death itself?

We find a similar use of swastikas to frame the point of violent death on the Dipylon Workshop's fragmentary battle krater in Paris (*fig. 9*).[58] Double-axes are the dominant 'filling ornaments' on the vase and, joined by hatched lozenges, crosses, rosettes, and zigzags, their scattering, helter-skelter,

over the surface suggests and enhances the turmoil of battle. In the lower zone, a few swastikas appear among a file of Dipylon warriors, some of whom lift their feet off the ground(line) as if marching on the double (here is the swastika as a plausible ideogram of motion again). In the upper zone corpses are piled up on the left: hovering above two of the dead are two great spoked circles that resemble the wheels of Dipylon chariots or wagons (cf. *fig. 6*); again, such 'Dipylon wheels' have sometimes been interpreted as beneficent solar symbols,[59] though we may wonder at the relevance of such symbolism here. At all events, archers and infantry duel to the right, and then a footsoldier grabs a much larger Dipylon warrior by the crest of his helmet and yanks him down from (apparently) his chariot. The footsoldier raises his sword; the coup de grace is about to fall. Hovering above the head of the doomed 'Dipylon giant' there is a swastika. And, if we assume (along with Villard and Davison) that a sherd in New Haven joins the fragments in Paris just here (*fig. 9*),[60] another swastika appears just below the upper left tip of his shield, so that the unfortunate warrior being dragged to his death (he is about to fall upon a lifeless soldier below) would have seemed to have been bracketed above and below by the motif. In the upper zone of Louvre A 519 (as the scene is preserved), in a field littered with 'fill' of all kinds, the swastika notably appears in association with the Dipylon giant - a victim who is also distinguished by his great reserved eye (the heads of everyone else in the zone are in solid silhouette) - and *only* him.[61] The episode has a close parallel in an unnumbered fragment in Athens, where another huge Dipylon warrior with a reserved eye, dragged down by a warrior at left, collapses upon another warrior crumpled below him; a swastika appears below the edge of his shield, close to the head of the other corpse.[62] On these two works the juxtaposition of swastikas and warriors who are dead or about to die seems to be telling us something.

The deathly, funerary or violent connotations of the swastika endure during and after the transition from Geometric to Protoattic and other Orientalizing styles. On the neck panel of a transitional amphora in London, for example, a lion claws a recumbent deer under the watchful eye of a passing bird: the scene is not a particularly convincing representation of the savagery found in the animal world, but the only filling ornament in the sparse scene is a single swastika hovering over the doomed grass-eater.[63] On the neck of a roughly contemporary amphora in New York by the Vulture Workshop (or Würzburg Group), three swastikas appear beside three female mourners.[64] On the neck of a tall, early 7th-century amphora in Eleusis, linear swastikas surround a great aquatic bird, and an association between waterfowl and swastikas, seen as early as the Hirschfeld krater's *ekphora* (*fig. 1*), is possibly maintained.[65] On a Middle Protoattic sherd from the Agora a centaur is possibly shown attacking an animal, and a swastika spins nearby.[66] Six swastikas appear in the crowded scene of the *Potnia Theron* on a well-known Boeotian pithos in Athens (ca 680); besides the long-armed goddess herself, the scene is full of roaring lions and the parts of an animal that has been butchered or torn apart, and so the swastikas may imply the elemental violence inherent in the natural world.[67] On the neck of a tall late 7th-century 'Melian' amphora in Athens, two warriors battle over a suit of armor, and at least one swastika appeared between them.[68] In the scene of the blinding of Polyphemos on the neck of the great Protoattic amphora in Eleusis, a hooked swastika hovers just beside the open mouth of the screaming Cyclops, another sign of bloody violence (though, it is true, Polyphemos does not die and two swastikas also appear beside Odysseus's companions).[69] And it may not be entirely coincidental that hooked swastikas appear (along with other motifs) on the peplos of the mid-6th century *kore* that stood over the tomb of young Phrasikleia.[70]

But to return to the Hirschfeld Painter's *ekphora* and its constellation of corpse, horses, and swastikas (*fig. 1*), our choices are these: (1) the swastikas here are just meaningless filling ornaments, despite the fact that the Hirschfeld Painter has not used them as filler anywhere else on the vase (their presence here and only here must mean something); or (2) they are ideograms of motion, though it would seem less appropriate for the swastikas to connote the speed of the animals drawing the wagon than it would to comment upon the status of the corpse - the dead man, not the horses, is focus here; or, more likely, (3) they are markers of death itself. The swastika is not always a marker of death in Geometric art, and it certainly is not a requisite one: many funeral and battle scenes lack them entirely. There are also, to be sure, inconsistencies in its use. Still, it is possible to extract from the swastika's many and varied appearances in Geometric art patterns that suggest something beyond a function as mere filler or even as a symbol of movement. Swastikas that mark funerary processions (*fig. 2*) or that spin in scenes of mayhem (*fig. 5*) or that bracket points of violent death (*fig. 9*) or that cluster beside the

head of a corpse (and only there) on a huge vase where plenty of room could have been found for more of them (*fig. 1*) cannot simply be neutral 'filler'. It is not speed or energy that the juxtaposition of corpse, horses, and swastikas on the Hirschfeld Krater communicates. It is the finality of an aristocratic death. The swastika here and elsewhere is an intimation of mortality.

Notes

1 Athens NM 990. Coldstream 2008, 41 (no 1); Schweitzer 1971, 45, pl. 40; Davison 1961, 36-37, fig. 25.
I thank Richard Lariviere for our discussions of the swastika and the Sanskrit roots of the word.

2 Admittedly, it may be quintessential only because *ekphora* scenes are so rare, and the Hirschfeld Painter's is the most complete example. There are only three documentable *ekphorai* in all: all are Attic, all are monumental, and all are by either the Dipylon Master or the Hirschfeld Painter (and so LG I). See Ahlberg 1971b, 220-221; Coldstream 1977, 122, who suggests that *ekphora* scenes may have been reserved for only the most élite families.

3 Two, perhaps three, mourners the size of those beneath the concentric circles at the far left would fit.

4 Boardman 1983, 16.

5 As in, for example, the *ekphora* on Athens 803 (*fig. 6*), or the *prothesis* on Basel Gs61 (*fig. 8*), or in the circular parade of riders and Dipylon warriors on a LG II cup in Los Angeles; Langdon 1993, 64-66 (no 10).

6 Roes 1933, passim; Brann 1962, 13.

7 Schweitzer 1971, 62-63.

8 Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1968, argues that Geometric 'ornament' can be purely decorative, symbolic, or even representational. Cf. Boardman 1983, 16.

9 Guthe 1925, 85-88; cited in Brann 1962, 13.

10 In the words of the American social comedian Jon Stewart, *Earth (The Book): A Visitor's Guide to the Human Race* (New York 2010) 99. The Nazis adopted the swastika as their symbol in 1920.

11 The textile origin of many Geometric motifs is generally accepted: see Boardman 2001, 19. At all events, the relationship between the swastika and the meander is especially and obviously intimate, as the juxtaposition of swastikas in the Hirschfeld Painter's *ekphora* and the hooked meander frieze around the rim of the krater just above illustrates. However, one motif is self-contained and discrete, and so can easily be inserted into pictorial fields, while the other motif is continuous and (so far as I know) never appears as 'filler' within an image (it fills bands and panels instead). The structural similarities between the swastika and the meander do not, then, assure a similarity in function or meaning.

12 Rowland 1977, 79.

13 Schliemann 1880, 345-354. Schliemann also publishes a lead female 'idol' with a swastika engraved within her public triangle (337-338). Cf. Schliemann 1875, 25, 101-106.

14 Thorp 1988, 83, pl. 23 (no 5).

15 Parrot 1961, 62 and fig. 80d.

16 Wilson 1894, 799.

17 Snellgrove 1978, 415-416, pl. 32; Seckel 1989, 158 (and fig. 26), 169. The swastika on the Buddha's footprints is a sign of good fortune or benediction, putatively left in the ground as the Buddha walked. The symbol also appears on East Asian maps to mark the locations of Buddhist temples. For a 12/13th-century Korean painting of Amitabha Buddha with a swastika on his chest, see Shogakkan 1997-2001, 246, pl. 178.

18 Barber 1991, 189 and fig. 7.3.

19 Aigner 2000, reproduces an assortment of Navajo textiles with swastikas from the late 19th and early 20th centuries (when Anglo traders encouraged Navajo artisans to incorporate the pattern into their designs). After the symbol's desecration by the Nazis, a number of Native American tribes (including the Navajo) agreed to banish the symbol from their basketry and weaving; see Heller 2000, 2 (citing *The New York Times* of February 29, 1940).

20 Heller 2000, 37.

21 For Parrot 1961, 62, the symbol probably relates 'to a solar cult and to notions of fertility, since all ancient religions were obsessed with such themes'.

22 McArthur 2002, 129.

23 Wilson 1894, 895-902; Aigner 2000, 8.

24 Swastikas, of course, appear in other genres beside pottery - for example, on the catchplates of late 8th-century bow fibulae. See Schweitzer 1971, 212-214, figs 123-125.

25 Davison 1961, 19; Coldstream 2008, 397.

26 A distinction is sometimes made between the swastika (with its right-facing or clockwise direction) and the sauvastika (left-facing, counterclockwise); see, for example, Schliemann 1880, 346-349; McArthur 2002, 129. But the two symbols are not (as sometimes thought) symbolic opposites; see Burnouf 1925. In Greek Geometric art, so far as I can determine, the two types are used interchangeably and often asymmetrically. For example, in the handle zone of the LG I belly-handled amphora Athens NM 805 (Coldstream 2008, 34 (n. 2), 37), there is a frieze with three metopal swastikas: the two on the left revolve to the right, the one on the right revolves to the left.

27 Roes 1933 and 1953.

28 Courbin 1966, 475-83 (esp. 476).

29 Ischia Sp. 1/1. See Brunnsåker 1962, 186 ('It is not entirely correct to speak of them as mere filling ornaments, for the swastika has a strong whirl-like effect that cannot escape influencing the composition') and 199 ('Thus our painter, though not able actually to *represent* the waves, found a way of symbolizing their effect') (italics his). But if the swastikas were meant to represent waves crashing over the capsized ship, it is odd they appear below the deck rather than above the upturned keel (where five fish swim instead).

30 Ahlberg 1971b, 141-142, 233.

31 Ahlberg 1971b, 142. Also noted by Brunnsåker 1961, 199 n. 1. The preserved swastikas all face right, thus enhancing the left to right direction of the cart; the one left-facing swastika in Ahlberg's fig. 53 (front wheel) is a restoration, now removed.

32 MFA 25.42. Ahlberg 1971b, 142 and figs 56a-b; Schweitzer 1971, 48, and pl. 61; Coldstream 2008, 76-77 (the Hunt Group, no 2). Swastikas are scattered more thickly among what look like leaping deer and hares on a Boeotian jug in Hamburg; see Schweitzer 1971, pls 99, 100.

33 Kerameikos 1319. Schweitzer 1971, 52 and pl. 67.

34 Agora P7083. See Papadopoulos 2007, 124 (no 46).

35 Louvre A 527 (and A 535). Coldstream 2008, 30 (no 8); Ahlberg 1971b, 142; Davison 1961, fig. 13a-c; Villard 1954, pls 2-3. Ahlberg 1971b, 142, notes that 'swastikas are represented in the ship scene below the warrior frieze, above the corpses lying in a "pile" and above the ship and the Dipylon warrior at the prow. In this case

the swastikas evidently indicate a motion of the corpses floating in the sea or the motion of the sea itself.' Cf. the similar pattern of swastikas regularly punctuating a file of Dipylon warriors alternating with archers on Louvre A 530 (by a 'close associate' of the Dipylon Master), the sign regularly appearing low in the field after every two figures; Coldstream 2008, 31 (no 12); Ahlberg 1971b, fig. 62c.

[36] Athens NM 18062. Coldstream 2008, 42 (no 6). Davison 1961, 38-39, fig. 28. The swastikas at the top of the chevron stacks revolve left, those at the bottom revolve right, and so the effect (if the motif is read solely as an indicator of motion) is to cancel each other out.

[37] Copenhagen 726. Coldstream 2008, 42 (no 7); Davison 1961, 36 and fig. 27a-b. In the central panel on the back of the vase, a single swastika hovers beside a bird which in turn floats above a reclining deer.

[38] Benaki Museum 7675. Coldstream 2008, 81-82 (no 2); Boardman 1998, fig. 68; Davison 1961, 48-49 and fig. 50.

[39] Courbin 1966, pl. 147 (GR 2b); also Roes 1933, 13-14, and fig 3.

[40] Geroulanos 1973, pls 37-41.

[41] We might note that when in Archaic art sculptors and vase-painters adopt a convention for depicting figures (like Gorgons and Nikai) in rapid movement (flying or running), they choose a schema with arms and knees bent almost at right angles; see Hurwit 1985, 18, 177-178, and figs 4, 5. This so-called *Knielauf* formula does not exactly correspond to the design of a swastika: arms and legs bend in opposite directions, for example, and so the limbs do not seem to 'revolve' in the same direction as the arms of a swastika do. But the whirligig and right-angled nature of the formula is similarly expressive of motion.

[42] Athens 18045 (provenience unknown). Benson 1970, 26-27, 37-39, pls IV-V; Coldstream 2008, 13 and pl. Ik. A similar composition appears on a fragmentary cup from the Agora (Agora P 1654; see Benson 1970, pl. IX, 2.), though there the swastika may have been metopal. Athens 18045 may mark the first appearance of both motifs in Early Geometric Attic vase-painting.

[43] Kerameikos 2159. Coldstream 2008, 26-28; Benson 1970, 44-48, pl. X (no 3).

[44] Agora P4784. Coldstream 2008, 48, pl. 10k; Papadopoulos 2007, 125 and fig. 120F; Camp 1986, 32 and fig. 18; Simon 1981, 35-36, pl. 10; Coldstream 1977, 115, fig. 34e.

[45] Geroulanos 1973, pl. 38.

[46] Coldstream 2008, 30 (no 4). Ahlberg 1971b, fig. 4. Cf. the double axes set between the spokes of the single wheel - it is attached to no chariot or wagon - on the Dipylon fragment Agora P 7024; Papadopoulos 2007, 120 (no 44).

[47] Athens 866 (Dipylon Workshop). Coldstream 2008, 33 (no. 44); Davison 1961, 33 (no 4) and fig. 20. The posture of turning back upon itself also makes the deer a doublet for the meander pattern.

[48] Munich 6402. Coldstream 2008, 33 (no 42); Davison 1961, 33 (no 3), fig. 19.

[49] See, for example, Langdon 1993, 109.

[50] Tübingen 1245. Coldstream 2008, 25 n. 6; Schweitzer 1971, 32, 78, and pl. 19.

[51] The juxtaposition between metopal swastika and triglyph-checkerboard is often found elsewhere; for example, on horse pyxides in Missouri (Langdon 1993, 107-108, no 29) and Athens (NM 17972) or on the high-rimmed bowls Kerameikos 345 (Boardman 1998, fig. 57; Schweitzer 1971, pl. 22) and Mannheim Cg 125 (Latacz et al. 2008, 306 (no 23)).

[52] So, for example, Vermeule 1979, 18, suggests that birds in some early funerary images (painted or modeled) could be 'soul-birds'.

[53] Basel Gs 61. Latacz et al. 2008, 302 (no 19).

[54] I wonder whether the roles of the swastika as an ideogram of motion and as a marker of death cannot somehow be reconciled: could the spinning swastika be an indicator of active transitioning from the world of the living to the realm of the dead?

[55] Metropolitan Museum 14.130.14. Mertens 2010, 52-57 (no 6); Coldstream 2008, 42 (no 13).

[56] Schweitzer 1971, pl. 38; Ahlberg 1971a, 31-33 (B6), figs 36-37.

[57] Agora P 10201. Brann 1962, 66 (no 311) and pl. 18. The fragmentary scene has also been reconstructed as a musical celebration or dance, in which case the swastikas might be there to enhance the vitality of the performance; see Fittschen 1969, 23-26 (A 12) and fig. 11; also Biers 1996, 111 and fig. 5.1.

[58] Louvre A 519. See Villard 1954, 6-7, pl. 5 (nos 7-9). Coldstream 2008, 31 (no 17); Hurwit 1993, 14-16; Ahlberg 1971a, 15-17 (A5), figs 6-8; Davison 1961, 29.

[59] Above, n. 6.

[60] Yale 1981.61.271. Villard was the first to join (on paper) the Yale fragment and Louvre A 519; see *CVA* (Louvre Fasc. 11), 6, fig. 2; cf. Davison 1961, figs 12a-b. But Villard's and Davison's drawings of the Yale fragment differ in their representation of the tip of the shield, with Villard's restoring two lines (indicating the upper border of the shield) that do not appear in Davison's or that are now obvious on the fragment itself. The V-stroke visible at the upper right edge of the Yale fragment (just to the right of the swastika), Davison suggests, is part of the lower left tip of the Dipylon shield. But if the placement of the Yale fragment here is correct, that is unlikely.

[61] Reserving the eye in corpses is a characteristic of the 'associate' of the Dipylon Master who painted Louvre A 519; see Coldstream 2008, 38-39.

[62] See Ahlberg 1971a, 17-18 (A6) and fig. 9.

[63] BM 1936.10-17.1. Rombos 1988, 312-313, pl. 29a; Schweitzer 1971, pl. 45; Davison 1961, 49 and fig. 55. On the other side of the vase, however, virtually the same scene of lion and deer lacks a swastika (there appears to be another bird in its place); see Himmelmann 1998, fig. 11. On both sides swastikas appear beneath grazing animals on the shoulder and among chariots on the body, and the funerary function of the vase is suggested by the plastic snakes on the handles.
There is perhaps a distant echo of the lion-deer composition with swastika on a 'Chalkidian' amphora in the Goulandris Museum attributed to the Phineus Painter (N.P. Goulandris Collection 1107, ca 530-520), where a panther-like feline paws a grazing deer and a swastika spins in the space between them.

[64] Metropolitan Museum 10.210.8. Coldstream 2008, 206; Boardman 2001, fig. 17; Davison 1961, 53 and fig. 69a-b; Schweitzer 1971, 34, 47, 49-50, and pl. 50. Swastikas also appear in the shoulder panel below, where two lions are heraldically posed.

[65] Eleusis 935, ca 700-675. The association recalls the swastika set into the body of a bird on the Argive fragment with dancers; above, n. 39.

[66] Agora P 23774. Brann 1962, 84 (no 471), pl. 28.

[67] Athens NM 5893. Boardman 1998, fig. 102 (where the vase is called Late Geometric); Simon 1981, 42-43, pls

16-17. On the bottom of an earlier Boeotian product (a LG pyxis in Heidelberg), two swastikas appear beside a scorpion flanked by hares; Boardman 1998, fig. 97. And on a LG Boeotian 'doll' in Paris (Louvre CA 623), swastikas are found on the figure's neck while dancers link hands on the bell-shaped skirt below. If the function of such terracottas was funerary, the dancers are probably mourners, and the association between swastika and death is once again clear; Coldstream 1977, 202 and fig. 65f.

[68] Athens NM 3961. Boardman 2001, fig. 36; Boardman 1998, fig. 250; Simon 1981, 46-47, pl. 23 (dated ca 650-30). On the body of the vase, with the epiphany of Apollo, a large hooked swastika appears below the belly of the dead (or is it just stunned?) stag that Artemis carries by the antlers. Other linear swastikas are also found in the field.

[69] Boardman 2001, fig. 34.1; Hurwit 1985, fig. 73.

[70] Karakasi 2003, 121-124, pls 235-237. To my knowledge, canonical, discrete swastikas do not appear painted or incised on the garments of the votive korai from the Acropolis, although four-armed patterns appear on Acropolis 680 (Karakasi 2003, pl. 248) and swastika-like motifs with curved instead of right-angled arms ('ogees', they have been called in other contexts; cf. Aigner 2000, 6) appear on Acropolis 671 and 682 (Karakasi 2003, pls 258, 252), while swastikas of a sort are naturally produced by the interlocking meander patterns found on many *korai* as well (see Karakasi 2003, pls 238b, 258).

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La necropoli orientalizzante della Banditella a Marsiliana d'Albegna
Considerazioni sulle combinazioni di corredo e su alcuni aspetti rituali

Lionello Morandi

Abstract

The early 20th century excavation of Banditella cemetery at Marsiliana d'Albegna (Manciano, GR) provided a list of the grave-goods placed into the burials. A close analysis of all the tombs' contents enables us to point out some recurring grave-goods associations, which are presumably related to different hierarchical levels within the gens *buried in the cemetery. The plan of the necropolis allows us to elaborate on the distribution of the identified grave-goods associations and the possible relationships between burials. They often appear to have been arranged in discernible patterns, such as in groups around chariot graves, or to have been disposed according to relationships between high-ranking male and female tombs and middle- and low-ranking tombs. Moreover, the finding of two nearly life-size anthropomorphic images within two burials ('Circolo degli Avori' and 'Circolo della Fibula') leads to some remarks on the interpretation of such statue-like objects, which are known from a very few examples from Vulci and its territory.**

Introduzione

Tra il 1908 e il 1919 i lavori di scavo intrapresi da Tommaso Corsini[1] nei propri possedimenti a Marsiliana d'Albegna (Manciano, GR) in località Piani di Banditella, portarono alla luce più di un centinaio di tombe, che costituiscono uno dei principali nuclei sepolcrali nel panorama dell'Etruria orientalizzante.[2] Le sepolture, distribuite su un'area di circa sei ettari posta subito a Ovest del torrente Camerone, sono per la maggior parte del tipo a fossa e a camera, diverse delle quali cinte da un circolo di pietre infitte che doveva in origine contenere una calotta in terra e pietrame. Nella quasi totalità dei casi vige il rituale inumatorio, ad eccezione di poche tombe a pozzetto contenenti cremazioni.

La necropoli, data la notevole complessità che caratterizza i suoi corredi,[3] è stata oggetto di studi inerenti singoli complessi tombali o alcuni isolati reperti,[4] in virtù della loro indubbia eccezionalità. Tuttavia si registra ad oggi un solo tentativo di lettura complessiva del sepolcreto riguardante le differenti combinazioni di corredo e la loro dislocazione topografica,[5] in quanto una simile indagine risulta senz'altro poco agevole dato che la necropoli è ancora sostanzialmente inedita[6] ed è quindi necessario affidarsi, con un certo margine di incertezza, agli elenchi di reperti pubblicati da Antonio Minto.[7] Nel caso della Banditella il limite di tale linea di ricerca deriva dal fatto che non è ancora possibile avere un quadro preciso dello sviluppo cronologico della necropoli, al di là di una grossolana scansione suggerita da alcune categorie di ritrovamenti e dalle strutture tombali;[8] ciò può condurre in qualche caso a considerazioni che sarà necessario correggere una volta edito il sepolcreto in maniera sistematica, anche se un tentativo di analisi topografica sembra già in grado di portare a letture, per quanto ipotetiche, di un certo interesse.[9]

Il metodo adottato per l'analisi della necropoli prende le mosse da un approccio di studio definito 'combinatorio-insiemistico', che ha conosciuto particolare sviluppo nell'ambito degli studi di protostoria italiana, grazie alle ricerche condotte soprattutto dalla Scuola romana.[10] Tali lavori hanno cominciato a diffondersi a partire dagli anni Ottanta, trovando talora sistemazione in opere organiche dedicate a studi necropolari.[11] L'assunto fondamentale dell'approccio che li caratterizza consiste nel considerare 'l'analisi dei corredi come espressione di una struttura sociale',[12] fatto che permette e allo stesso tempo implica di estendere la ricerca a tutte le sepolture della necropoli,[13] secondo un punto di vista che risulti il più possibile oggettivo. Occorre comunque tenere presente che lo stesso riconoscimento delle combinazioni di

corredo è un'operazione che implica una certa dose di soggettività, e che aspetti di primaria importanza seppure immateriali come tracce di azioni rituali devono anch'essi essere tenuti in debita considerazione.[14] Da queste premesse è evidente come studi di questo tipo si inquadrino prevalentemente in una prospettiva processuale, nella quale si guarda al dato archeologico con la fiducia di potere da esso desumere informazioni sulla struttura sociale della comunità di appartenenza dei defunti. Tuttavia, consci di come tale approccio sia stato spesso criticato per la tendenza ad istituire una diretta corrispondenza tra pratica funeraria e ruolo rivestito in vita dagli individui,[15] è bene ricordare che il quadro che da esso si ricava non è che uno tra i modelli interpretativi possibili,[16] e che per di più, nel caso in questione, può informare sulla organizzazione esclusivamente di una piccola parte della comunità (quella di condizione più elevata).[17] Il tentativo di applicare a una necropoli orientalizzante tale approccio frequentemente utilizzato in contesti protostorici nasce dalla considerazione che anche nelle fasi successive, caratterizzate da una maggiore differenziazione dei corredi, le strutture di aggregazione delle sepolture continuino a rispondere, sebbene su scala maggiore, a raggruppamenti su base parentelare (talvolta incentrati intorno a una o più sepolture emergenti),[18] alle volte unitamente alla presenza di sepolture di rango inferiore attribuibili forse a individui in posizione subordinata.[19]

Prendendo spunto dalla analisi dei corredi, un ulteriore aspetto che questo studio si propone di approfondire concerne l'interpretazione degli elementi antropomorfi di dimensioni vicine al vero rinvenuti nei complessi tombali orientalizzanti di area vulcente. Questi oggetti, realizzati per lo più in lamine e legno, sono testimoniati nella necropoli della Banditella nei due contesti più noti, il Circolo degli Avori e il Circolo della Fibula.

Le combinazioni di corredo

L'analisi dei dati editi dal Minto consente di individuare nove combinazioni di corredo. Nel raggruppamento dei reperti in combinazioni si è preferito evitare di scendere eccessivamente nel particolare, operazione che avrebbe condotto ad aumentare il numero delle stesse andando a individuare una serie di sfumature che avrebbero poi reso impossibile un tentativo di lettura topografica della necropoli.[20] È comunque da tenere presente che la creazione delle combinazioni - essendo per sua stessa natura una astrazione semplificatoria di una realtà più complessa - necessita di un certo grado di elasticità, ed esse possono presentare al loro interno alcune variazioni. Per questo motivo è sembrato opportuno indicare quali siano, nell'ambito della medesima combinazione, i corredi emergenti e le eventuali particolarità e anomalie.

Occorre inoltre premettere che i due contesti più celebri della necropoli, il Circolo degli Avori e il Circolo della Fibula, sono stati considerati separatamente dal resto delle sepolture e i rispettivi corredi, data l'eccezionalità che li caratterizza, non sono stati inseriti nelle combinazioni che seguono. Infatti queste due sepolture, oltre a distinguersi nella necropoli per la presenza massiccia di oggetti in avorio[21] e oggetti dal particolare valore simbolico,[22] risultano uniche per la presenza in ciascuna di esse di un simulacro antropomorfo, un elemento

Tabella 1. Contesti di rinvenimento dei simulacri antropomorfi.

Sito	Tomba	Rituale	Tipo simulacro	Posizione	Datazione
Marsiliana d'Albegna	Circolo della Fibula (t. 41)	inumatorio + crematorio	Schematico (testa sferica + busto)	parete di ponente	2° quarto VII sec. a.C.
Marsiliana d'Albegna	Circolo degli Avori (t. 67)	inumatorio	Naturalistico (volto in lamina su supporto ligneo perduto)	?	2° quarto VII sec. a.C.
Vulci	Tomba del Carro	crematorio	Schematici (testa sferica + due coppie di mani + anello con vaghi in ambra + due bracciali a nastro)	accostati alla banchina di fondo, presso il carro	680/670 a.C.
Vulci	Tomba C Mandrione di Cavalupo	?	? (sei dita in avorio + bracciale in avorio)	?	1° metà VII sec. a.C.
Vulci	Tomba 'di Ati Velaruna'?	inumatorio	Naturalistico (volto in lamina su supporto ligneo)	atrio?	?
Pisa	Tumulo di San Jacopo	(assenza cadavere)	? (frr. bronzo combusto, borchiette)	resti bruciati nel dolio	1° metà VII sec. a.C.

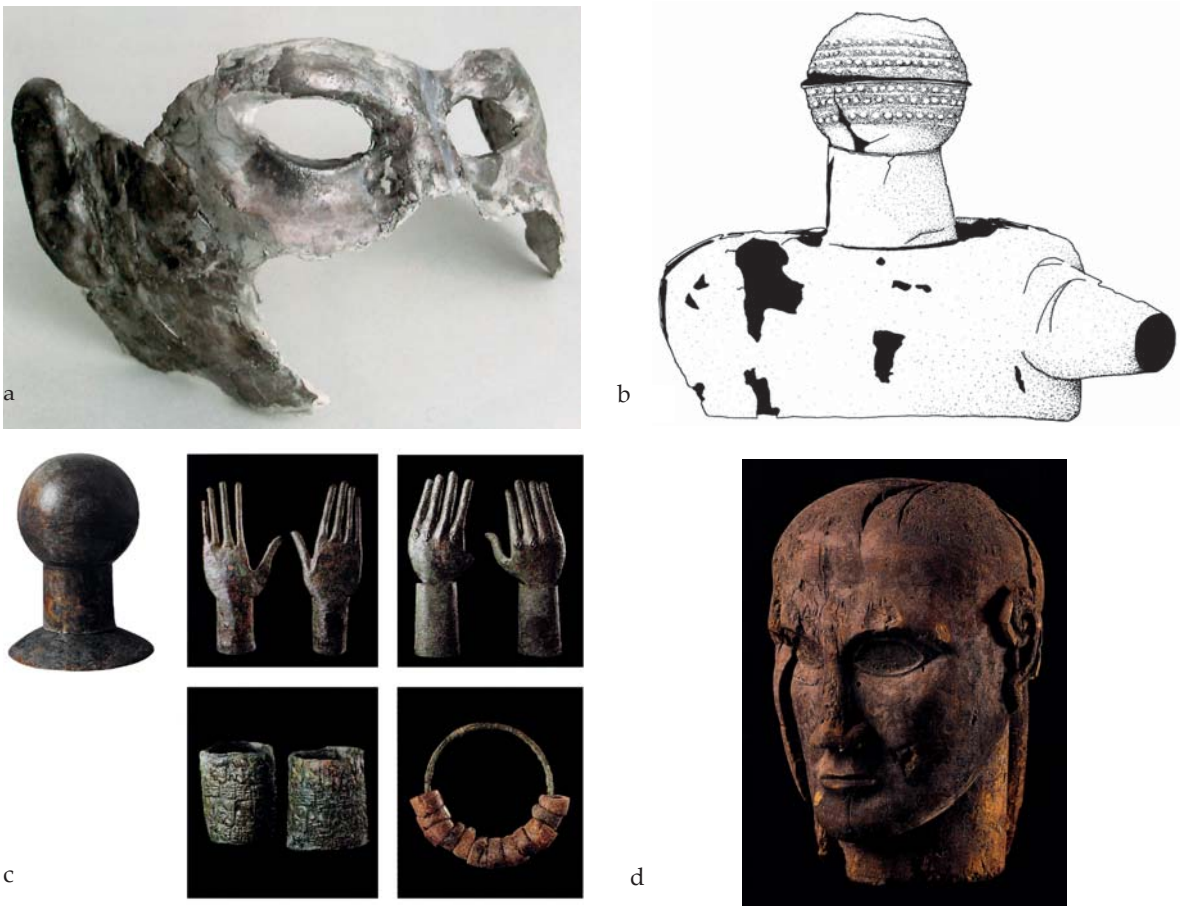

Fig. 1. Resti di simulacri antropomorfi: a - Marsiliana d'Albegna, Circolo degli Avori (Celuzza 2009, 121, n. 4.22); b - Marsiliana d'Albegna, Circolo della Fibula (Cristofani 1985, 289, n. 109); c - Vulci, Tomba del Carro (Cristofani 1985, 214, n. 107; Moretti Sgubini 2000, 569, nn. 24-25-29-30); d - Milano, Civiche raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche (Torelli 2000, 223); e – Vulci, Mandrione di Cavalupo tomba C (Falconi Amorelli 1969, fig. 11, nn. 15-16).

presente in Etruria in un numero esiguo di importanti contesti, e di significato ancora poco chiaro (*fig. 1*; *tab. 1*). Nel caso del Circolo degli Avori, che ospitava tre inumati, i dati a disposizione non rendono possibile distinguere precisamente tra gli oggetti di pertinenza dei singoli defunti.[23] Tuttavia spicca un piccolo gruppo di oggetti di ambito femminile,[24] mentre un individuo maschile fu deposto probabilmente con una coppia di lance.[25] Per quanto riguarda il Circolo della Fibula, la presenza del busto in lamina di bronzo in associazione con un'urna a forma di casa costituisce un problema interpretativo, che può tuttavia trovare soluzione. Infatti, secondo le considerazioni che saranno espresse in seguito questi dati inducono a considerare la sepoltura una doppia deposizione maschile di altissimo rango. Pertanto le peculiarità dei corredi dei due circoli fanno sì che essi emergano sulle altre sepolture dotate di carro, generalmente più uniformi tra loro.

È stato dunque possibile analizzare cinquantotto corredi non manomessi e dividerli in combinazioni, raggruppando quelli che presentano caratteristiche di omogeneità (*tab. 2*).[26] Tali carat-

Tabella 2. Combinazioni di corredo; M = maschile; F = femminile; ND = non determinabile.

TOMBE	crem	inumaz	circolo	tripp	lebete	holmos	alari	spiedi	reggivasi	sost quadr	kreagra	gratugia	coltello	patere bac	lancia	ascia	scudo	carro	morsi	letto	flabello	incensiere	fusaiole	rocchetti	forcella	pestelaio	fuso	genere	COMB
41- Circolo della Fibula		x	x	3	4		1			1			2	>2	4		1	1				1						M+M	/
67- Circolo degli Avori		x	x	1	1				1	1				3	2		1	1			1		1					M+F+ND	/
1		x		1					1				1	5	1	1	1	1	2									M	C.1M
3		x		3	1		2		1	1			1		2	1	1	1					1					M	C.1M
6		x		2				2		1					1	1		1										M	C.1M
32		x		1?			2	1		1			1		3	1		1	1									M+M	C.1M
60		x				1				1			1		1			1										M	C.1M
8		x		1	1					1					2													M	C.2M
35		x	x	1						1					1													M	C.2M
47		x				1				1			3		3	1			3									M	C.2M
14		x								1	1				2	1												M	C.3M
25		x													2	1												M	C.3M
29		x													1	1												M	C.3M
30	x	x													1	1												M+ND	C.3M
36	x														2	1												M+M	C.3M
77		x								1			1		1	1												M	C.3M
81		x											1		1	1												M	C.3M
87	x												1		1	1												M+M	C.3M
93		x											1		1	1												M	C.3M
94		x								1					1	2												M	C.3M
24	x	x													2													M+M	C.4M
42		x							1	1			1	1	1													M	C.4M
48		x													1									1				M?	C.4M
62		x											1	2	1		1											M	C.4M
63		x												2	1													M	C.4M
89	x					3										1												M	C.4M
97		x													1													M	C.4M
2		x				1		1	1	1				1				1		1			1					F	C.1F
7		x								1								1										F	C.1F
11		x				1				1				3											1			F	C.2F
17		x		1						1																		F	C.2F
57		x		1						1																		F	C.2F
59		x				1				1				2														F	C.2F
53		x	x							1													4	14				F	C.2F?
19		x												2														F+F	C.3F
23		x																										F	C.3F
31		x																					1					F+F	C.3F
38		x	x										1										12					F	C.3F
44		x																						>1		1		F	C.3F
54		x	x																									F	C.3F
56		x												3									1					F	C.3F
64		x																					1					F	C.3F
70		x																										F	C.3F
78		x																									1	F	C.3F
91		x												2									1					F	C.3F
103		x																										F	C.3F
10		x		1				2		1		1				1		1					2					ND	C.1ND
98		x		1						1								1										ND	C.1ND
34B		x	x	1				1	?					1	1	1		1	2				1					ND	C.1ND
4	x																											ND	C.2ND
13A-B-C-D	x																											ND	C.2ND
26		x																										ND	C.2ND
37		x																										ND	C.2ND
43	x																											ND	C.2ND
69	x																											ND	C.2ND
71		x																										ND	C.2ND
72		x	x																									ND	C.2ND
73		x																										ND	C.2ND
75		x																										ND	C.2ND
95		x																										ND+ND	C.2ND

teristiche rispondono a criteri quali la presenza o meno di uno o più elementi che possono ritenersi indicativi del rango del defunto, come la deposizione del carro o di oggetti di particolare rarità, e rappresentativi di ambiti significativi per l'ideologia aristocratica orientalizzante, come gli strumenti da banchetto e le armi, sia da parata che di uso reale,[27] che rimandano ai possibili ruoli rivestiti dai defunti all'interno della comunità. Bisogna però sottolineare che la possibilità di individuare quali siano, a livello di manifestazioni funerarie, le distorsioni rispetto a quella che era la realtà sociale della comunità dei vivi è un'operazione assai complessa, e che presuppone una conoscenza di quest'ultima abbastanza ampia da poter essere messa a confronto con la realtà funeraria.[28] Questo passaggio fondamentale appare arduo da compiere relativamente allo studio delle comunità etrusche orientalizzanti, per le quali le conoscenze dirette sulla realtà quotidiana degli insediamenti, sia relativamente a usi e costumi delle élites che (soprattutto) delle fasce inferiori della popolazione, ad oggi risultano scarse e isolate rispetto al più ampio contesto della realtà culturale alla quale si riferiscono.[29]

L'attribuzione del genere si basa sugli elementi comunemente considerati indicatori affidabili del sesso:[30] le combinazioni maschili includono almeno un'arma; le combinazioni femminili sono prive di armi e includono uno o più strumenti da filatura/tessitura e/o fibule di foggia femminile e/o gioielli; le combinazioni non determinabili contengono elementi contrastanti o non sufficienti ad inferire il genere del defunto.

Combinazioni di corredo maschili

All'interno delle sepolture di probabile sesso maschile si possono individuare quattro combinazioni di corredo, ciascuna delle quali caratterizzata da una certa omogeneità nella composizione.

Combinazione 1: CARRO + LANCIA (+ morsi + scudo)[31]
5 corredi: tombe 1, 3, 6, 32, 60

Deposizioni singole: sono sempre presenti tripodi o *holmoi* per sostenere recipienti impiegati nel consumo del vino o della carne, mentre il sostegno quadrangolare è assente solo nel corredo della tomba 1.[32] Tra i corredi spiccano quelli della tomba 60, con oggetti in oro e argento e patere baccellate in lamina bronzea, e della tomba 6, con oggetti in argento e vasi in lamina.[33] Risultano invece prive di oggetti in materiale prezioso la tomba 1[34] e la tomba 3.

Deposizioni doppie: tomba 32. Nella tomba, che ospitava due inumati,[35] non erano presenti né un tripode né un *holmos*, ma in riferimento al consumo della carne si rinvennero due alari e uno spiedo.[36] Anche in questa sepoltura sono presenti oggetti in argento e vasi in lamina bronzea. La tomba si segnala inoltre per la presenza di una 'daga'.[37]

Combinazione 2: TRIPODE/*HOLMOS* + SOSTEGNO QUADRANGOLARE + LANCIA (+ morsi + *kreagra*)
3 corredi: tombe 8, 35, 47

Si tratta di deposizioni individuali, le quali presentano tutte nel corredo oggetti in materiale prezioso (argento), e vasellame in lamina bronzea. Ad eccezione della tomba 35, il cui corredo ci è giunto però solo in parte,[38] le lance sono presenti in numero di due o tre, e nella tomba 47 in associazione con la scure.

Combinazione 3: LANCIA + SCURE (+ coltello)
10 corredi: tombe 14, 25, 29, 30, 36, 77, 81, 87, 93, 94

Deposizioni singole: tra le tombe di questa combinazione solo due contengono oggetti in oro (tomba 94) o argento (tomba 14). Tra le restanti otto tombe, la tomba 25 e la tomba 93 hanno restituito un vaso in lamina bronzea. Nelle tombe 77 e 94 la presenza di un sostegno quadrangolare, cioè lo strumento da banchetto che si trova in genere associato a *holmoi* o tripodi sia nelle tombe di C.1 che di C.2 di entrambi i sessi, può forse indicare che le due sepolture si collocassero più propriamente a un livello intermedio tra la C.2 e la C.3, dato che il suddetto strumento sembra sia da associare a pratiche conviviali elitarie implicanti il consumo di bevande o carne.[39]

Deposizioni doppie: la tomba 30 accoglieva, oltre a un defunto inumato, una cremazione entro olla.[40] La tomba 36 ha restituito due lance e una scure, mentre la tomba 87 una lancia e una scure. Risulta impossibile stabilire l'originaria partizione del corredo tra le due coppie di inumati.

Combinazione 4: LANCIA (+ scudo + coltello)
7 corredi: tombe 24, 42, 48, 62, 63, 89, 97

Deposizioni singole: nelle tombe 48, 62, 63 e 89 si rinvengono anche oggetti in argento. Vasi in lamina bronzea sono presenti nella tomba 97. Da rilevare che nella tomba 48, considerata maschile per

la presenza della scure e di fibule ad arco serpeggiante, è presente anche un rocchetto.[41] Come nel caso delle tombe 77 e 94 di C.3, la tomba 42 emerge per la presenza nel corredo di un sostegno quadrangolare.

La tomba 89 a cremazione in urna bronzea presenta caratteri di eccezionalità all'interno della necropoli, essendo l'unica incinerazione che non impiega un ossuario fittile, e avendo restituito una fibula in argento e frammenti di ben tre *holmoi*.

Deposizioni doppie: nella tomba 24 erano presenti una inumazione e una cremazione, i cui rispettivi corredi furono confusi; è probabile che si trattasse di due maschi o di un maschio e una femmina, data la presenza di due lance ma anche di otto fibule a navicella in bronzo.

Combinazioni di corredo femminili

Combinazione 1: CARRO (+ tripode/*holmos* + letto)
2 corredi: tombe 2, 7

Si tratta di deposizioni individuali. In un caso (tomba 2) si segnala un sostegno da banchetto (*holmos*). Inoltre, come avviene anche nelle deposizioni maschili, la presenza di spiedi e alari si registra esclusivamente nelle tombe con carro di C.1.[42] La tomba 2 spicca per il suo straordinario corredo: oltre ad essere una delle uniche tre sepolture a contenere oggetti in avorio[43] insieme al Circolo degli Avori e al Circolo della Fibula, si contano in essa numerosi oggetti in oro e argento e un numero eccezionale di fibule, sicuramente superiore ai trentaquattro esemplari,[44] nonché diversi vasi in lamina bronzea e un letto funebre in ferro.[45]

Combinazione 2: TRIPODE/*HOLMOS* + SOSTEGNO QUADRANGOLARE
4 corredi: tombe 11, 17, 57, 59 [53?]

Si tratta di deposizioni individuali. I corredi contengono ornamenti in oro e argento e, nel caso della tomba 11, anche vasellame in lamina bronzea. Il corredo della tomba 53, mancando di tripode/*holmos*, non rientra appieno in questa combinazione, ma essa è quella a cui più si avvicina come grado di complessità, data la presenza del sostegno quadrangolare, di un vaso in lamina di bronzo, dodici fibule (di cui una in argento), quattordici rocchetti e quattro fuseruole.

Combinazione 3: /
12 corredi: tombe 19, 23, 31, 38, 44, 54, 56, 64, 70, 78, 91, 103

Si tratta di una combinazione evidenziata, in negativo, dall'assenza di elementi del rango aristocratico e dei grandi arredi da banchetto quali *holmoi* o tripodi per sostenere recipienti impiegati nel consumo del vino o della carne, e degli alti sostegni quadrangolari in ferro, strumenti che al contrario si rinvengono puntualmente nelle sepolture più complesse.

Deposizioni singole: anche in alcune di queste tombe si ritrovano tuttavia *parures* femminili composte da più di undici o dodici fibule e oggetti in metalli preziosi (tombe 23, 54, 56, 70).[46] Isolato nel panorama della necropoli il caso della tomba 38, che nonostante il corredo modesto conteneva ben dodici fuseruole.[47]

Deposizioni doppie: la tomba 19 è forse riferibile a due defunte di sesso femminile, e conteneva resti di ornamenti in argento e due patere in lamina bronzea.[48]

Combinazioni di corredo non determinabili[49]

Combinazione 1: CARRO (+ lancia + scure + morsi + grattugia)
3 corredi: tombe 10, 34B, 98

Si tratta di deposizioni individuali (la tomba 34B era tuttavia compresa nel medesimo circolo di pietre includente la tomba 34A, violata). La tomba 10 presenta una scure all'interno del corredo, che alla Banditella è attestata nei restanti casi solo in tombe maschili.[50] Per altri aspetti sembra invece sostenibile una attribuzione a defunto di sesso femminile: ciò in virtù del fatto che manca la lancia, presente invece nelle altre sepolture maschili, che non contengono mai una scure senza che questa sia abbinata a una lancia, e della presenza di due fuseruole. In essa si registra la presenza di oggetti in oro e argento e vasi in lamina bronzea. La tomba 34B presenta un corredo complesso, che ha restituito oggetti in oro e argento e vasellame in lamina bronzea. Mentre la foggia delle fibule e la fuseruola farebbero pensare a una sepoltura femminile,[51] la presenza della lancia e della scure sono elementi che risultano caratteristici delle tombe maschili.

Per quanto concerne la tomba 98, essa si sarebbe forse potuta inserire tra le tombe con carro femminili (C.1), data l'assenza nel corredo della lancia e il rinvenimento di fibule con rivestimento in ambra. Tuttavia si è preferito usare prudenza,

data la probabilità molto alta che la tomba, trovata 'con gli strati di riempimento sconvolti',[52] fosse già violata in antico.

Anche nel caso dei corredi non determinabili sono le sole tombe con carro di C.1 a presentare spiedi all'interno del corredo.[53]

Combinazione 2: /
11 corredi: tombe 4, 13,[54] 26, 37, 43, 69, 71, 72, 73, 75, 95

La combinazione è del tutto analoga alla C.3 femminile, caratterizzata dall'assenza di oggetti di rango e di arredi da banchetto.

Deposizioni singole: la tomba 37 costituisce un caso particolare, in quanto pur in assenza di elementi propri delle combinazioni superiori annovera otto fibule, ornamenti in argento e un discreto corredo ceramico. Non è da escludere che la tomba 4, con cinerario fittile, potesse accogliere una cremazione bisoma maschile e femminile, forse indiziata dalle due fibule ad arco serpeggiante e dalle due fibule a sanguisuga.

Deposizioni doppie: nella tomba 95 erano due inumati, di cui uno, 'di età giovanile', forse di sesso maschile,[55] e l'altro, adulto, di sesso non determinabile. La tomba si segnala per il corredo ceramico piuttosto cospicuo.

Considerazioni sulle combinazioni di corredo individuate

Le combinazioni individuate sono verosimilmente interpretabili come espressione di disparità sociali ed economiche all'interno della comunità che seppelliva alla Banditella, per quanto enfatizzate dal processo di selezione alla base della rappresentazione funeraria operato dalla comunità dei vivi. Esse si possono così sintetizzare riconducendole schematicamente alle rispettive sfere ideologiche:

- C.1M, C.1F, C.1ND:[56] presenza dei simboli del potere insieme allo strumentario per il consumo della carne e molto spesso del vino;

- C.2M, C.2F: set da banchetto che include un sostegno quadrangolare e un oggetto di particolare prestigio legato al consumo del vino o della carne (*holmos*/tripode);

- C.3M, C.4M: ruolo guerriero ma assenza di elementi di alto rango;

- C.3F, C.2ND: esclusione da pratiche centrali nell'ideologia aristocratica come il consumo di carne e vino, almeno sul piano della rappresentazione funeraria.

Emerge, nelle deposizioni maschili, una ripartizione che trova la sua giustificazione sia nell'ideologia dominante delle élites etrusche orientalizzanti che, attraverso la distribuzione degli armamenti, nei ruoli e nelle gerarchie verosimilmente vigenti in campo bellico.[57] Per quanto concerne il primo aspetto è infatti evidente come nelle sepolture di C.1 ci si trovi in presenza di elementi sia di rango guerriero che di forte valore simbolico per il mondo aristocratico.[58] Oltre che alla presenza del carro ci si riferisce allo strumentario da fuoco: spiedi e alari, quando presenti, compaiono esclusivamente nelle tombe con carro (di entrambi i sessi) a testimoniare come nella necropoli della Banditella il cerimoniale che prevede il consumo della carne risulti appannaggio esclusivo dei vertici dell'aristocrazia.[59] Altra caratteristica delle due combinazioni di corredo più ricche è la presenza di sostegni, cioè tripodi o *holmoi* (questi ultimi più frequenti nelle tombe di probabile pertinenza femminile),[60] adatti a sorreggere olle o lebeti impiegati nel consumo del vino o nella bollitura delle carni.[61] È da sottolineare come nel caso della tomba 47 (C.2) si supplisca all'assenza del carro attraverso l'inserimento nel corredo dei morsi equini, secondo il sistema della *pars pro toto*.[62]

Anche per quanto riguarda le deposizioni femminili di C.1 e C.2 le modalità attraverso le quali esse spiccano sul resto della necropoli sono analoghe a quelle riscontrate nel caso delle deposizioni maschili, salvo l'assenza delle armi e con l'aggiunta di oggetti tipici delle attività muliebri. A prescindere dalle combinazioni di corredo individuate è possibile fare alcune precisazioni circa la distribuzione degli oggetti di abbigliamento e ornamento personale.[63] Si possono distinguere essenzialmente tre gradi di complessità delle *parures*, che si trovano associate in maniera spesso inaspettata rispetto alle combinazioni sopra proposte:

- *Parures* complesse: fibule + collana + bracciale/i / spiraline / scarabeo/i. Tombe 2 (C.1), 11 (C.2), 23 (C.3), 39,[64] Circolo degli Avori;
- *Parures* di medio livello: fibula/e + bracciale/i / spiraline. Tombe 17 (C.2), 19 (C.3), 38 (C.3), 54 (C.3), 56 (C.3), 57 (C.2), 70 (C.3), 91 (C.3), 103 (C.3);
- *Parures* semplici: fibule. Tombe 7 (C.1), 31 (C.3), 64 (C.3), 78 (C.3).

Come si nota nelle tombe con carro è possibile riscontrare sia *parures* complesse che semplici,

così come nelle tombe di C.2 la casistica può andare da *parures* complesse all'assenza totale di oggetti di abbigliamento e ornamento (come nel caso della tomba 59), mentre in una sepoltura priva sia di carro che di arredi da banchetto (tomba 23, C.3) è presente una *parure* complessa.[65] Questa variabilità può leggersi come un indizio del fatto che la complessità delle *parures* non fosse percepita come un elemento di primaria importanza nel sistema di rappresentazione preposto a connotare i defunti di sesso femminile; è possibile inoltre che nel caso della tomba 23 l'inserimento nel corredo di rari e numerosi oggetti d'ornamento mirasse a mascherare il divario rispetto alle classi che si connotavano per la presenza del carro e/o degli arredi da banchetto.

In merito allo strumentario metallico caratteristico delle due combinazioni di corredo di rango più elevato merita una discreta attenzione una particolare classe di oggetti caratteristica del territorio vulcente, sulla cui funzione vi è stata a lungo incertezza. Varie volte essi sono comparsi in letteratura con la qualifica neutra di sostegni quadrangolari o sostegni a telaio, e compaiono nella quasi totalità delle tombe più eminenti della Banditella[66] (*fig. 2*). Si è scelto di inserirli tra gli strumenti da banchetto, atti ad appendere vasi secondo la proposta avanzata da Giovanni Colonna.[67] Nel caso in cui l'associazione funzionale tra vasi in lamina di bronzo e sostegni quadrangolari venisse rispettata anche nella deposizione del corredo funerario, tale ipotesi può essere accreditata dal fatto che su ventisei casi di complessi della Banditella contenenti tali sostegni (di cui cinque peraltro già depredati in antico),[68] in diciannove di essi si rinvennero frammenti di vasi bronzei (riconosciuti dal Minto come pertinenti a situle o a contenitori di forma biconica).[69]

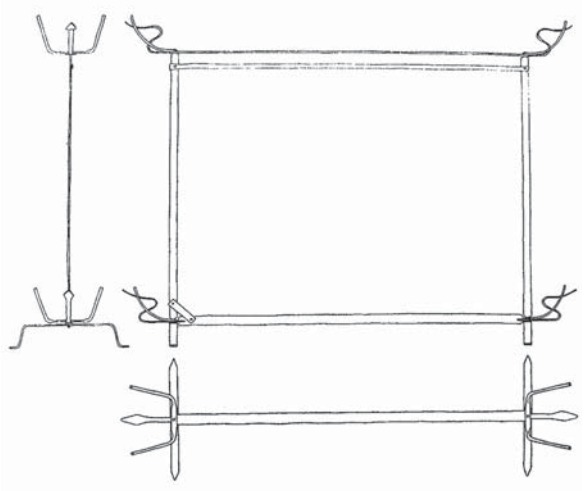

Fig. 2. Vulci, Tomba del Carro: sostegno quadrangolare (Bartoloni 1972, fig. 24).

È interessante notare, nel sostegno quadrangolare dalla Tomba del Carro di Vulci, che le coppie di terminazioni a gancio ricurvo alle estremità[70] sono del tutto identiche a quelle dei reggivasi.[71] Se la proposta del Colonna coglie nel segno, si può ipotizzare che ad esse fossero quindi appesi vasi potori o patere, allo stesso modo che sui reggivasi, per attingere i liquidi contenuti nei recipienti più grandi appesi alla lunga traversa orizzontale.

Va tuttavia sottolineata nel contesto vulcente la stretta contiguità spaziale tra il sostegno e il set da banchetto carneo composto da ascia, coltello e spiedi,[72] che può suggerire che in questo caso sia da considerare, accanto alla funzione di reggivasi delle terminazioni laterali, la possibilità di una connessione con il consumo della carne,[73] data anche la mancanza di vasi in lamina atti a contenere liquidi. Indicazioni in questo senso sembrano potersi desumere anche dalla collocazione di uno di questi sostegni all'interno di un circolo recentemente indagato a Marsiliana, dove esso risultava posto, in associazione agli spiedi, presso un apprestamento interpretato come un focolare simbolico.[74]

Il sostegno quadrangolare della tomba 14, nella quale si segnala la presenza di una *kreagra*, è stato anch'esso considerato come ordinario elemento della dotazione da banchetto orientalizzante, mentre risulta forzata l'idea, già a una quota cronologica così alta (secondo quarto del VII sec. a.C.) di associare i due reperti della tomba come indizio del culto di Elena e i Dioscuri o di divinità di tipo iniziatico.[75] È infatti vero che il *dokanon* diverrà attributo dell'iconografia dei Dioscuri,[76] ma solo a partire dal tardo arcaismo, e inoltre è un elemento comunissimo alla Banditella (nel 40% circa dei contesti in esame), e tipico come si è detto dell'agro vulcente in età orientalizzante all'interno di corredi con strumenti da banchetto.[77]

In base alle cronologie proposte per alcuni complessi di Marsiliana da Mauro Cristofani[78] e alle datazioni dei complessi rinvenuti nel territorio si può affermare che i sostegni quadrangolari, che fanno la loro comparsa negli ultimi decenni dell'VIII sec. a.C.,[79] sembrano non essere più in uso poco dopo la metà del VII sec. a.C., come dimostra la loro assenza nel Circolo di Perazzeta.[80]

Tra gli elementi esclusivi delle prime due combinazioni e delle tombe 41 e 67 risultano essere anche oggetti di prestigio come gli incensieri, di cui è nota la pertinenza a ricchi contesti tombali,[81]

mentre è già stato sottolineato il ruolo di *status symbol* rivestito in Italia centrale dal flabello (presente nel Circolo degli Avori).[82]

Passando a considerare la distribuzione degli armamenti offensivi che caratterizza le deposizioni maschili di C.3 e C.4,[83] al di sotto delle sepolture più eminenti dotate di carro e di quelle che esibiscono lo strumentario metallico da banchetto emerge chiaramente un ceto guerriero di rango inferiore,[84] connotato dall'associazione di lancia + scure (C.3) o dalla sola lancia (più raramente dalla sola scure). L'abbinamento lancia + scure, documentato da un alto numero di corredi, è già stato evidenziato da Armando Cherici in riferimento ai corredi di armati vulcenti in un orizzonte cronologico del tutto analogo a quello delle tombe della Banditella.[85] L'utilizzo della scure come arma di uso effettivo piuttosto che come strumento sacrificale è plausibile anche nel caso di Marsiliana, ove essa, analogamente al grande centro vicino, appare sia insieme alla lancia che, in tre casi, in alternativa ad essa.[86] Inoltre, l'osservazione che l'abbinamento di lancia + scure a Vulci non preveda la presenza di elementi riferibili al sacrificio carneo, rafforzando l'ipotesi di un uso bellico della scure, trova confronto nei corredi di C.3 e 4 della Banditella, nei quali non sono mai presenti oggetti come alari, spiedi o lebeti, associati al consumo di carne.[87]

Passando infine alle deposizioni femminili connotate in negativo dall'assenza di *holmoi*/tripodi e sostegni quadrangolari, e fornite del solo corredo ceramico (peraltro anche intrinsecamente di valore inferiore), è verosimile leggere in esse una minore integrazione nei cerimoniali propri del vertice dell'aristocrazia.

Lettura topografica della necropoli

L'analisi del sepolcreto, i cui limiti non sono del tutto certi,[88] risente pesantemente della profanazione subita già in antico da molte tombe entro circolo (in origine probabilmente bassi tumuli),[89] che pertanto non possono essere prese in considerazione.[90] Analoga situazione si registra purtroppo anche per diverse tombe prive di circolo. Particolarmente grave risulta la perdita dei dati relativi alla tomba 46, in quanto si tratta dell'unica sepoltura alla Banditella, insieme al Circolo della Fibula, a presentare oltre alla fossa un lastricato per la deposizione del corredo, peraltro di ampiezza molto maggiore rispetto a quello che ospitava parte della suppellettile della celebre tomba.[91] Un altro contesto violato che doveva emergere tra le tombe di maggior livello del sepolcreto era la tomba 39 entro circolo, a giudicare dai resti del corredo.[92]

Riguardo ai circoli, è noto come si tratti di una struttura spesso peculiare di tombe elitarie, tuttavia è da aggiungere che si ritiene rischioso generalizzare acriticamente questa affermazione. Infatti alla Banditella il contesto più notevole insieme ai Circoli degli Avori e della Fibula, e cioè la tomba 2, ne è privo, come ne sono prive ben altre otto tombe con carro,[93] mentre alcune sepolture dal corredo non elitario dispongono invece di un circolo (tombe 38 e 44).[94]

Osservando la planimetria della necropoli (*figg. 3-4*), occorre innanzitutto rilevare la disposizione delle sepolture secondo gruppi funerari[95] (rami della medesima *gens*?),[96] distinti più o meno chiaramente a seconda dei casi: I - un gruppo funerario di Nord-Est, di cui fa parte il Circolo degli Avori; II - uno circa 15 m più a Ovest; III - un altro più a meridione, forse articolabile in due settori, caratterizzato da molte sepolture entro circolo (tra cui il Circolo della Fibula); IV - un piccolo gruppo di tombe prive di circolo (tra cui la tomba 60), posto a Sud-Est del gruppo III; V - un gruppo con tombe a camera entro circolo più a Sud del III e IV gruppo; altri due piccoli nuclei meridionali con tombe a camera entro circolo. Piuttosto isolate nel tessuto topografico della necropoli le rimanenti sepolture.

Sembra pertanto possibile, attraverso l'analisi planimetrica del sepolcreto, formulare ipotesi sulle dinamiche sociali attive nella comunità e la loro rappresentazione sul piano funerario.[97] Ciò che appare subito evidente esaminando la disposizione dei tipi di corredo (*fig. 3*) è la concentrazione delle tombe con carro (C.1), sia maschili che femminili, nel settore settentrionale della necropoli: su un totale alla Banditella di dodici attestazioni di carri ben otto si collocano nei due gruppi di sepoltura più settentrionali,[98] ed eccezionale risulta il caso del gruppo II, con cinque attestazioni al suo interno. È necessario però sottolineare che questo dato, all'apparenza tanto evidente, è probabilmente in parte da attenuare a causa della mancanza di informazioni su diverse sepolture del settore centro-meridionale del sepolcreto.

Ad uno sguardo più approfondito sembra di poter cogliere che in alcuni casi le tombe con carro fungano da poli di attrazione delle sepolture di livello inferiore (C.2, C.3, C.4), determinando la formazione di piccoli cluster di tombe gravitanti intorno alle sepolture di maggior spicco.[99]

Simile disposizione si può ravvisare:

- nel gruppo I, dove le tombe 14, 17, 29, 23, 24 e 25 sembrano disporsi in una sorta di semicorona subito ad Ovest delle sepolture più emi-

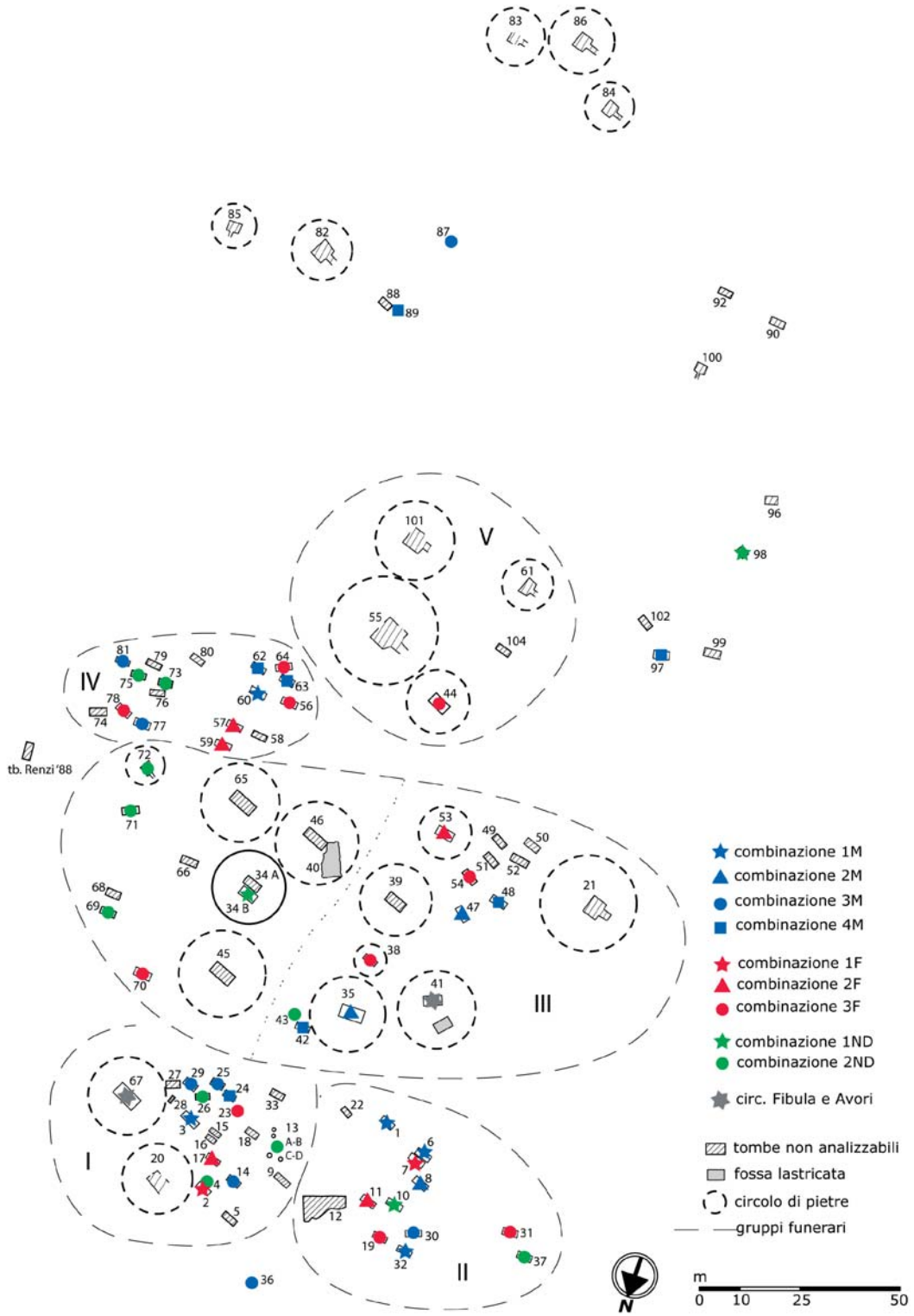

Fig. 3. Marsiliana d'Albegna, necropoli della Banditella: disposizione delle combinazioni di corredo all'interno dei gruppi di sepoltura (rielaborazione da Minto 1921, tav. VI).

Fig. 4. Marsiliana d'Albegna, necropoli della Banditella: distribuzione degli oggetti in oro, argento e avorio (rielaborazione da Minto 1921, tav. VI).

nenti, nella fattispecie il Circolo degli Avori, il circolo 20 violato e le tombe con carro 2 e 3;
- nel gruppo II, dove il fenomeno sembra ripetersi su più piccola scala, con la tomba 8 posizionata accanto alla coppia aristocratica formata dalla tomba maschile con carro 6 e dalla tomba femminile con carro 7, e nel gruppetto di sepolture subito a Nord, ove le tombe 11, 19 e 30 sembrano gravitare rispettivamente intorno alle tombe con carro 10 e 32;
- nel gruppo IV di cui fa parte la tomba maschile con carro 60, intorno alla quale si trovano, di nuovo disposte in una sorta di semicorona occidentale, le tombe di combinazione inferiore 56, 62, 63 e 64.

In analogia con quanto riscontrato è possibile che anche le sette tombe a Ovest dei circoli 39[100] e 53, di cui le uniche analizzabili sono inquadrabili nelle C.2M e 4M,[101] rispondessero alla medesima logica.

La mancanza di informazioni su molti corredi che sono stati oggetto di spoliazione impedisce di prendere in considerazione tutti i settori della necropoli, ma è ipotizzabile che il fenomeno sopra descritto si ripetesse anche nel caso del piccolo raggruppamento di tombe subito a Est di quello ospitante la tomba 60 (nel gruppo IV), dove la concentrazione di tombe di C.2 e C.3 può fare pensare che tra sepolture violate del raggruppamento vi fossero una o più tombe con carro quali poli di aggregazione dell'insieme. In caso contrario il raggruppamento andrebbe letto come zona adibita alla sepoltura di personaggi accomunati dal fatto di non essere collocati ai vertici della famiglia di appartenenza.[102]

All'interno del gruppo I si nota una relazione topografica molto stretta tra alcune tombe di differente livello. Nel caso del Circolo degli Avori le tombe 27 e 28 appaiono strettamente accostate ad esso: in entrambi i casi, nonostante i corredi siano purtroppo non del tutto affidabili perché trovati sconvolti, data la presenza di materiali di particolare pregio come fibule in oro (tomba 27) e di un sarcofago in pietra (tomba 28) è ipotizzabile che la posizione delle tombe indichi la volontà di evidenziare un qualche tipo di rapporto tra sepolture elitarie, come avviene anche per la tomba 2 (C.1F) e il circolo 20 (violato). Diverso invece il caso del pozzetto con cremazione (tomba 4, C.2ND) accostato alla tomba 2: qui è possibile che ci si trovi di fronte alla volontà di indicare un rapporto di subordinazione tra una sepoltura d'*élite* e una di livello inferiore; lo stesso può dirsi a proposito della contiguità topografica che lega la tomba 42 (C.4M) alla tomba 35 entro circolo (C.2M).[103]

In alcuni casi si può inoltre notare l'accostamento tra due sepolture eminenti, una maschile e una femminile,[104] forse coppie aristocratiche, in parziale continuità con quanto ipotizzato per la prima età del Ferro.[105] Ciò avviene nel caso delle tombe 6-7, 34A-34B, 35-38, 46-65, e dubitativamente nel caso delle tombe 2-20:

- per quanto concerne le tombe 6 e 7, rispettivamente attribuibili a deposizione maschile e a deposizione femminile ed entrambe con carro, la strettissima contiguità topografica sembra lasciare pochi dubbi sulla loro interpretazione come coppia di alto rango;
- le tombe 34A e 34B, incluse nel medesimo circolo di pietre, sono anch'esse forse da attribuire a una coppia aristocratica. Non è però semplice in questo caso determinare il sesso dei defunti, dato che la tomba B, con carro, presenta fibule di foggia femminile e una fuseruola, ma anche un elemento maschile come la lancia, e la tomba A, violata, ha restituito due figurine animali in bronzo fuso e una spada (o pugnale) decorata ad intarsi in ambra;[106]
- le tombe 35 e 38, sebbene prive di carro (anche se il corredo della tomba 35 è parzialmente manomesso) sono contraddistinte da circoli di pietre prossimi alla tangenza, e risultano attribuibili rispettivamente a un defunto di sesso maschile e ad uno femminile;
- la tomba 46, dall'imponente lastricato analogo a quello del Circolo della fibula (maschile), si trova quasi tangente alla tomba 65, violata, ma i cui pochi resti recuperati, come fibule a dischi di ambra e a navicella romboidale[107] danno indicazioni nel senso di una possibile pertinenza femminile;
- la tomba 2, con carro, probabilmente femminile in virtù della fuseruola rinvenuta al suo interno,[108] si trova addossata alla tomba con circolo 20, purtroppo violata, ma la cui stessa struttura tombale indica come elitaria.

Vale inoltre la pena di ricordare che anche il Circolo degli Avori, fossa trisoma, ospitava probabilmente, oltre a un individuo di genere non determinabile, un defunto maschile e uno femminile, segnalati dalla presenza nel corredo di due lance e una fuseruola.[109]

L'osservazione che i gruppi di sepoltura tendessero a configurarsi come relativamente omogenei sul piano della ricchezza materiale può essere confortata dalla distribuzione di metalli preziosi e avorio all'interno del sepolcreto (*fig. 4*):

sembrano comunque emergenti sugli altri il gruppo I e il gruppo III, che spiccano per l'attestazione di oggetti in avorio[110] e includono i due circoli più importanti.

La medesima organizzazione per gruppi individuata alla Banditella, con tombe 'satellite' intorno alle sepolture più eminenti, è ravvisabile in diverse necropoli di VIII e VII sec. a.C. dell'Italia centrale.[111] In particolare può essere utile confrontare la situazione descritta con quanto si verifica a Veio nelle necropoli di Casale del Fosso e Quattro Fontanili[112] in un periodo precedente (Primo Ferro 2) ma che vede in gran parte già avviati i fenomeni che porteranno alla nascita di estesi clan gentilizi.[113] Si può vedere come infatti vi siano similarità circa la distribuzione dei vari livelli di corredo: le tombe di alto rango, sia maschili che femminili, non ricorrono mai isolate all'interno dei gruppi funerari, ma sempre piuttosto concentrate in piccoli nuclei separati. Un altro punto di contatto riguarda la composizione interna dei gruppi di sepoltura, che paiono piuttosto eterogenei in quanto a combinazioni di corredo, ma che si vengono a creare laddove vi sono tombe di rango. Una disposizione di questo tipo indica la stabilizzazione dei legami di tipo gerarchico all'interno della parte di comunità rappresentata nella necropoli e la capacità coagulatoria dei vertici delle famiglie di attrarre a sé altri individui interni al clan ma di ceto inferiore, nonché individui non necessariamente legati da rapporti parentali, ma da rapporti di dipendenza di altro tipo, sia economica che, verosimilmente, implicante servizi di tipo militare.[114] Questo non solo in caso di scontro con comunità esterne, ma anche come mezzo di consolidamento di un potere ormai 'privato' e deterrente verso altre famiglie legittimate ad aspirarvi.[115] Elemento evidente dell'accresciuto controllo del territorio da parte delle grandi famiglie nel corso dell'orientalizzante antico e medio, questo potere appare testimoniato nel caso della Banditella dalla eccezionale quantità di sepolture con carro, mezzo essenziale per ribadire la propria supremazia anche all'esterno dell'agro cittadino, dove le *élites* che trovarono sepoltura nella necropoli dovevano disporre di possedimenti assai redditizi dal punto di vista agricolo.[116]

Il problema dei simulacri antropomorfi

Si è accennato in precedenza al rinvenimento alla Banditella di elementi antropomorfi di non agevole interpretazione, presenti nelle tombe 41 e 67 (Circolo della Fibula e Circolo degli Avori). Con il termine 'simulacri antropomorfi' adottato in questa sede ci si riferisce alle realizzazioni composite (bronzo, legno, lamine d'argento, lamine d'oro, avorio) provenienti da contesti tombali e aventi forma umana, concentrate ad oggi quasi esclusivamente nel territorio di Vulci;[117] questi oggetti sfuggono finora a un preciso inquadramento in merito alla corrente artigianale e alla funzione all'interno del rituale funerario.[118] Nonostante tali manufatti vengano generalmente citati come facenti parte di un'unica classe di reperti,[119] è probabile che potessero rivestire funzioni diverse fra loro a seconda del contesto in cui si trovavano inseriti. Tuttavia, sebbene si sia spesso parlato di un'evoluzione che avrebbe portato dai coperchi a globo in impasto e dai successivi simulacri antropomorfi schematici con testa sferica in lamina bronzea alle realizzazioni antropomorfe più realistiche, inclusa la statua femminile dalla Tomba di Iside,[120] è probabile che questi manufatti appartengano invece a due tradizioni distinte.

Infatti la continuità formale tra i coperchi a globo in impasto posti a copertura delle urne biconiche e gli elementi sferici in bronzo è evidente, a maggior ragione se si considera che la vestizione con tessuti degli ossuari biconici, talvolta ornati anche con monili, doveva essere molto più frequente di quanto non lascino intravedere i dati a disposizione, così come i simulacri antropomorfi schematici si trovavano vestiti e completati da ornamenti come bracciali.[121] La proposta di interpretazione dei simulacri schematici[122] come rappresentazioni del defunto, i cui casi più notevoli sono quelli di Vulci e Marsiliana (*figg. 1a-c*), si troverebbe pertanto in pieno accordo con l'idea di una continuità formale che ne individuerebbe l'origine nei coperchi antropoidi in impasto di area vulcente.[123]

Diverso appare il caso dei simulacri più naturalistici, che paiono segnare una differenziazione alquanto marcata dai simulacri stilizzati con testa sferica.[124] Sembra pertanto difficile pensare che possano esserne la diretta evoluzione, considerato anche il fatto che l'esemplare presente nel Circolo degli Avori, con particolari anatomici accuratamente rifiniti e l'indicazione persino dei riccioli della capigliatura (*fig. 1a*), appartiene a un contesto pressoché coevo o cronologicamente molto vicino al Circolo della Fibula, che contiene invece un simulacro del tipo schematico.[125] Il reperto del Circolo degli Avori deve il suo aspetto attuale di 'maschera', assurto a definizione dell'oggetto nella letteratura specialistica,[126] ai successivi interventi di restauro, ma non bisogna dimenticare che il Minto segnala i 'contorni ritagliati e provvisti di chiodetti d'argento' e i chiodini lungo il margine

dell'orecchio[127] (per fissare la lamina a un'anima lignea), ancora oggi visibili,[128] che non avrebbero senso nel caso di un volto in lamina da porre sul viso del defunto come una vera e propria maschera, la quale avrebbe inoltre forma più piatta. Lo stesso Minto considerava la lamina come il rivestimento di uno scheletro in legno, e a sostegno di ciò depone anche il fatto che sia lasciato vuoto lo spazio per gli occhi da incastonare (in avorio o pasta vitrea), come avviene per la testa lignea rivestita di lamina d'oro conservata a Milano (*fig. 1d*).[129]

L'impiego di due simulacri tanto diversi nella medesima necropoli e a così poca distanza di tempo può forse leggersi nel senso di una differenza di significato dei due tipi di simulacri: mentre la versione schematica rappresenterebbe il defunto, inserendosi nel solco della tradizione dei coperchi a globo in impasto, l'origine del filone più naturalistico andrà presumibilmente cercata altrove. Infatti le rappresentazioni antropomorfe più accurate, da connettere a differenza delle precedenti alla tradizione che porta alla statua di dea della Tomba di Iside, sarebbero, oltre che diverse sul piano del significato,[130] da ascrivere a un differente filone, sviluppatosi probabilmente in seguito alla conoscenza diretta delle realizzazioni greche in lamina con particolari anatomici definiti (*sphyrelata*),[131] che sappiamo essere state impiegate primariamente per rappresentare divinità.[132] Le motivazioni della comparsa di questo filone naturalistico in Etruria potrebbero ricercarsi nei più frequenti contatti instaurati con la Grecia e il Mediterraneo orientale nel corso dell'VIII sec. a.C. e nell'orientalizzante antico, indicati dalla diffusione delle produzioni etrusco-geometriche e dalle importazioni protocorinzie.[133]

Può essere utile, al fine di un tentativo di indagine della valenza semantica dei simulacri in questione, riassumere in uno schema i dati dei pochi casi nei quali si dispongono informazioni sui contesti di rinvenimento (*tab. 1*).[134] Appare subito evidente come si tratti di una casistica assai variegata, nella quale i simulacri sembrano all'apparenza trovarsi indifferentemente associati sia al rituale inumatorio che a quello crematorio.[135]

Una prima osservazione possibile riguarda proprio questo punto: laddove ci si trova in presenza di inumazioni, verrebbe meno la necessità di ripristinare simbolicamente l'integrità corporea del defunto, operazione al contrario postulabile in caso di rituale crematorio o di assenza del cadavere (cenotafi).[136] È opportuno in questo senso richiamare quanto scritto dal Colonna a proposito dei canopi: 'Questi sono immagini del defunto, che trovano la loro diretta giustificazione nel rito incineratorio: esistono in quanto risarcimento della distruzione anticipata del cadavere […] Laddove vige il rito inumatorio, tali "sostituti" del morto non sono necessari e di fatto non si fa ad essi ricorso.'[137] Questa considerazione va tenuta presente anche nel caso dei simulacri antropomorfi, in quanto risulta difficile pensare ad essi come a sostituti del cadavere in presenza di rituale inumatorio. Anche se vi sono indubbi punti di contatto tra i simulacri e la plastica canopica, essi sussistono soltanto sul piano stilistico: si pensi alla testa lignea del Museo di Milano e alla porzione di arto sinistro del bustum dal Circolo della Fibula, la cui rigida volumetria è ben confrontabile ad esempio con un canopo da Chianciano[138] e con quello del Vaticano,[139] dove braccia e avambracci si dipartono bruscamente dal resto del corpo.

Alla luce di queste considerazioni rimane difficile spiegare la presenza di simulacri antropomorfi in relazione alle inumazioni dei Circoli degli Avori e della Fibula.[140] Tuttavia in quest'ultimo caso considerando il rinvenimento nella tomba di un'urnetta a forma di casa si può superare questa contraddizione. L'urna, che riproduce un tipo noto anche in sepolture di altissimo rango di Veio e Vetulonia (*fig. 5*), in legno rivestito da lamine sbalzate,[141] risultava di difficile interpretazione inserita in un contesto inumatorio. La presenza in esso di un simulacro antropomorfo di tipo schematico, quindi strettamente collegato alle sfere in impasto poste a copertura dei cinerari e riproducenti la testa del defunto in forma stilizzata, acquista un nuovo significato se posta in relazione con questa urna displuviata, della quale negli scavi Corsini può facilmente essere passata inosservata la funzione di cinerario.[142] In questo modo il simulacro del Circolo della Fibula avrebbe svolto la funzione di sostituto simbolico del corpo del defunto, come sarebbe logico aspettarsi in presenza di una cremazione, e come difatti avviene nella Tomba del Carro di Vulci. Anche la presenza nel corredo di ben quattro lance, alla luce di questo fatto, potrebbe spiegarsi con la presenza nella tomba di una coppia di maschi armati, data l'assenza nel corredo di elementi femminili.[143]

Diverso il caso dei simulacri antropomorfi di tipo naturalistico, la cui associazione a Marsiliana con il rituale di tipo inumatorio è incontestabile (Circolo degli Avori). Una prima ipotesi che potrebbe spiegare la presenza di tali realizzazioni in contesti di inumazione riguarda la rappresentazione di antenati del defunto. A questo proposito la posizione di rinvenimento dei simulacri potrebbe essere di qualche aiuto, basandosi sul

Fig. 5. Vetulonia, Tomba del Duce: urna cineraria bronzea a cassetta rettangolare con tetto a doppio spiovente, rivestita in lamina d'argento (Celuzza 2009, 95, n. 2.1).

confronto con la collocazione nelle tombe della statuaria in pietra.[144] Tuttavia tale ipotesi sembra da scartare,[145] per il fatto che degli antenati vengono di norma rappresentati due capostipiti o la coppia genitoriale,[146] mentre l'unico caso in cui i simulacri erano deposti in più di un esemplare (Tomba del Carro di Vulci) ben si spiega con la presenza nella camera di una cremazione plurima, e quindi con la sostituzione dei corpi combusti per due degli incinerati, oppure con la ricostruzione proposta del signore con carro e auriga.[147]

Tenendo presente l'esiguità dei dati a disposizione, la spiegazione che potrebbe addursi in alternativa alla rappresentazione del defunto, senza essere in contrasto con l'associazione al rituale inumatorio, sarebbe quella di vedere nei simulacri antropomorfi di tipo naturalistico la rappresentazione di divinità.[148] Tale ipotesi troverebbe sostegno negli esiti raggiunti nella più tarda Tomba di Iside a Vulci, nella continuità sia stilistica che territoriale del fenomeno, e con la possibile derivazione dai modelli greci.[149] I simulacri naturalistici sono inoltre accomunati alla statua della Tomba di Iside anche dal fatto che in origine erano forse montati su colonnette circolari,[150] come avviene anche per il busto della dea secondo la ricostruzione di Francesco Roncalli.[151] Rimane quindi da individuare un momento nel quale ebbe luogo un cambiamento di significato in queste rappresentazioni antropomorfe, da defunti a divinità, e che può forse ricercarsi appunto nel passaggio dai simulacri schematici a quelli naturalistici, agli albori del processo di antropomorfizzazione delle divinità.[152]

Riveste inoltre un certo interesse il ritrovamento al di là delle Alpi di mani in lamina assai simili agli esemplari etruschi, e di una maschera bronzea - anch'essa in origine fissata a un supporto ligneo - nelle sepolture del Kröll-Schmiedkogel (Kleinklein, Stiria, per il quale si sono richiamati confronti con l'architettura tombale etrusca),[153] un contesto di circa un cinquantennio posteriore a quelli tirrenici (*fig. 6*).[154] È possibile che con il flusso di scambi che interessa Etruria ed Europa centrale nel VII sec. a.C.[155] siano stati veicolati anche alcuni aspetti del rituale funerario legati all'antropomorfizzazione dei cremati. Il rituale del Kröllkogel, cui è attribuita la maschera, sembra poi presentare assonanze con quello delle sepolture dell'orientalizzante recente di area chiusina di Poggio alla Sala, della Pania e dei Morelli di Chianciano (maschera/lamina con occhi, posti a copertura del cinerario),[156] piuttosto che con il fenomeno dei simulacri antropomorfi del territorio vulcente.

Fig. 6. Kleinklein (Stiria, Austria), Kröll-Schmiedkogel: maschera e mani in lamina di bronzo (Schmid 1933, abb. 27 a-b; 32).

Note

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1 Tommaso Corsini (Firenze 1835 - Manciano 1919), Principe di Sismano, Sindaco di Firenze (1880-1885; 1890), Deputato del Regno d'Italia dal 1865 al 1882, Senatore dal 1882.

2 Le campagne di scavo, cominciate in seguito a rinvenimenti fortuiti in occasione della costruzione di un fabbricato per macchine agricole, subirono una battuta d'arresto tra il 1916 e il maggio 1919, a causa degli eventi bellici.

3 Colonna 1977a, 202.

4 Benzi 1966; Cristofani/Nicosia 1969; Peruzzi 1969, 181-183; Cristofani 1970, 1971a, 1977; Strøm 1971, 190-193; Parrini et al. 1982; Martelli 1983; Cianferoni 1986, 1987; Michelucci 1985; Michelucci/Nicosia 1987; Bagnasco Gianni 1996, 225-227; Sciacca 2005, 123-145; Cianferoni 2009; Celuzza 2009, 115-126; Celuzza/Cianferoni 2010, 159-170.

5 Perkins 1999, 80-90 (in parte ripreso in Perkins 2000, 100-102). Una parziale eccezione in questo senso è rappresentata da un articolo di Klaus Kilian (1977, 97-98) nel quale compare la planimetria del settore settentrionale della necropoli, con la distribuzione delle sepolture divise in tre livelli di ricchezza; sebbene le tombe considerate da Kilian siano in numero inferiore rispetto a quelle analizzate in questa sede ed egli non espliciti i criteri sui quali si fondano le combinazioni di corredo, il quadro da lui delineato appare perfettamente condivisibile e in sostanziale accordo con quanto esposto di seguito. Un rapido affresco sui corredi della Banditella e sulla loro interpretazione è in Cristofani/Michelucci 1981, 98-100; una tabella di associazione relativa ai carri, tripodi, sostegni quadrangolari, patere e lebeti bronzei nella necropoli è presente in Buchiller 1990, fig. 4.

6 La necropoli è in corso di studio da parte di Giuseppina Carlotta Cianferoni.

7 Minto 1921, 29-158.

8 Sull'*excursus* cronologico della necropoli (ultimi decenni VIII-metà VI sec. a.C. circa) e sulla possibile datazione delle più tarde tombe a camera, violate, che non è quindi stato possibile prendere in considerazione ai fini della ricerca, si vedano Cristofani 1977, 241-243; Colonna 1977a, 202, nota 46; Cristofani/Michelucci 1981, 98; Perkins 1991, 139-140; 1999, 80-81. Per una possibile datazione delle tombe a camera violate della Banditella si confrontino le camere della necropoli di Fontin Piccolo, datate dal 625 al 525 a.C. circa (Michelucci 2009, 604).

9 Dall'analisi dei corredi è stato necessario escludere i complessi che risultavano del tutto compromessi dalle manomissioni subite in antico, basandosi anche in questo su quanto riportato dal Minto.

10 Vanzetti 2006, con bibliografia precedente.

11 Peroni 1981; Belardelli et al. 1990.

12 Peroni/Vanzetti 2006, 28.

13 Peroni/Vanzetti 2006, 33, dove si lamenta l'attenzione dedicata da molta etruscologia alle sole tombe più notevoli.

14 Peroni/Vanzetti 2006, 34. Gli approcci combinatorio-insiemistico e sistemico non sono in contrasto tra loro, e sono anzi proficuamente integrabili (Peroni/Vanzetti 2006, 37). Per un approfondimento su tale tipo di analisi: Vanzetti 2006. Qualora possibile gli aspetti della sepoltura riguardanti altre variabili del rito funerario diverse dal corredo (tipologia della struttura tombale, posizione del corpo nelle inumazioni, presenza/assenza di terra di rogo ed esposizione al fuoco di parte del corredo per le cremazioni, ecc.) possono essere anch'essi efficacemente associati in combinazioni ricorrenti (Boiardi/von Eles 2006).

15 d'Agostino 1985.

16 Si vedano su questo punto le considerazioni in Dolfini 2004, 139.

17 È bene sottolineare come già il solo fatto di avere accesso alla sepoltura è un evento di importanza fondamentale, che non deve essere dato per scontato. Sull'argomento: Morris 1990, 97-109.

18 In ambito tirrenico è noto come nella prima età del Ferro avanzata si affermi una strutturazione per famiglie, la cui importanza sfocerà nel processo che condusse allo strutturarsi dei gruppi gentilizi, destinati a dominare il panorama della scena politico-economica d'Etruria per secoli (Pacciarelli 2000, 255-259). A favore di una prospettiva di lunga durata al fine di una migliore leggibilità dei contesti funerari protostorici in Etruria: Iaia 1999, 11. Per la continuità nell'ideologia funeraria che lega i gruppi aristocratici orientalizzanti alle potenti *gentes* ellenistiche: Cherici 1995, 123-125.

19 L'applicazione del metodo di studio seguito in Peroni 1981 alle necropoli etrusche di età storica era già stato auspicato da Alessandro Naso (1990, 92).

20 Ad esempio sembra possibile ridurre a tre combinazioni le sepolture degli armati privi di carro, sulla base di associazioni ricorrenti nell'armamento, contro le dodici elencate nel lavoro di Philip Perkins (1999, table 4.3.4). In precedenza le sepolture di armati senza carro vengono suddivise in tre gruppi: con arredi da banchetto, con oggetti in oro, con oggetti in argento (ivi, fig. 4.3.3); gli ultimi due sono a mio parere assai meno significativi della suddivisione tripartita in base agli armamenti proposta in questa sede (sulla scarsa affidabilità degli

oggetti in metallo prezioso come indicatori del rango del defunto si vedano anche, oltre, le 'Considerazioni sulle combinazioni di corredo').

[21] L'unica altra tomba della Banditella che abbia restituito oggetti in avorio è la tomba 2.

[22] Si pensi al supposto tridente con punte desinenti a globo dal Circolo della Fibula (Minto 1921, tav. XLVIII, 2; Sciacca 2004, 270; fig. 4; Bruni 1998, 109; 2009, 77) o ai flabelli dal Circolo degli Avori (Guldager Bilde 1994, 11; table 1, nn° 12-13; Dore et al. 2000, 242, n° 284; Celuzza/Cianferoni 2010, 164, n° 4.16).

[23] È possibile secondo Mauro Cristofani (1971a, 33) pensare a una lunga durata della sepoltura; si veda Botto 2002, 232-233, che indica un periodo d'uso fra il 675 e il 640 a.C. sulla base dello scudo e della documentazione ceramica (in precedenza una datazione di due decenni più bassa era stata proposta in Guzzo 1968, 290, nota 3).

[24] Cristofani 1971a, 32: pettine, pisside, frammenti plastici, leoni e terminali conici parte di probabili cofanetti, coperchio.

[25] Dal rilievo pubblicato dal Minto sembrerebbe che le lance fossero deposte a lato del defunto più a settentrione (Minto 1921, fig. 6), mentre in altri contesti della Banditella coppie di defunti maschili furono deposti con una lancia ciascuno (vedi oltre, combinazioni 3 e 4 maschili). Nel caso del Circolo degli Avori è difficile ricostruire la pertinenza degli oggetti ai singoli defunti: è possibile che l'inumato deposto al centro fosse segnalato come di rango maggiore rispetto all'adiacente individuo maschile (cui andrebbe attribuita la coppia di lance deposta al fianco) per la vicinanza del carro e dello scudo (Michelucci 1985, 100). Non è accettabile la proposta di riconoscere nel circolo la deposizione di un nucleo famigliare formato dalla coppia di genitori e da un figlio sulla base delle braccia in avorio ritenute pertinenti a un giocattolo (Guzzo 1968, 290, nota 3; esse sono considerate forse parte di una bambola anche in Michelucci/Nicosia 1987, 161, e Celuzza/Cianferoni 2010, 166, n° 4.25): questo perché innanzitutto potrebbe trattarsi di parte di un oggetto di prestigio (altrove è stato accostato alla classe dei simulacri antropomorfi: Cristofani 1971a, 32, tuttavia le ridotte dimensioni escludono tale eventualità; in Michelucci 1985, 97 e Michelucci/Nicosia 1987, 161, vengono definite 'braccia votive'), inoltre perché nell'illustrazione del Corsini sembrano rappresentati tre scheletri adulti, e il Minto si cura di segnalare i rarissimi casi in cui nella necropoli sono presenti scheletri di età giovanile o fosse di piccole dimensioni (tombe 22 e 95: Minto 1921, 60, 150; la popolazione preadulta sembra quasi totalmente mancare di rappresentazione alla Banditella: Perkins 1999, 85). Il rituale del Circolo degli Avori, con inumazione in fossa dei tre defunti affiancati parallelamente ed ugualmente orientati, sembra trovare un parallelo nel principale circolo con tumulo scavato nella necropoli umbra di Cesi (TR) nel 1881 (*BdI* 1881, 211-212).

[26] Si è fatta eccezione per la tomba 35, in quanto, seppure violata in antico (Minto 1921, 75), presentava tutti gli elementi del corredo propri della C.2 maschile, tali quindi da giustificare un suo inserimento all'interno di essa.

[27] Cristofani 1971a, 34. Più in generale sull'argomento: Bergonzi 1992, 60, con ulteriore bibliografia alla nota 3; Iaia 2005, 133.

[28] Frisone 1994.

[29] Per una parziale eccezione a questa situazione: Waarsenburg 2001. La correzione dell'immagine offerta dai soli dati funerari è ulteriormente complessa per le culture e le epoche prive di fonti scritte dirette (Iaia 1999, 10, nota 3). A Marsiliana una serie di ambienti subito a nord della Banditella, databili dall'orientalizzante recente al tardo arcaismo, potrebbero identificarsi come un settore abitativo utilizzato dai discendenti dei primi nuclei aristocratici sepolti nella vicina necropoli (Camilli et al. 2008b, 205-206; Zifferero 2009, 232-233).

[30] Toms 1998. Per altri tentativi di attribuzione a sesso maschile o femminile delle tombe della Banditella si vedano Buchiller 1990, fig. 4; Emiliozzi 1997, 320-322. Sugli elementi di caratterizzazione maschile o femminile a Marsiliana: Perkins 1999, 85-86; Cianferoni 2009, 61.

[31] In maiuscolo gli elementi presenti in tutte le sepolture della combinazione; tra parentesi in minuscolo quelli che si ritrovano solo in alcune di esse.

[32] Spiedi e alari, quando presenti, compaiono esclusivamente nelle tombe con carro, sia maschili che femminili.

[33] Purtroppo nella maggior parte dei casi le informazioni fornite dal Minto non sono sufficienti a un pieno riconoscimento e ad un'analisi dettagliata degli oggetti e, tranne pochi contesti notevoli, non si dispone ancora di una documentazione grafica e fotografica di tutti i corredi.

[34] Che presenta però un corredo ceramico superiore alla media, nonché cinque patere baccellate e tre vasi in lamina di bronzo (Minto 1921, 32-34).

[35] Uno degli inumati era di sesso maschile, data la presenza di ben tre lance nel corredo (Minto 1921, 69-70); non è invece possibile stabilire se la seconda inumazione fosse pertinente a un defunto di sesso maschile o femminile.

[36] Perkins (1999, fig. 4.3.3) considera invece la sepoltura priva di strumenti da banchetto.

[37] Minto 1921, 70. In Bianco Peroni 1976, 76, n° 386, è segnalato fra i materiali associati anche un tripode.

[38] Sopra, nota 26.

[39] Si vedano, oltre, le 'Considerazioni sulle combinazioni di corredo'.

[40] Minto 1921, 66. Non è agevole in questo caso attribuire gli elementi del corredo ai singoli defunti: uno era certamente di sesso maschile, mentre non è possibile determinare il genere del secondo.

[41] Sugli elementi femminili in tombe di guerrieri si veda Cherici 1999, 209-211.

[42] Nella tomba 2 si rinvenne infatti uno spiedo (Minto 1921, 39).

[43] 'Anello d'avorio, frammentario, conformato a ciambella', Minto 1921, 37.

[44] Il numero esatto delle fibule - peraltro anche in materiali preziosi come argento, pasta vitrea e dischi di ambra e osso - non è determinabile, dato che il Minto riferisce di 'resti di altri involucri dell'arco di fibule in pasta vitrea color verdognolo, ed a dischi d'ambra e osso' (Minto 1921, 38).

[45] Tale arredo fu ritrovato anche nel Tumulo di mezzo e nel Circolo di Perazzeta (Minto 1921, 26, 172).

[46] In particolare nella tomba 56 si rinvenne una 'fibulina di oro pallido' (Minto 1921, 108).

[47] Minto 1921, 79. Una simile enfatizzazione dell'attività femminile (in questo caso la filatura) è presente solo nella tomba 53 (dove è indicato il ruolo sia di filatrice che di tessitrice della defunta. Vedi sopra, C.2 femminile). Si può a questo proposito richiamare quanto

ipotizzato da Marco Pacciarelli (2000, 267) circa la possibilità che i rocchetti facciano riferimento ai proventi dello sfruttamento del territorio.

48 L'attribuzione della tomba a una coppia di sesso femminile è ipotetica, in quanto ci si può basare unicamente sulla foggia delle fibule rinvenute in essa (a sanguisuga e a navicella: Minto 1921, 58).

49 L'assenza di elementi indicatori di un possibile ruolo maschile o femminile ha indotto a distinguere questi corredi dalle combinazioni precedenti. Si è preferito includere in questo gruppo anche le tombe che hanno restituito un'unica fibula, essendo noto come non sia possibile individuare il genere del defunto su basi così incerte; ugualmente rientrano tra le combinazioni non determinabili i corredi di tombe individuali privi di elementi indicatori del sesso come armi e strumenti da filatura/tessitura e dotati di fibule sia di foggia maschile che femminile.

50 Judith Toms (1998, 168) ha rilevato come le asce non si possano considerare degli affidabili indicatori di genere nell'Etruria della prima età del Ferro, trovandosi associate a defunti di entrambi i sessi.

51 Si tratta di fibule a sanguisuga, a navicella, e rivestite di dischi d'ambra (Minto 1921, 73-74). Il numero di fibule rinvenute nella tomba 34B, 22 esemplari, è ragguardevole e decisamente superiore alla media attestata nelle sepolture femminili di C.1 e C.2.

52 Minto 1921, 153.

53 Tomba 10: due spiedi; tomba 34B: uno spiedo.

54 La tomba 13 corrisponde in realtà a quattro incinerazioni in ossuari fittili, trovate raggruppate in una piccola area (Minto 1921, 52).

55 L'individuo era dotato di una fibula ad arco serpeggiante (Minto 1921, 150-151).

56 M = maschile; F = femminile; ND = non determinabile.

57 *Contra*: Perkins 1999, 84. Su questo punto si veda anche Cianferoni 2009, 62-63.

58 Sulla associazione tra armi e strumentario da banchetto nell'Etruria orientalizzante: Cherici 1995, 120.

59 Non è necessario soffermarsi sulla condizione elitaria che contraddistingue le sepolture con carro dell'Italia centrale (Bartoloni/Grottanelli 1984, 384; Bartoloni 1993, 274; Colonna 1997; Bartoloni/Delpino 2000, 225). Per gli alari (alla Banditella presenti in due tombe e sempre in associazione con tripode e lebete) è stata ipotizzata una connessione con il ruolo guerriero. Più massiccia la presenza dei soli spiedi, in linea con quanto avviene nel resto della penisola, e presenti alla Banditella anche in tre sepolture probabilmente femminili (Kohler/Naso 1991, 42).

60 Sull'equivalenza funzionale tra *holmoi* e tripodi si veda Sirano 1995, 26.

61 Sirano 1995, 13; Delpino 2000, 194. Può essere interessante notare come nel caso della tomba 10 si registri l'associazione tra il tripode, sostegno di origine greca (mentre l'*holmos* è di probabile origine italica: Colonna 1980b, 595-597; Bartoloni 1997; per un'opinione più orientata su un'origine orientale: Sirano 1995, 26) e una grattugia, strumento legato a un modo di consumare il vino alla greca, presente solo in tombe di alto rango (Ridgway 1997). È inoltre possibile che la scelta di adottare l'*holmos* da parte di una esigua minoranza della necropoli segnali una qualche volontà di differenziarsi (si noti la vicinanza tra le tombe 59 e 60).

62 Bartoloni/Grottanelli 1984, 384. Armando Cherici (2010, 220-221) ha sottolineato come la presenza di una coppia di morsi possa intendersi non unicamente come allusiva al possesso del carro ma anche come riferimento alla pratica di servirsi in battaglia di una coppia di cavalli.

63 Si tratta infatti di un aspetto degno di nota ma che è parso secondario rispetto agli ambiti di riferimento considerati determinanti per la divisione dei corredi in combinazioni.

64 La tomba emerge per la ricchezza del corredo nonostante fosse violata al momento della scoperta (Minto 1921, 69), quindi non inserita nelle combinazioni sopra proposte.

65 In questo senso sembra da attenuare l'affermazione di Perkins (1999, 88) circa una separazione piuttosto netta tra le sepolture con metalli preziosi e quelle che ne sono prive.

66 Su tali accessori si vedano La Rocca 1978, 482-483 (l'interpretazione come telai da tessitura sulla scorta dello Gsell è però da respingere); Colonna 1980a, 185; 1996, 171-172, nota 21, con esaustiva bibliografia. Successivamente a questo contributo sono stati editi gli esemplari vulcenti restituiti dalla Tomba G in località Marrucatello (Moretti Sgubini/Ricciardi 2001, 203, cat. III.B. 2.13). Nello stesso volume viene citato anche l'esemplare dalla Tomba del 6 settembre 1966 di Poggio Maremma (Moretti Sgubini 2001, 197, cat. III.B.1.147) di cui però non è data riproduzione fotografica; esso viene definito legato al consumo delle carni (ivi, 188); L'esemplare dalla Tomba del Guerriero della Polledrara è stato pubblicato in Moretti Sgubini 2004b, 161, II.e.27. Per i contesti vulcenti con sostegni quadrangolari, da ultimo: Arancio/Moretti Sgubini c.s.

67 Colonna 1980a, 185; 1996, 171-172; proposta accolta in Michelucci/Nicosia 1987, 116; Kohler/Naso 1991, 60, nota 9; Putz 2007, 45. Lo strumento è considerato un reggivasi anche in Moretti Sgubini et al. 1997, 144. Cristofani e Michelucci (1981, 100) pensavano invece ad accessori sui quali appendere porzioni di carne alle terminazioni laterali. Nel caso dell'interpretazione come sostegni alle cui traverse appendere recipienti, resta da chiarire quale fosse il sistema di aggancio: non sono infatti stati rinvenuti nei complessi con i sostegni ganci mobili che potessero pendere dalle traverse, né i sostegni paiono smontabili in modo da inserire agevolmente i manici dei recipienti da appendere. L'operazione poteva forse avvenire smontando i manici dei recipienti e rimontandoli dopo averli fatti passare sopra le traverse orizzontali, anche se i vasi che pendono dal sostegno rappresentato sulla situla Benvenuti sembrano essere assicurati con delle corde, dato l'angolo vivo che formano a contatto con la traversa orizzontale (Colonna 1980a, tav. XXIII).

68 Tombe 9, 35, 49, 50, 90.

69 Tombe 2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 14, 17, 32, 33, 35 , 41 (Circolo della Fibula), 47, 49, 50, 53, 60, 67 (Circolo degli Avori), 94, 98. Proprio situle pendono dai sostegni quadrangolari che Giovanni Colonna ha identificato rappresentati sulla situla Benvenuti (Colonna 1980a, tav. XXIII).

70 Bartoloni 1972, fig. 24.

71 Si vedano in particolare il reggivasi della stessa Tomba del Carro (la sola descrizione in Scichilone 1967, 40) o quello dalla Tomba del Duce di Vetulonia (Celuzza 2009, 104, n° 2.26).

72 Moretti Sgubini et. al 1997, 144-145; Moretti Sgubini 2010, 20; fig. 16. La ricostruzione della Tomba del Carro è visibile al Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia (Sala 2), così come alcune fotografie inedite della tomba all'atto della scoperta. Un disegno ricostruttivo del con-

testo si trova all'indirizzo web http://villagiulia.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/162/la-ricostruzione-della-tomba-del-carro.

73 Non sembra infatti che nella Tomba del Carro fossero presenti nei pressi del sostegno grandi recipienti in lamina bronzea adatti ad attingere, del tipo che si trova appeso alla traversa nelle rappresentazioni figurate. È possibile quindi che l'associazione con vasi per contenere liquidi testimoniata nell'arte delle situle, e che sembra essere sostenibile anche nel caso di Marsiliana, non debba del tutto escludere che i sostegni potessero anche fungere da presentatoi per brani di carne (Cristofani/Michelucci 1981, 100). Tuttavia l'affermazione secondo la quale in ventitré tombe su cinquantacinque si verificherebbe l'associazione accetta/sostegno (ivi, 98) è priva di fondamento: ciò avviene infatti soltanto in otto dei ventisei contesti con sostegni. Il sostegno quadrangolare è considerato parte dello strumentario da fuoco anche in relazione alla tomba vulcente di Poggio Maremma (Moretti Sgubini 2001, 188). Sull'uso delle patere bronzee (rinvenute nella Tomba del Carro in connessione con lo strumentario da fuoco) come contenitori per porzioni di carne si veda Sciacca 2005, 436-437.

74 Calamandrei et al. 2010, 67 (Circolo 2 di Macchiabuia); si vedano anche, a p. 64, le figg. 2 e 3. Una ricostruzione del contesto in cui è apprezzabile la posizione degli oggetti è visibile anche all'indirizzo web http://www.pasthorizonspr.com/index.php/archives/04/2011/life-and-death-of-an-etruscan-settlement.

75 Bagnasco Gianni 1999, 125; 137-140; si veda anche Strazzulla 1994, 39-40. Alessandra Minetti (2004, 366, nota 80) considera invece opportunamente la *kreagra* di Marsiliana uno strumento da banchetto per la carne.

76 Guarducci 1984; Colonna 1996.

77 La foggia dei sostegni quadrangolari, attraverso le terminazioni ornitomorfe simmetriche delle traverse orizzontali (Mangani 1995, 404: 'a protome di volatile'), sembra piuttosto alludere al motivo della barca solare (Bartoloni 1972, fig. 24), come si nota anche in diversi alari (Kohler/Naso 1991, 42-45). La connessione dei sostegni con motivi ornitomorfi è particolarmente evidente nel caso di due esemplari decorati da una fila di paperelle, probabilmente non funzionali e prodotti appositamente per una destinazione funeraria, considerata anche la loro fragilità (Teitz 1967, 18, n° 2; Avida 1991, 43, n° 28).

78 Cristofani 1977, 242.

79 Vulci, Tomba del Guerriero della Polledrara (Moretti Sgubini 2004b, 150-153).

80 Cristofani 1969, 285.

81 Circolo della Fibula e tomba 50, quest'ultima non inserita tra i contesti analizzabili per l'alto rischio che si tratti di una tomba parzialmente violata ('tomba manomessa', Minto 1921, 101). Tuttavia i resti di un sostegno quadrangolare e di due tripodi non lasciano dubbi sul fatto che doveva trattarsi di una sepoltura di alto rango. Elenco delle tombe con incensieri di tipo vetuloniese in Camporeale 1967, 90-91.

82 Guldager Bilde 1994.

83 A differenza di Perkins (1999, tables 4.3.3; 4.3.4; 4.3.5) si è preferito non considerare il coltello come arma, dato anche l'uso sacrificale o da banchetto che può rivestire (Bartoloni 2003, 124-126).

84 Nelle tombe di C.3 e C.4 inoltre la quantità di vasellame in bronzo diminuisce sensibilmente.

85 Cherici 2005, 533.

86 Cherici 2005, 532. I tre contesti in cui la scure compare in assenza della lancia sono: la tomba 89, caratterizzata dalla particolarità dell'incinerazione in urna bronzea; la tomba 96, che è però un contesto di non completa affidabilità in quanto grava su di esso il sospetto che si tratti di un corredo in parte depredato (Minto 1921, 152; per questo motivo la tomba non è stata inserita nei cinquantotto contesti su cui si basa il presente studio); la tomba 10, che presenta elementi generalmente maschili, come la scure e la grattugia, ma anche due fuseruole (si è quindi preferito inserire il contesto tra le sepolture di incerta attribuzione). L'ipotesi della scure come arma alla Banditella è rafforzata, oltre che dal frequente abbinamento con la lancia, dalla robustezza degli esemplari, del tipo ad alette o a cannone (Carancini 1984, 244). Sulla simbologia dell'ascia si veda Martinotti 2009.

87 Cherici 2005, 533. Come si è visto, nella necropoli della Banditella gli strumenti per il consumo della carne risultano peculiari delle tombe di livello più alto, caratterizzate dalla presenza del carro.

88 A fine anni Ottanta la Soprintendenza Archeologica della Toscana ha individuato una tomba a fossa al limite occidentale della necropoli, purtroppo in gran parte distrutta dalla costruzione di un fosso di bonifica (Renzi 1991). La tomba presentava un orientamento anomalo rispetto a quelle scavate a inizio '900, nonché un'inconsueta custodia litica per il corredo. Di esso si può solo limitarsi a constatarne la probabile pertinenza femminile, dato il rinvenimento di una fusaiola e di una fibula a sanguisuga. Al di fuori dell'area rilevata dal Corsini si collocano anche le tombe dal numero 103 al numero 109 (Minto 1921, 30, nota 1).

89 Camilli et al. 2007, 364, 367; 2008a, 359-364; Giuntoli 2009, 442, 449; Calamandrei et al. 2010, 64, 66.

90 Tombe 5, 20, 21, 39, 45, 46, 55, 58, 61, 65, 66, 74, 76, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 90, 92, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109. La tomba 39 è stata presa in considerazione solo relativamente alla distribuzione nella necropoli dei materiali preziosi e alla presenza di una parure complessa. È inoltre da aggiungere che alcune sepolture (tombe 91, 93, 94, 95) non sono rintracciabili in pianta, come pure le tombe dalla 103 alla 109 (Minto 1921, 30, nota 1).

91 Apprestamenti simili sono stati individuati anche nella necropoli dell'Accesa (Giuntoli 2009, 447). La tomba 12, che nella planimetria del 1921 appare molto simile alle due fosse lastricate, è invece riferita dal Minto a una fossa dai contorni deformati (Minto 1921, 52).

92 Nella tomba, con gli strati 'assai rimescolati da far pensare che questa sia stata rovistata in antico', erano presenti quattro fibule in oro, fibule con arco rivestito in ambra, due spiraline in oro, pendagli in ambra ed elementi in argento (Minto 1921, 79).

93 Tombe 1, 3, 6, 7, 10, 32, 60, 98.

94 Anche alle origini del fenomeno in Etruria, a Vetulonia villanoviana con i primi pozzetti entro 'circoli interrotti' (in questo caso verosimilmente veri circoli privi di calotta e non tumuli), vi sono casi in cui la struttura circolo non si associa a sepolture elitarie in urne a capanna ma a sepolture dal corredo modesto (è il caso delle deposizioni entro il circolo interrotto di Poggio alla Guardia, saggio III 1884: *NSc* 1885, 126-127; tav. VI). Si potrebbe ipotizzare che la struttura circolo sia forse, più che indicativa dei contesti elitari, veicolatrice anche di altri significati, come ad esempio la consanguineità, legame differente dai rapporti di dipendenza non implicanti la parentela (vedi oltre, nota 96).

95 Zifferero 2009, 227. La presenza nelle necropoli di

gruppi distinti è un fenomeno ben noto nell'Etruria e nel Lazio già dalla prima età del Ferro (Peroni 1981; Pacciarelli 2000, 217-276). Sull'interpretazione dei gruppi di sepoltura: Cuozzo 2003, 224-225. L'autrice ipotizza anche lo svolgimento di azioni rituali negli spazi liberi tra i raggruppamenti; a questo proposito è bene ricordare che a Marsiliana una struttura quadrangolare riferibile al culto è stata rinvenuta a ridosso del tumulo Brizzi 1 (Camilli et al. 2008a, 359; Zifferero 2009, 231). Da considerare per la Banditella anche la presenza di possibili percorsi all'interno della necropoli (cfr. a questo proposito il caso di Pian della Conserva: Naso 1990, 90).

96 Considerando che ci muoviamo nell'ambito di comunità a struttura gentilizio-clientelare, occorre tenere presente che le *gentes* non si basano solo sulla parentela, ma possono includere anche individui subordinati (probabilmente assimilabili ai *clientes* degli scrittori latini). Fonti romane informano di come nel IV sec. a.C. la *gens Fabia* con i suoi *clientes* raggiungesse un numero di circa quattromila individui (Dion. Hal. *Rom. Arch*. 9.15.3). In base a questi dati e alle recenti stime demografiche delle prime comunità etrusche (Rajala 2006) non sembra per nulla improbabile che la Banditella fosse utilizzata come area sepolcrale da una delle più potenti *gentes* della Marsiliana orientalizzante, e non da più *gentes*. Anche il calcolo di Perkins (1999, 89) per stimare la consistenza demografica del gruppo che ha prodotto le tombe della Banditella - secondo la formula $p = \Sigma (na/t)$ - si assesta su cifre estremamente basse (da 14 a 24 adulti postulando una vita media da 20 a 35 anni), in accordo con l'ipotesi dell'uso della necropoli da parte di una sola *gens*. Una cifra ugualmente bassa (19,4) si ottiene applicando la formula $p = 1000/[(dt/n)]$. Su questi problemi: Morris 1990, 74-75.

97 Diversamente, Perkins (1999, 89) nota a ragione come i gruppi siano di composizione eterogenea, ma li considera come potenzialmente indicativi solo di legami di parentela, oppure si limita a leggere una separazione tra sepolture entro e fuori circolo.

98 Circolo degli Avori; tombe 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 32.

99 Ciò non rappresenta comunque una regola, come testimonia la posizione delle tombe 1 e 98.

100 Sull'eccezionalità della tomba 39, violata, vedi sopra, nota 92.

101 Tombe 47 e 48. È da notare come in questo caso la tomba di maggior spicco del raggruppamento sia sì priva di carro, ma abbia anche restituito quattro fibule in oro e un oggetto in avorio, materiale che compare solo in altre tre tombe della più alta aristocrazia, e cioè il Circolo degli Avori, il Circolo della Fibula e la tomba 2.

102 Anche se non escludibile a priori ciò è meno probabile per il fatto che nei restanti gruppi funerari risulta esserci una rappresentanza piuttosto omogenea dei diversi livello di corredo.

103 Queste situazioni richiamano quanto accade nella necropoli di Pian della Conserva, dove incinerazioni e tombe a fossa, anche se in questo caso parecchio più recenti rispetto ai precedenti tumuli orientalizzanti, vanno a disporsi intorno ad essi (Naso 1990, 92).

104 Diversamente dalle coppie di ricche tombe femminili sulle quali pone l'attenzione Perkins (1999, 88). Cfr. con quanto ipotizzato per Cerveteri (Cerasuolo 2011).

105 L'accostamento di una ricca tomba maschile ed una femminile è un elemento già presente nella tarda protostoria dell'Etruria (Pacciarelli 2000, 247) e il ricorrere di due sepolture di rango appaiate è già stato sottolineato per l'età orientalizzante - G. Colonna (1998, 398) ha pensato a 'fratelli o cugini' - anche se in questo caso, essendo state le sepolture esposte a facili violazioni data la loro visibilità, spesso non è possibile stabilire il sesso dei defunti.

106 Minto 1921, 71-72. Le figurine rappresentavano un 'bove' e una 'anatrella', e secondo Minto erano decorazioni applicate a vasellame metallico. Il resto del corredo, tranne la spada/pugnale e frammenti di vasi in impasto è però stato oggetto di tombarolaggio (ibidem), e risulta quindi proibitiva una completa analisi del contesto.

107 Minto 1921, 118-119.

108 Minto 1921, 37.

109 Minto 1921, 119-131; vedi sopra.

110 Da segnalare che la tomba 2 del gruppo I (C.3F), in stretta relazione topografica con la tomba 20 entro circolo, è l'unica altra deposizione della necropoli con oggetti in avorio. Ulteriori considerazioni sulla distribuzione degli oggetti in materiale raro nella necropoli (limitatamente ai metalli) in Perkins 1999, 86-88.

111 Zevi 1977, 250; Ampolo 1980, 185; Buranelli 1981; Bedini 1984; 1990, 51; Angle/Gianni 1985; Naso 1990, 84, 91; 1996, 159; Bruni 1998, 107; Brocato 2000, 471-480; Pacciarelli 2000, 271; Naso 2007, 143-146; Cataldi/Mandolesi 2010, 249-250; Cerasuolo 2011. L'emergere di una ideologia di tipo gentilizio all'interno di un gruppo di sepoltura è stato ipotizzato a Osteria dell'Osa già nella fase IIIA (Bietti Sestieri 1992, 787). Diverso il caso di Pontecagnano, dove 'la rappresentazione funeraria non permette di identificare diversi livelli gerarchici o più ceti sociali': Cuozzo 2003, 225.

112 Sembra opportuno riferirsi a queste due necropoli in quanto già oggetto di studi insiemistico-combinatori (Buranelli 1981; Pacciarelli 2000, 261-276; 2010, 30-32).

113 Infatti grazie al supporto offerto dalle fonti epigrafiche è stato dimostrato che l'organizzazione gentilizia si afferma in Etruria già verso la fine dell'VIII sec. a.C. (Colonna 1977b). In Etruria interna l'affermazione della tomba a camera è considerata la spia dell'avvenuta formazione delle *gentes* (Maggiani 2000).

114 Non è escluso per questi individui pensare a una condizione forse analoga a quella che nella società romana arcaica si direbbe di tipo clientelare (Naso 2007, 144; riserve sulla possibilità di formulare ipotesi di questo genere sono espresse in Brocato 2000, 474-475, con relativa bibliografia). Questa condizione non deve inoltre necessariamente implicare l'esclusione dalla *gens* (Torelli 1981, 76-79).

115 Si ricorda come ancora nel 477 a.C., in occasione dello scontro con i veienti sul Cremera, la *gens Fabia* potesse permettersi di disporre di circa quattromila uomini come di un esercito privato (Dion. Hal. *Rom. Arch*. 9.15.3).

116 Colonna 1977a, 201-202; 1997, 21-22.

117 Lo studio volutamente non si sofferma sui canopi e le altre manifestazioni antropomorfe (tranne i coperchi a globo, poiché strettamente connessi ai simulacri schematici) in quanto a mio avviso e secondo altri autori (Colonna/von Hase 1984, 37; Sartori 2001, 40) i reperti problematici che qui si raggruppano sotto la definizione di 'simulacri antropomorfi' non sono accostabili ai canopi, se non da un punto di vista formale; non fungono infatti da urne e si trovano anche associati ad inumazioni (è il caso del Circolo degli Avori). Non si propongono inoltre paralleli con le steli o le prime manifestazioni della statuaria in pietra in quanto nessuno dei simulacri elencati nella tabella 1 sembra avesse fun-

zione di *sema* o di rappresentazione degli antenati. Ciò che si intende perseguire non è infatti una analisi di tutte le prime manifestazioni di antropomorfismo - piccola plastica a parte - in Etruria (argomento assai ambizioso e ben approfondito già da altri autori: Cristofani 1971b; Delpino 1977; Colonna/von Hase 1984; Damgaard Andersen 1993), ma focalizzare l'attenzione su quei reperti di difficile comprensione discussi di seguito, i quali presentano peculiarità che li distinguono sia dai più noti canopi che dalla prima statuaria in pietra.

[118] Risulta inoltre particolarmente difficile comprendere che aspetto avessero tali figurazioni, data la frammentarietà degli esemplari pervenuti e la perdita degli elementi in materiale deperibile.

[119] Cristofani/Michelucci 1981, 99; Cristofani 1985, 288-289; Haynes 1991, 9; Prayon 1998, 198-200; Jurgeit 2002. Per quanto riguarda il Tumulo di San Jacopo a Pisa, è stato ipotizzato che i resti di bronzo combusti trovati all'interno del dolio cordonato siano da riferire ai residui di uno di questi simulacri, in un contesto nel quale, trattandosi di un cenotafio, si trovava presumibilmente a sostituire il cadavere del *princeps* (Bruni 1998, 111; 2009, 78). Nel caso della Tomba del Carro di Vulci il simulacro poteva restituire la corporeità perduta in seguito al trattamento crematorio, ed è stato ipotizzato che potesse comporre un gruppo inscenante il signore con l'auriga sul carro, dato il rinvenimento di due coppie di mani (Moretti Sgubini 2000, 568; 2008, 106). Per il Circolo della Fibula (Celuzza/Cianferoni 2010, 161-162, n° 4.8; Gentili 2012, 161; fig. 2) si è pensato a immagini sostitutive del defunto (Cristofani/Michelucci 1981, 99; Cristofani 1985, 288;) o all''*immagine di una divinità*' (Bruni, in Torelli 2000, 586, n° 136) e per il Circolo degli Avori si è parlato di '*maschera funeraria*' per la '*valorizzazione del ruolo del defunto mediante l'esaltazione della sua identità*' (Michelucci 1985, 96, 100; sulla stessa linea Michelucci/Nicosia 1987, 152 e Putz 2007, 44). Per la tomba C di Mandrione di Cavalupo: Falconi Amorelli 1969, 205, 211; Arancio/Moretti Sgubini c.s. Per la testa lignea rivestita in lamina d'oro conservata nel Museo Archeologico di Milano: Bruni 2000, 369; Sartori 2001; Idem, in Torelli 2000, 586, n° 137. Per le mani da Pescia Romana: Casi/Celuzza 2000, 63-64; per un elenco delle mani in lamina bronzea: Colonna 1984, 272, nota 59.
Non è chiaro se la maschera in pietra rinvenuta in una fossa nel vestibolo del Tumulo Luzi a Tarquinia (Colonna 1993, 325) sia da accostare al fenomeno dei simulacri antropomorfi qui discusso.

[120] Per i coperchi a globo si vedano Delpino 1977, 175-176; Donati 1984; Mangani 1995, 409. A favore di una continuità che lega i coperchi antropoidi o le sfere bronzee anche alle realizzazioni più naturalistiche (rappresentate dal rivestimento in lamina d'argento dal Circolo degli Avori di Marsiliana, dalla testa lignea rivestita in lamina aurea conservata al Museo Archeologico di Milano e, più recente in quanto datato già al primo quarto del VI secolo a.C., dal celebre simulacro dalla Tomba di Iside a Vulci), in contrasto con le osservazioni espresse in questo studio: Cristofani 1985, 288-289; Haynes 1991, 9; Moretti Sgubini et al. 1997, 142; Prayon 1998, 198-200; Bruni 2000, 369; Moretti Sgubini 2000, 568; 2008, 106; Sartori 2001, 45. L'attribuzione a canopi dei volti umani in lamina ("maschere") è controversa. In favore di una loro pertinenza a simulacri del tipo del Circolo degli Avori o della testa conservata al Museo Archeologico di Milano: Cristofani 1985, 289; Sartori 2001, 40; Jurgeit 2002, 42. Nel chiusino hanno probabilmente la funzione di antropomorfizzare i cinerari, ma non sembrano essere parte di canopi (Rastrelli 2000, 164).

[121] Scichilone 1967, 34; Prayon 1998, 200-203; Moretti Sgubini 2000, 568. Sulla pratica della vestizione degli ossuari, assai difficilmente riscontrabile in assenza di uno scavo accurato, si veda, da ultimo, Bentini et al. c.s.; inoltre: Bartoloni et al. 1994, 12; von Eles 1995, 27; Iaia 1999, 29, 114; Delpino 2005, 345; Trucco 2006, 99-101; Bentini/Boiardi 2007, 127; Giuntoli 2009, 450-451; Marvelli et al. 2009, 61.

[122] Con 'simulacri schematici' si intende il tipo con testa sferica in lamina bronzea, privo di notazioni anatomiche naturalistiche, come nel caso dell'esemplare del Circolo della Fibula, della Tomba del Carro di Vulci e di due esemplari adespoti per i quali si vedano Colonna 1977a, 200, nota 42; tav. XL, b.; Prayon 1998, 200. G. Colonna (2008, 56) ha accostato il simulacro del Circolo della fibula all'*Hercules triumphalis* esibito in Roma arcaica in occasione dei trionfi.

[123] Colonna 1977a, 200; Bruni 2000, 368-369. È da sottolineare come la testa stilizzata del simulacro del Circolo della Fibula abbia un precedente nella stessa Marsiliana, anche se di forma lievemente schiacciata, nel coperchio bronzeo semisferico della tomba con carrello-calderone recuperata sul mercato antiquario (Egg 1991, abb. 25).

[124] Bisogna tuttavia tenere presente che anche i simulacri schematici apparivano in origine arricchiti da elementi in materiale deperibile che li rendevano meno stilizzati e più facilmente riconoscibili come figure umane (resídui di una capigliatura, pittura e tessuti: Prayon 1998, 200-203). Non è da escludere che questo avvenisse già per i coperchi a globo in impasto, come potrebbero indicare i fori sull'orlo di un biconico vulcente con coperchio a palla (Moretti Sgubini 2004a, 220, III.a.17), forse utilizzabili per legare un tessuto, e i dati sulla pratica della vestizione degli ossuari (sopra, nota 121). Aggiunte in materiale deperibile non mancavano neppure sui simulacri naturalistici (Sartori 2001, 41).

[125] Come si vede nella tabella relativa ai contesti di rinvenimento (tab. 1) l'arco cronologico nel quale si concentrano tali manifestazioni è inoltre troppo breve per pensare a un qualsivoglia fenomeno di evoluzione stilistica da un tipo all'altro (datazioni dei contesti della Banditella in Cristofani 1977, 241-243; Botto 2002, 232-233; Emiliozzi 1997, 320-322). I particolari della capigliatura del simulacro dal Circolo degli Avori non sono apprezzabili nella fig. 1a, in quanto si tratta di frammenti non integrati tramite il restauro. La resa naturalistica di questo simulacro rispetto alle contemporanee prime esperienze della plastica canopica chiusina 'dalla rigida stereometria' è stata rimarcata da M. Cristofani (1971b, 25, nota 43), che tuttavia non affronta il problema della provenienza del reperto di Marsiliana da un contesto inumatorio. Contraddittoriamente viene invece sottolineato come il volto del Circolo degli Avori provenga da un''*area che mostra una certa predilezione per l'umanizzazione del cinerario fin dalla fine dell'VIII secolo*' (ibidem).

[126] Celuzza 2009, 121, n° 4.22; Michelucci 1985, 96.

[127] Minto 1921, 121, 211.

[128] Devo l'informazione a Cristina Barsotti (restauratrice presso il Museo Archeologico della Maremma di Grosseto), che ringrazio.

[129] A favore di questa ricostruzione: Sartori 2001, 46.

[130] Per la dea della Tomba di Iside Sybille Haynes (1991,

9) ha suggerito '*a goddess of death and fertility*'; dello stesso avviso è Francesco Roncalli (1998, 23).

131 Bruni 2000, 368. Tecnicamente il *bustum* del Circolo della Fibula è anch'esso uno *sphyrelaton*, ma la associazione con la testa stilizzata a globo suggerisce di inquadrarlo nel più antico fenomeno di ricostruzione della figura del defunto derivato dai coperchi a palla in impasto.

132 Papadopoulos 1980, 9-12.

133 Cristofani 1977, 241-242; Martelli 2008, 126-127. Oltre all'elemento greco, è stato ipotizzato per gli *sphyrelata* di area etrusca un possibile apporto levantino (Prayon 1998, 206; Bruni 2000, 368; Moretti Sgubini 2010, 21).

134 Riguardo al Circolo degli Avori non è chiara la posizione del volto in lamina d'argento, tuttavia esso è elencato insieme agli altri oggetti preziosi in oro e avorio, rinvenuti entro un lebete presso la parete di levante della fossa (Minto 1921, 119-120). Si menziona nella tabella anche la tomba C di Mandrione di Cavalupo (*fig. 1e*), in quanto le parti di sei dita e il bracciale in avorio in essa rivenuti sono stati interpretati nella letteratura specialistica come i resti di un simulacro antropomorfo (Falconi Amorelli 1969, 211; Moretti Sgubini et al. 1997, 142). Tra gli ornamenti personali associati ai simulacri della Tomba del Carro in Moretti Sgubini et al. 1997, 142, è elencata anche una piccola fascia a nastro, che è però considerata come possibile parte del timone in Moretti Sgubini 2000, 568, n° 11. Il contesto indicato come 'tomba di Ati Velaruna', citato in Prayon 1998, 203, è di scarsa affidabilità in quanto si basa su di un aneddoto raccontato in G. Tagliaferri e L. Rupi Paci, *Tombaroli si nasce*, Firenze 1992, libro che non rientra in alcun modo nel dibattito scientifico. Questo rinvenimento è stato ipoteticamente accostato alla citata testa in legno di pero conservata a Milano (ivi, 205). *Contra*: Sartori 2001, 47, per il fatto che l'elemento a tenone ligneo alla base del collo non si concilia con la colonnina di nenfro sul quale è posta la testa nell'aneddoto riportato da Prayon. Non si è inserito nella tabella il celebre simulacro dalla Tomba di Iside di Vulci, in quanto meno rilevante ai fini di questo contributo data la sua interpretazione concorde come effigie divina, e già oggetto di specifici approfondimenti (Haynes 1991; Roncalli 1998, con bibliografia).

135 Non è attestata l'associazione di un simulacro di tipo naturalistico in presenza di cremazioni, cosa che appare in accordo con quanto esposto di seguito.

136 Bruni 1998, 111; 2009, 78.

137 Colonna/von Hase 1984, 37.

138 Dore et al. 2000, 231-232, n° 258.

139 Buranelli 1991.

140 Mentre trova la sua ragione nel caso della Tomba del Carro di Vulci, sia che si pensi che i simulacri volessero rappresentare due dei tre (o quattro) individui cremati, sia che si accolga la proposta di ricostruzione avanzata da Anna Maria Moretti Sgubini (2000, 568; 2008, 106). La difficoltà interpretativa posta dalla presenza dei simulacri antropomorfi in associazione ad inumazioni è stata colta e sottolineata da Adriano Maggiani e Giulio Paolucci (2005, 17, nota 17).

141 Minto 1921, 87-88, 277-278. Per gli esemplari di questa classe si rimanda a Coen 1991, 120-121, con relativa bibliografia; più di recente si aggiungano Boitani 2001, 113-114, e Celuzza 2009, 97, n° 2.1.

142 Su questo punto Coen 1991, 121, che giustamente collega il rituale del Circolo della Fibula con quello della Tomba del Carro di Vulci.

143 Nel resto della necropoli è attestato un massimo di tre lance (tomba 32, tomba 47), mentre anche nel Corredo del Circolo degli Avori, ospitante forse due maschi e una femmina, si contano solo due lance. Per questo motivo, oltre che per la presenza dell'urna e dell'inumazione, si potrebbe pensare al Circolo della Fibula come a una sepoltura bisoma; in caso contrario la presenza di ben quattro lance potrebbe forse trovare spiegazione solo in virtù dell'altissimo rango del defunto.

144 Colonna/von Hase 1984, 38-41. Purtroppo in ogni caso la lacunosità delle informazioni a disposizione circa la posizione in tomba dei simulacri impedisce qualsiasi congettura.

145 Maggiani/Paolucci 2005, 17, nota 17. A meno di non ipotizzare un unico antenato eroizzato/divinizzato (Iaia 1999, 86). Lo stesso Autore (2005, 146, nota 3) ha ipotizzato che statue di antenati divinizzati siano rappresentate sullo schienale del trono della tomba Lippi 89 di Verucchio (fine VIII-inizio VII sec. a.C.), accostando tali immagini ai simulacri dalla Tomba del Carro e dal Circolo della Fibula. Sulla divinizzazione del defunto nell'orientalizzante si veda Camporeale 2009, 224-227, 237-238.

146 Colonna/von Hase 1984, 40-41.

147 Moretti Sgubini 2000, 568; 2008, 106. È da rilevare come non siano stati rinvenuti resti di un elemento interpretabile come una seconda testa, nonostante la presenza di una doppia coppia di mani, forse in quanto realizzata interamente in materiale deperibile. Un possibile posizionamento del simulacro sul carro, a sottolineare l'alto *status* del defunto, era già stato proposto in Prayon 1998, 200.

148 L'ipotesi tocca la questione degli esordi del processo di antropomorfizzazione delle divinità in Etruria (sul quale si veda Cristofani 1993). Del resto nel Circolo della Fibula è presente una celebre statuetta eburnea di divinità femminile di ascendenza orientale (Minto 1921 , 86-87; Dore et al. 2000, 132, n° 88; Celuzza 2009, 117, n° 4.6). Stefano Bruni (in Torelli 2000, 586, n° 136) ha proposto di identificare non solo il simulacro della Tomba di Iside come immagine di divinità, ma anche quello schematico dal Circolo della Fibula, che però secondo il ragionamento qui esposto è da ricondurre ancora all'immagine del defunto (mentre non è così per il volto in lamina dal Circolo degli Avori). Emblematico della poca chiarezza in cui versa il dibattito sui simulacri antropomorfi è il fatto che lo stesso Autore, all'interno del medesimo volume, avesse poco prima proposto di considerare il simulacro del Circolo della Fibula come rappresentazione del defunto (Bruni 2000, 368-369), questa volta in modo del tutto condivisibile.

149 È infatti ben noto come in Grecia gli *sphyrelata* fossero soprattutto immagini di divinità (Papadopoulos 1980, 9-12). A proposito dell'interpretazione dei simulacri naturalistici come rappresentazioni di divinità, opportunamente Massimiliano Papini (2006, 66), ha accostato la statua in legno dorato di Fortuna/Servio Tullio nel tempio di Fortuna al Foro Boario alla testa lignea conservata al Museo Archeologico di Milano (*fig. 1d*). L'usanza di ornare i simulacri con abbondanti vesti, come con coerenza attestato nella documentazione archeologica che qui ci interessa (sopra, nota 124), era pratica assai diffusa e più volte ricordata dalle fonti (ivi, 67). Se si volesse considerare invece il simulacro del Circolo degli Avori anch'esso come sostituto del cadavere, bisognerebbe pensare a una volontaria iterazione della corporeità del defunto.

150 Prayon 1998, 203. *Contra*: Sartori 2001, 47.

151 Roncalli 1998, tavv. IV-V.

[152] Rimanendo sempre aperta la possibilità che i due tipi di simulacri, almeno nel breve periodo di cambiamento del significato, abbiano in differenti contesti potuto rivestire entrambe le valenze.
[153] Naso 2001, 31 (si veda alla stessa pagina anche la nota 14); Gleirscher 2004, 404.
[154] Schmid 1933, abb. 27 a-b; 32; Bonenfant/Guillaumet 1998, 57-59; Gleirscher 2004, 404; Marzatico/Gleirscher 2004, 208-209, 634-635.
[155] de Marinis 2000; Camporeale 2001, 2007.
[156] Rastrelli 2000, 163-164; Minetti 2004, 526.

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Two archaic bronze Κρατήρες Λακωνικοί? The dedications of Phanodikos son of Hermokrates of Prokonnesos and of Phalaris tyrant of Akragas

Jasper Gaunt

Abstract

This article proposes that two kraters mentioned in inscriptions should be recognized as bronze volute-kraters. Studies of the stele of Phanodikos have tended to ignore the appearance of his krater, with its stand and strainer. Evidence from vase-painting, literature, inscriptions and surviving bronze vessels combine to suggest that the presence of all three elements points towards this having been a krater lakonikos. In the case of the krater dedicated by Phalaris, it is the presence of figural decoration on either side and its subject matter that supports the suggestion.

For Conrad Stibbe

The krater of Phanodikos son of Hermokrates of Prokonnesos.

I.

Φανοδίκο
ἐμὶ τὸρμοκ-
ράτεος τõ
προκοννη-
σίο κρητῆρ-
α δὲ : καὶ ὑποκ-
ρητήριον : κ-
αὶ ἠθμὸν : ἐς π-
ρυτανήιον
ἔδωκεν : Συκε-
εῦσιν.

'I am [the stele] of Phanodikos the son of Hermokrates of Prokonnesos; he gave to the people of Sigeion for the prytaneion a krater with a stand and a strainer.'

Vacat

II.

Φανοδίκο : εἰμὶ : τõ h-
Ερμοκράτος : τõ Προκο-
νεσίο : κἀγὸ : κρατέρα
κἀπίστατον : καὶ ηεθμ-
ὸν : ἐς πρυτανεῖον : ἔ-
δοκα : μνẽμα : Σιγει-
εῦσι : ἐὰν δέ τι πάσχ-
ο, μελεδαίνεν : με, ὅ
Σιγεῖες : καὶ μ'ἐπο-
<ίε>σεν : ηαίσοπος : καὶ
: ηαδελφοί

'I am [the stele] of Phanodikos the son of Hermokrates of Prokonnesos. And I gave a krater with a stand and a strainer to the people of Sigeion for the prytaneion as a memorial. If I should suffer anything, people of Sigeion, care for me. And Aisopos and his brothers made me.'

This monumental stele (*fig. 1*), measuring 2.31 metres high, bears two boustrophedon inscriptions cut into the plain shaft.[1] The first in Ionic dialect, and using the alphabet of Miletus (the mother-city of Prokonnesos) records that the stele is dedicated to Phanodikos, and that he made a gift to the prytaneion (town hall) in Sigeion of a krater, together with stand and strainer. The second and rather longer inscription, in Attic, repeats this information, although both statements are expressed in the first person. It adds a prayer, both to care for and beware of him,[2] and also gives the name of the stone-mason who carved the stone, the family workshop of Haisopos (Aesop) and his brothers.

The date of the inscription is anchored both by epigraphical and historical considerations. To account for Attic and local dialects appearing together, scholars have agreed that this must have

Fig. 1. Stele of Phanodikos son of Hermokrates of Prokonnesos, ca 550 BC. Ht. 231 cm. London, British Museum (drawing after Cook 1987, p. 41 fig. 32).

been set up around the time when the Athenians were militarily active at Sigeion, in the war mentioned by Alkaios.[3] Two dates have been proposed. L.H. Jeffery at first suggested 575-550 BC, while M. Guarducci thought of 550-540 BC. Most recently, D.M. Lewis and Jeffery compromised: around 550 BC.[4] We can safely deduce that Phanodikos was certainly alive and active during the first half of the 6th century, and that his krater cannot be later than its second quarter.

Our purpose here is to investigate the character of the krater. The monumental scale of the stele and the fine marble from which it is carved, both suggest that Phanodikos was a man of high importance, wealth and rank. From his name we might infer that he came from a family of lawgivers or judges. Jeffery went so far as to suggest that 'this huge stone is no normal grave-stele, but the original marker from the mound of a Hero - actually, a heroized benefactor.'[5] Commemorative inscriptions of the archaic period generally record the name of the deceased (and other family members), their place of residence, sometimes votive expression and possibly the artist's name.[6] Occasionally the individual's profession is noted, or that he died in battle.[7] Otherwise, it is conspicuous achievements, such as the fact that the great colossus on Delos was carved from the same block of marble, body and base, or the statues of Kleobis and Biton at Delphi whose base recorded the piety towards their mother, a story fleshed out by Herodotus, or the victory of Kallimachos at Marathon.[8] To record the dedication of a vessel in this context is truly remarkable. For Phanodikos, the krater was the single defining element of his life: κἀγὸ κρατέρα κἀπίστατον καὶ ηεθμόν ἐς πρυτανεῖον ἔδοκα μνεμα - it was by this that he wanted to be remembered. It should, therefore, have been something spectacular.

Of what was the krater made? In each inscription, it is said to have been equipped with both a stand and a strainer. Pottery can surely be ruled out: it is inherently implausible that pottery should be intended on a monumental marble inscription privately dedicated. Furthermore, in the archaic period, strainers in fine wares are all but absent altogether, and the one recorded in our inscription is clearly not plain.[9]

It is, therefore, almost certain that the krater of Phanodikos was made of metal, as S.I. Rotroff and J.H. Oakley have seen.[10] Had it been made of silver or gold, the inscription would surely have mentioned this on account of its bullion value. We are left with by far the most probable material: bronze. While bronze mixing vessels equipped with stands of various kinds are familiar from the Orientalising period onwards,[11] those with *both* stands *and* strainers - 'a set'[12] - are familiar from only one series at this time: the famous volute-kraters with gorgon handles of which the most celebrated are those from Vix (*fig. 2*), which preserves its sieve, and the krater from Trebenishte in Belgrade which preserves its stand (*fig. 3*). The chronology of these kraters, and their place(s) of manufacture have been long disputed.[13] The evidence reviewed below points to the series having begun no later than the second quarter of the 6th century, and to Sparta as the prime place of manufacture. They were being made therefore during the lifetime of Phanodikos. Rumpf's discussion of the krater of Phanodikos in his fine essay, Κρατὴρ Λακωνικός,[14] and Jeffery's passing observation, that the krater of Phanodikos was 'something on the lines of … the Vix krater'[15] are here amplified to suggest that the krater of Phanodikos was indeed nothing other than a bronze volute-krater.

Our sources fall into several categories: clay

Fig. 2. Bronze volute-krater with sieve from Vix, Laconian, ca 570 BC. Ht 164 cm. Châtillon sur Seine, Musée du Pays Châtillonais (photo after Rolley 1983, 139).

volute-kraters made in various parts of the Greek world; representations of volute-kraters; inscriptions concerning them; literature; and the bronze kraters themselves.

Evidence exists for a widespread production in the first half of the 6th century of ceramic volute-kraters and their predecessors, the so-called kraters of Chalcidian shape and stirrup kraters.[16] A Middle Corinthian krater in New York heads the Corinthian series, but almost all of these were Late Corinthian, and decorated by the Tydeus Painter, artists connected with him, and the Andromeda Group.[17] In Athens, we encounter the occasional but magnificent example, such as the Sophilos krater in New York or the François Vase in Florence, which was one of a series by Kleitias.[18] The overwhelming majority, however, were potted in Sparta. C.M. Stibbe has collected scores of black-glazed so-called stirrup kraters, long recognized as Laconian. From these it is a small step to the black-glazed series with decorated rims, and finally, to the handful of Laconian black-figured volute-kraters proper that have survived. These should be taken together as an entity.[19]

In searching for *representations* of volute-kraters during the first half of the 6th century, I have found none in Corinthian black-figure. The Attic

Fig. 3. Bronze volute-krater with stand from Trebenishte, Laconian ca 550 BC. Restored ht 81.5 cm. Belgrade, Narodni Muzej Br 174/1 (photo Godart 2010, 116 fig. 40).

series begins with two magnificent representations of around 560-550 BC, not so long after the kraters decorated by Kleitias.[20] But after that we will have to wait until the time of Nikosthenes.[21] Conversely, in the relatively small output of Laconian black-figure, as many as ten representations may be preserved, including a possible one from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.[22] These are by no means faithful pictures, notably in the consistent appearance of an echinus foot and generally schematic handles, variously rendered. However, the ovoid body supporting an upright neck and projecting square mouth is faithful to the architecture of the bronze kraters, and the handles often give an impression of great mass, something

absent in the bronze kraters of Chalcidian shape but the very glory of the gorgon-handled kraters. The sequence, following Stibbe, should be:

1 Rome, Museo Nazionale. Cup. Naukratis Painter. Stibbe 1972, 63 Group D, 71-72, 270 no 19; Paribeni 1975, 364-365, figs 434-435. Symposium. In the exergue, komasts around a volute-krater; oinochoai on the ground. Around 565-560 BC.
2 Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire R 401. Cup. Arkesilas Painter. Stibbe 1972, 110, Group B, 279 no 192; *CVA Brussels* 3 [Belgium 106], pl. 4.6. Symposium. At the foot of the couch, a volute-krater, with an oinochoe on the rim. Around 565-550 BC.
3 Tocra, Museum 933. Cup fragments. Rider Painter. Stibbe 1972, 161, Group A, 285 no 284, pl. 93.3-4 (part). Symposium, with a youth apparently sitting on the rim of a volute-krater. Around 570-560 BC.
4 Atlanta, Carlos Museum 2006.42.1-2 (*fig. 4*). Hunt Painter. Stibbe 2006, 141, fig. 17; id., 2004, 164-166, 217 no 1, pls 24-25. Hunt Painter, Group A. Capture of Silenos. In the exergue, komasts around a volute-krater, with an oinochoe on the rim. Around 565-550 BC.
5 Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 192. Cup. Hunt Painter. Stibbe 1972, 131, Group D, 282 no 228, pl. 80.3-4. Two dancing komasts; at right, a volute-krater with an oinochoe on top. Around 550-530 BC.
6 London, British Museum B 3. Cup. Rider Painter. Stibbe, 1972, 161, Group D, 286 no 308, pl. 109. Two komasts, one with flutes, at a table on which rests a volute-krater with an oinochoe on top. Around 550-540 BC.
7 Taranto, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 20909. Cup. Rider Painter. Stibbe 1972, 161, Group E, 286 no 312, pl. 110 (part); Lane 1934, 152-153, pls 47, 48a. Around 545-535 BC.
8 Paris, Musée du Louvre E 662. Dinos. Rider Painter. Stibbe 1972, 161, Group E, 286 no 313, pls 110-111. Komasts at a volute-krater, on top of which is an oinochoe. Around 545-530 BC.
9 Leipzig, Antikenmuseum T 2177. Cup. Rider Painter. Stibbe 1972, 161, Group E, 287 no 314, pl. 112. Two komasts, one piping, at a large volute-krater, on top of which is an oinochoe. Around 545-535 BC.
10 Sparta, Archaeological Museum. From the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. Cup fragment. Hunt Painter. Stibbe 1972, 132, Group G, 257-258, 284 no. 278, pl. 92.3-4. Enthroned figure, or foot-stool with boots; at right, a large vessel, probably a volute-krater. Last quarter of the 6th century.

These images begin in the second quarter of the 6th century, when the Naukratis, Arkesilas, Rider and Hunt Painters all produced at least one; and it persists for two generations, to the last quarter of the century. The Rider Painter seems to have been particularly enthusiastic about them over a period of about thirty five years.

Instantly striking here is the range of scales at which the kraters are drawn. One has been placed on a table and is evidently quite small (6). Most are placed on the ground and appear to be approximately waist- or chest-height (5, 8, 9). Occasionally they seem to have been quite large (7, 10). In the case of (6), the drinking horn held by the right hand komast may be compared with the magnificent silver horn with a band of palmette-lotus in gold on the rim that was found together with a bronze volute-krater at Trebenishte and are now in Belgrade.[23] The Rider Painter's picture gives a vivid impression of the relative scales of two such objects.

Fig. 4. Laconian black-figure cup fragments attributed to the Hunt Painter, with the Capture of Silenos and a komos beside a volute-krater, ca 565-550 BC. Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum 2006.42.1-2. Gift of Dr Dietrich von Bothmer (photo after Stibbe 2006, 141 fig. 17).

A motif shared by more than half of these images is that of an oinochoe balanced on top.[24] As Stibbe has seen, the artists must have had in mind the strainer lids with which the bronze volute-kraters were so often equipped.[25] Because these were flat, possibly even sitting entirely within the rim, they did not project above and hence are not actually represented. But for obvious reasons, they are to be understood.

In literature, the motif of an oinochoe balanced on the rim of a krater goes back to the proverbial saying in Hesiod:

μηδέ ποτ᾽ οἰνοχόην τιθέμεν κρητῆρος ὕπερθεν
πινόντων· ὀλοὴ γαρ ἐπ᾽αὐτῳ μοῖρα τέτυκται.[26]

'Never place an oinochoe on top of a krater
while drinking: for ruinous fate has been ordained
for this.'

This injunction gave rise to a good deal of speculation as to what was meant. The late Hellenistic rhetorician, Trypho, quoted this as a riddle (αἴνιγμα).[27] Perhaps part of the reason for equipping bronze volute-kraters with strainers that fitted over the rim was to render this wisdom obsolete.

These ten Laconian images can only be understood when considered in regard to two related phenomena. The infrequency of contemporary representations of volute-kraters in ceramic fabrics that are not Laconian has already been noted. By the same token, there is also a conspicuous absence in Laconian black-figure of representations of mixing vessels that are not volute-kraters. For the latter, I have found only a dinos and stand, on a cup in the Louvre.[28] Cumulatively this evidence shows that bronze volute-kraters both large and small, often equipped with strainers, were not just familiar in Sparta in the second and third quarters of the sixth century: they were very much associated with the place.

We turn to bronze volute-kraters that have come down to us. For the archaic period, two groups are readily defined. The earlier examples, sometimes called kraters of Chalcidian shape, are austere in appearance. The best known of these are the (wrongly restored) krater in Syracuse from San Mauro and the krater in Naples from Capua. The Syracuse krater[29] has scenes engraved in an animated if hesitant hand on the neck: thirteen komasts on one side, and centaurs on the other. The vessel is otherwise plain, although the handle straps have hands modeled in relief. The krater in Naples is undecorated, but the cast element below the rim, with tongues above spirals, is important for it is these very elements that will recur in the same place on the second group of bronze volute-kraters, the kraters with gorgon handles. The date of the Naples krater should be contemporary with the Late Corinthian black-figure examples, around 580-570 BC.[30]

The contrast between these modest kraters and the magnificent kraters with gorgon handles that follow, could not be greater. These stand apart from all archaic bronze vessels that have come down to us, in their scale, their exuberance, and their nobility.[31] In his magisterial study of the Vix krater (*fig. 2*), C. Rolley rightly drew attention to the strainer that sits on top.[32] The crisp handles, rectangular in shape, terminate in palmettes that are riveted to the strainer. Handles of just the same type are preserved on strainers of two other bronze volute-kraters: one found at Trebenishte, in grave V;[33] the other, of unknown findspot, in a private collection.[34] The handles on the strainers of these kraters support Rolley's identification of a stray handle in the Louvre, from Italy, as coming from a sieve for a volute-krater.[35] Stibbe has noticed that this handle in the Louvre is the same size as the handles on the Vix krater.[36] It cannot, therefore, belong to any of the handles from much smaller vessels likewise found in Southern Italy in the 19th century.[37] The palmettes on all these resemble those modeled at the handle roots of the Laconian black-figure hydria by the Hunt Painter from Ialysos in Rhodes.[38] Rather different from these are handles from Kirrha in London, which should have been attached to an object with a diameter of 68 cm, and thus quite likely the sieve for a volute-krater rather than a plate.[39] On bronze volute-kraters, it is not only for those with gorgon handles that strainers on the rim were regularly provided. The tradition persisted in the 5th century series that Beryl Barr-Sharrar has called her A-type, and one was also made for the Derveni krater itself.[40]

Two stray handles from a single workshop may be introduced here, one in the collection of George Ortiz (*fig. 5*), the other from the Argive Heraion (*fig. 6*).[41] Their crisp rectangular outline goes with the sieves under discussion. On these, however, the terminals are not in the form of palmettes but rather horse protomes, a motif also encountered on the plate handles. The estimated diameters of the hammered elements to which these were attached respectively are 57 and 58.6 cm, and therefore exceed most plates.[42] While these would be too small for the gigantic Vix krater, they would nevertheless be too large for either of the kraters from Trebenishte or even the krater in

Fig. 5. Bronze handle from the strainer of a volute-krater, first half of the 6th century BC. Geneva, George Ortiz (photo after Ortiz 1994, no 102).

Fig. 6. Bronze handle from the strainer of a volute-krater, first half of the 6th century BC (photo after Waldstein 1905, pl. 120).

Munich. They would, however, be just about right for something the size of the krater in a private collection.[43]

This wealth of large strainers associated with volute-kraters is all the more astonishing when we look for them in connection with mixing vessels of other shapes in the archaic period. I know only of two examples. A small silver bowl from the Bernardini tomb was fitted with a strainer that drops over the rim, and has a single duck-head handle. The holes are punched, roughly, as a whirligig.[44] A second example, found in a burial at Cumae, likewise rests over the rim.[45] In scale, however, these go with the small, hand-held examples from Greece and Etruria.[46] Bronze dinoi were made in various parts of mainland Greece and the Greek world during the archaic period and are regularly recovered in excavated contexts where they functioned as ossuaries. Although a few like the Hochdorf cauldron are large, they are typically small in scale, like the one from Marathon.[47] A few were equipped with stands, and these were occasionally ornate.[48] But the inscription that describes the krater of Phanodikos surely implies something altogether grander.

When we turn to archaic bronze column-kraters, we have yet to find a fitted associated strainer, still less a stand. This point is forcefully made no less than twice at Trebenishte. The volute-krater from Tomb I did have a strainer, while the column-krater did not.[49] In Tomb VII, which contained not a volute-krater but a column-krater, it is the handle for a small strainer, not a fitted one, that is preserved.[50] The following archaic bronze column-kraters that are fully preserved known to me are:

- Sofia, National Archaeological Museum. From Trebenishte, tomb I. Filov 1927, 47-48, figs 40-42.
- Sofia, National Archaeological Museum. From Trebenishte, tomb II object no 30. Filov 1927, 50 no 57.
- Sofia National Archaeological Museum. From Trebenishte, tomb VI object no 51. Filov 1927, 49 no 66, figs 47-48.
- Sofia, National Archaeological Museum. From Trebenishte, tomb VII object no. 41. Filov 1927 48-49 no 65, figs 43-46.
- New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, L. 1988.2.
- Vulci, Guglielmi Collection.
- Once Basel Market, Münzen und Medaillen. Art of the Ancients: Greeks, Etruscans and Romans (1968) 20-21 no 24; London market, Sothebys, Cat. Antiquities. 6 December 1971, lot 63, pl. 18.
- Kansas City, private. Sotheby's, New York, Cat. Antiquities 31 May 1997, lot 85.

So far as we know at present, the calyx- and bell-krater had not yet been invented in the second quarter of the sixth century.

Epigraphic evidence further supports the proposal advanced here that it was bronze volute-kraters alone that were regularly equipped with fitted strainers in the archaic and classical periods. The first is an inscription of perhaps the 4th century found by the river Kallirhoe, which mentions a list of sympotic vessels, an oinochoe, a psykter, two lekanai, a pail for fetching water from the well and a strainer from a Laconian krater, which had been preserved even though the krater itself had apparently disappeared:

οἴνο[χο –
ψυκ[τηρ
λεκάναι δύο,
κάδος ἐπὶ τῶι φρέατι
ἠθμὸς κρατῆρος
λακωνικού[51]

This may be added to our list of κρατήρες Λακωνικοί at Athens, other fragments of which have

been found on the Acropolis.[52] Were they at least a part of the inspiration behind the work of Ergotimos and Kleitias, and the painter of the great column-krater in New York that bears the earliest Attic representations of volute-kraters?[53]

Two further inscriptions document strainers from, or belonging to, kraters: although the variety is not given, we can be reasonably sure that they were for volute-kraters. One is recorded in a series of 3rd century inventories taken in the Chalkotheke on Delos: ἠθμ[ὸν] ἀπὸ κρατῆρος τετρυπημένον:[54] ἀπὸ conveys the idea that the strainer was a part of the krater, a set. From the same inventories on Delos comes an ἠθμὸν ἀπὸ κρατῆρος συντετρυπημένος[55]: I take συντετρυπημένος here to convey the ideas of the perforations in the strainer (τετραίνειν meaning to bore) and σύν its unity with the krater. Last, and most tantalizing of all, was the bronze krater with strainer that rested on the rim which is recorded as part of the property confiscated from Alkibiades and the Hermokopidae: the description of the strainer was transcribed by the grammarian Pollux, ἠθμός τις ἐπικρητηρίδιος.[56] The late 5th century date makes one think of the series with scroll-work handles which lead to the Derveni krater, but it could equally have been an heirloom.[57]

Evidence that archaic bronze volute-kraters were also often equipped with stands also exists in abundance. For the full ensemble, krater with strainer and stand, only one from the 6th century is preserved complete today.[58] However, the krater from Trebenishte in Belgrade[59] (*fig. 3*) has a stand; and there are fragments of at least one other from Olympia (*fig. 6*).[60] A fourth may be inferred from the cast bronze foot of a volute-krater in Cleveland (*figs 7-10*).[61] Three sets of rivet holes around the lower part show that it was intended to be fastened to a stand in just the same way as the one in Belgrade. The remains of a fifth has been identified in the kneeling Gorgon from the sea off Rhodes in the Louvre (*fig. 11*).[62] Another is mentioned in 3rd century inventories of the Chalkotheke on Delos which record a Laconian krater whose base had fallen off (κρατήριον λακονικὸν τόμ πυθμένα ἔχον ἀποπεπτωκότα).[63] The verb shows that this must have been a tripod base, because the later (classical) stands for volute-kraters have wide, circular resting surfaces that would not be said to have 'fallen off' or 'fallen away'. The rivets for one of the legs must have snapped or popped out, or some solder failed, causing it to fall. In the classical period, the profile of vessel and stand is modified: once again, a complete set has come down to us, and two addi-

Figs 7-10. Foot of a bronze volute-krater with rivet holes for a tripod base, mid 6th century BC. Cleveland Museum of Art 2000.104 (photo Museum).

Fig. 11. Kneeling gorgon, perhaps from the tripod stand of a bronze volute-krater, mid 6th century BC, from the sea off Rhodes. Paris, Musée du Louvre MNC 482 (photo after Bothmer 1979, 164).

tional actual stands are preserved.[64] It is clear both from surviving examples as well as representations (for instance on the Totenmahl reliefs) that stands were often, though not always, provided (*fig. 12*).[65]

The identification of the krater of Phanodikos as a volute-krater, first proposed in passing by Jeffery, has two implications. The more important of these is chronological. His krater cannot have been made later than the second quarter of the sixth century. It must be broadly speaking contemporary, therefore, with the Laconian black-figured kraters and the several representations of them. This would support the arguments of scholars such as H.G.G. Payne, M. Gjødesen and Stibbe, who have long thought of the gorgon-handled kraters beginning no later than the second quarter of the 6th century.[66] These kraters were not

Fig. 12. Marble relief with a funerary banquet, showing a volute-krater with stand at left. Greek, 4th century BC. Atlanta, Michael C. Carlos Museum 1999. 11. Carlos Collection of Ancient Art (photo Bruce White, courtesy Museum).

all made at once, or by one and the same bronze-smith. The internal sequence, most easily assessed by studying the handles, has been established by Stibbe.[67] The very earliest ('Chalcidian') handles are plain, or may have hands modeled in relief on the strap. Next come the handles in London, Paris and Nîmes, where their utilitarian structure remains paramount, modeled though they are as gorgons. From this we begin to move towards handles which serve as much to display sculpture as to lift the vessel, at first the glorious krater from Vix followed by the two from Trebenishte. It may be no coincidence that this development, which must have been supported by technical advances in metalworking, is approximately contemporary with the life of Glaukos of Chios, whom Herodotus credited with the invention of soldering iron: his silver bowl with iron stand soldered together was dedicated by Alyattes (ca 610-560 BC) at Delphi.[68] Stibbe has attractively suggested that the well-known bronze-smith, Gitiadas of Sparta may have been a part of this development.[69] By the end of the sequence, the gorgons are modeled in such high relief across the handle straps that they are practically independent. Payne was the first to see that the drapery on the gorgons on the handles from Cilicia in the Louvre and the fragmentary krater divided between St Petersburg and Kiev suggested a date contemporary with the beginning of Attic red-figure, around 530-520 BC.[70]

In the case of the Vix krater, R. Joffroy, in the - entirely justifiable - excitement of the moment

was influenced by the remainder of the tomb contents and thus proposed a date around 540 BC.[71] Rolley remained convinced throughout his life that the Vix krater was late, comparing the chariot procession with that on a statue base of the late 6th century BC from the Kerameikos.[72] Late middle and early late Corinthian column-kraters with chariot processions,[73] and the gorgoneia on the Kleitias standlet in New York[74] and the Lydos plate in Munich[75] show, however, that the cast elements on the Vix krater can be accommodated stylistically in the second quarter of the 6th century. Furthermore, as Maria Pipili imaginatively suggested, the splendid Laconian black-figure cup that is the name-vase of the Typhon Painter shows the monster with a forked snakey body that strongly suggests the painter had one of the gorgon-handled kraters in mind.[76] Here, it is not only the lower body that forks, like the snakes below the handle strap on the kraters: Typhon's tails are equipped with snakes that curve back just like the ones on the shoulders of the Vix and Belgrade kraters.[77] Finally, as Stibbe has seen, 'anyone who attempts to date the krater from Vix only on the basis of its shape … would place it by a comparison with the large volute-krater by the Hunt Painter … in the decade 570-560 BC.'[78]

There is every reason (pace Rolley[79]) to think of the Vix krater as an heirloom, and one passed down through more than one generation. The literary paradigm of the golden amphora made by Hephaistos for Dionysos to give as a wedding present to Thetis comes to mind: she, in turn would give it to her son, Achilles, and it was in this that he placed the ashes of Patroklos with the injunction that, when he too should die, his own should be commingled.[80] The Vix burial itself can be assigned to the end of the sixth century, and certainly after around 520 BC when the Droop Cup was made.[81] The woman interred is believed to have been between thirty and fifty-five years old.[82] Conceivably the krater was made for her parents as their wedding present. Here, the recent discovery of an enormous apsidal building at Mont Lassois which has been compared with Greek architectural traditions, will surely contribute new evidence.[83]

A second implication lies in the vast distribution of κρατήρες Λακωνικοί. The krater of Phanodikos would seem to be part of a series that enters the orbit of the Black Sea, such as the krater from Martonoska (Olbia),[84] the single handle from Blagoevgrad (on the border between Bulgaria and Greece),[85] and the rider appliqué in Mainz from Hungary.[86]

The krater of Phalaris of Akragas and the politics of colonies, mother cities and gifts

The Lindian Chronicle records the dedication of a metal krater by Phalaris, the tyrant of Akragas.[87] A reasonably secure date for Phalaris is provided by Suidas, who says that he reigned in the 52nd Olympiad, and was a contemporary of Stesichoros and Kroisos. Eusebius relates that he came to power in the third year of the 52nd Olympiad, i.e. 571-570 BC, and ruled for 16 years.[88] We are, therefore, in the same chronological horizon - the second quarter of the sixth century BC - as with the stele of Phanodikos.

> Φάλαρις ὁ Ἀκραγαντίνων τυραννεύσας κρατῆρα, ὃ ἐτετόρευτο ἐν μὲν τῶι ἑτέρωι μέρει Τιτανομαχία, ἐν δὲ τῶι ἑτέρωι Κρόνος λαμβάνων παρὰ Ῥέας τὰ τέκνα κ[α]ὶ κ[α]ταπείνων, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ χείλευς ἐπεγέ[γρ]απτο Δαίδαλος ἔδωκε ξείνίον με Κωκάλωι, [επ]ὶ δὲ τᾶς βάσιος Φάλαρις ἐξ Ἀκράγαντος τᾶ[ι Λι]νδ[ί]αι Ἀθάναι ὡς ἀποφάινεται Ξεναγόρας ἐν τ[ᾶι] Α τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξιος.
>
> 'Phalaris, while he was tyrant of the Agrigentines [dedicated] a krater, which had had wrought upon it, on one side the Battle of the Titans, and on the other Kronos taking his children from Rhea and eating them; and on the lip had been placed an inscription, "Daidalos gave me as a gift of friendship/hospitality to Kokalos", while on the foot "Phalaris of Akragas [dedicated this] to the Lindian Athena, as Xenagoras declares in the first book of his *Chronike Syntaxis*.'

Unlike other inscribed temple treasures, the Lindian Chronicle is not a simple record. The temple of Athena had burned around 340 BC, and it was only somewhat later that a list of what had been dedicated before came to be compiled, along with records of more recent gifts; this was finally inscribed in 99 BC. For the remote past, the entries are products of mythical fantasy. But for the historical period, we can be more confident. Two problems with our particular passage are immediately apparent. The inscription on the lip, where the krater states in propria persona that Daidalos had given (it) to Kokalos as a gift of hospitality/friendship (ξεινίον) cannot have been genuine because, as Oswyn Murray has seen, it would have been written in Linear B and thus been indecipherable.[89] The second problem concerns the identification of the subject depicted on

the reverse. Kronos taking his children from Rhea and eating them is surely misunderstood: the subject is otherwise entirely unrecorded in ancient art. Without more information, however, only conjecture is possible.[90]

The second inscription, which records the dedication by Phalaris, is, however, intrinsically more than plausible. The participle τυραννεύσας suggests that he was actually tyrant when the dedication was made. A metal krater (ἐτετόρευτο) of the second quarter of the 6th century wrought with a different narrative scene on either side, one of them a battle, gives pause for thought. Here I follow Sarah Morris in thinking this to be a bronze vessel rather than a silver one: had it been silver, this would have been recorded in the inscription on account of its value.[91] With regards to its technique, any metal krater made at this time will have been assembled from parts using a combination of solder and rivets: the bronze volute-krater from Trebenishte in Belgrade involved 22 cast elements (plus the hammered body) and needed 50 rivets.[92] Marjorie Milne[93] pointed out that the etymology of τορεύω lies with the idea of boring a hole through something: in the case of our krater, and indeed the case of many a bronze vessel of the archaic period, perhaps it is the construction from multiple parts using rivets that is what is essentially meant. As with the case of the krater of Phanodikos, the suggestion that the dedication of Phalaris is very likely to have been a volute-krater is *ex silentio*: the absence in the archaeological record in the second quarter of the 6th century of metal kraters with figural decoration that are not volute-kraters. Although a Titanomachy, or even a Gigantomachy (as J. Boardman proposes[94]) is not yet known on bronze volute-kraters, hoplites are certainly present on the Vix krater (*fig.* 2) and, furthermore, a number of stray appliqués representing hoplites have been associated with volute-kraters.[95] One, in particular, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum (*fig. 13*), preserves part of a fallen figure, and therefore actual combat.[96] Furthermore, the appliqué from Persepolis in the form of racing horses pulling a chariot that is not preserved, could in principle come from a battle scene (fig. 14).[97] Now, the krater of Phalaris may not have been the only bronze volute-krater on Rhodes: a bronze in the form of a kneeling gorgon, similar to those on the stands of two volute-kraters, but much larger, was found in the sea off Rhodes in 1883 and is now in the Louvre (*fig. 11*).[98]

The krater that Phalaris dedicated on Lindos is best understood in relation to two other works of art connected with Gela, the city that had been responsible for the foundation of Akragas in 580 BC, only a few years before Phalaris came to power. The people of Gela had themselves already dedicated a krater at Lindos. This offering was made in thanks for victory in a battle that is now obscure, but for which scholars have suggested a date in the 7th century.[99] The Lindian Chronicle describes it simply as large:

Fig. 13. Bronze appliqué of a combat scene from the neck of a volute-krater, Laconian, mid 6th century BC. Malibu, California, J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, 96.AC.46 (photo courtesy Museum).

> Γελῶιοι κρατῆρα μέγα[ν], ὃς ταύταν εἶχε τὰν ἐπιγραφὰν Γελῶιοι τᾶ[ι] Ἀθαναίαι τᾶι Πατρώιαι ἀκροθίνιον ἐξ Ἀριαίτου, ὥς φατι Ξεν[α]γόρας ἐν Α τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξιος.
>
> 'The people of Gela [dedicated] a large krater, which had this inscription, "The people of Gela [dedicated this] to Athena Patroia, spoils from Ariaitos," as Xenagoras relates in the first book of his *Chronike Syntaxis*.'

Although the material is not specified, as spoils from war it is most likely to have been bronze, possibly fashioned from captured armour melted down. Beyond reference to its great size, we have no clue as to its appearance.

The significance of the inscription on the krater

Fig. 14. Bronze appliqué of a racing chariot from the neck of a volute-krater, Laconian, mid 6th century BC. From Persepolis. Tehran, National Museum (photo after Curtis / Tallis 2005, fig. 446).

of Phalaris concerning Daidalos and Kokalos becomes apparent in connection with the story related by Pausanias about another work said to be by Daidalos that could be seen at Gela. The very founder of that city, Antiphemos of Rhodes, had carried off to Gela a work (ἄγαλμα) that had been made by Daidalos as part of the spoils from the sack of the Sikanian town, Omphake.[100] As to the presence of Kokalos, Dunbabin inferred that the occasion for the dedication of Phalaris' krater may well have been the Agrigentine victory over the Sikanian capital, Kamikos.[101] As with the krater dedicated by the Geloans at Lindos, the occasion seems to have been victory on the battlefield.

Phalaris of Akragas was undoubtedly aware of both Daidalos' ἄγαλμα in Gela and the large krater dedicated by the Geloans long before at Lindos. Personal ambition, whatever the cost, characterized his life, in his rise to absolute power, and in his aggrandizement of Akragas.[102] Something of how he was considered within living memory of his death comes across in Pindar's first Pythian ode, written for Hieron of Etna's victory in the chariot race, who contrasts him with another ruler, Kroisos, himself a man who famously loved elaborate kraters from Sparta:[103]

οὐ φθίνει Κροί –
σου φιλόφρων ἀρετά.
τὸν δε ταύρωι χαλκέωι καυτῆρα νηλέα νόον
ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντᾶι φάτις,
οὐδε νιν φόρμιγγες ὑπωρόφιαι κοινανίαν
μαλθακὰν παίδων ὀάροισι δέκονται[104]

'The generous achievement of Kroisos
fades not.
But hateful everywhere is the speech that oppresses Phalaris,
the heart without pity, who roasted men in the bronze bull.
Nor lyres under the roof welcoming him
as the sweet theme for the voices of boys singing' (translation by Richmond Lattimore)

I suggest, therefore, that it was Phalaris who commissioned his krater for Lindos, false inscription and all, specifically in order to emulate his mother city and its founder. By associating himself culturally with patrons of legendary Greek craftsman and historically with a native born king of Sicily, he appropriated for himself and for the very young city of Agrigento, the aura of a remote history that did not in fact exist. The simple use of two inscriptions was a large part of the means to that end, for, since Homer, the re-use of venerable metal vessels had been a constant theme in literature, and one confirmed by archaeology.[105] Where was the krater made? It is not impossible that this was a local creation, as Barr-Sharrar has suggested: something like the krater in Syracuse from San Mauro, which has engraved figures (komasts and centaurs) on the neck on either side.[106] Much more likely, however, Phalaris will have wanted to eclipse the Geloans, both their 'large krater' already at Lindos and the ἄγαλμα by Daidalos in Gela, in the magnificence of his own dedication. He may very well have arranged for nothing other than a Κρατὴρ Λακωνικός from Sparta.

Notes

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1 London, British Museum GR 1816.6-10.107: Lewis / Jeffery 1994, 930-931 no 1508. For discussions, see Rumpf 1957, 132-133; Guarducci 1961, 165-168; Jeffery 1961, 72, 366-367, 371 nos 43-44, pl. 71 (reprinted 1991, addenda 478); Jeffery 1982; Lewis 1986, 71 (reprinted 1997, 40-41); Cook 1987, 40, 41 fig. 32; Immerwahr 1990, 15 no 60; Lewis / Jeffery 1994, 930-931 no 1508; Barr-Sharrar 2008, 87, 201 n. 74; Luraghi 2010, 76-78. On the early history of the stele and how it made its way from Ottoman Turkey to London, see Thomasson 2010.

2 On the double-edged meaning of μελεδαίνειν, see Jeffery 1982, 54.

3 For a discussion see Page 1955, 152-161.

4 See above, note 1.

5 Jeffery 1982, 53.

[6] See conveniently, Richter 1960, 337; Guarducci 1961, 155-172; Richter 1968, 324.

[7] For dedications from the Athenian Acropolis recording the profession of the dedicator, see Wagner 2000, 386; others include (for instance) Timonax the priest (Richter 1968, 26, 1a), Sombrotidas the physician (Richter 1960, 112 no 134) or Phrygia the bread seller (Kaltsas/Shapiro 2008, 64-65 no 23 [R. Proskynitopoulou]). For warriors killed in battle, compare the kouros from Anavysos (Richter 1960, 118-119, no 136; inscription, 115-116), the monument of Tet(t)ichos (Guarducci 1961, 158), the monument of Kallimachos (Raubitschek 1949, 18-20, no 13; Meiggs/Lewis 1969, 32-35 no 18), the monument of Gnathios of Eroiadai (Dover 1989, 124) or the grave stele of Pollis son of Asopichos (Grossman 2001, 98-99 no 36).

[8] For the Delos colossus, see conveniently Richter 1960, 51-53, no 15. For Kleobis and Biton, Richter 1960, 49-50 no 12. For Kallimachos, see above n. 7.

[9] For strainers in pottery, see Sparkes 1962, 132; Sparkes/Talcott 1972, 106; Amyx 1958, 59-68.

[10] Rotroff/Oakley 1992, 44.

[11] For Orientalising conical bronze stands, see Herrmann 1966, 1979. These lead to the conical stands for dinoi, some of which must have been bronze: Berger/Lullies 1979, 29-32 and 206-211 (J. Boardman); Denoyelle 1996. For rod tripods, see Stibbe 2000, 127-142; Descamps-Lequime/Charatzopoulou 2011, 283-284, no 158.1 (A. Kottaridi). For simpler stands, see Jantzen 1955, pls 9.1-2 and pl. 58; Biel 1985.

[12] Rotroff/Oakley 1992, p. 44.

[13] For recent summaries, see Rolley 2003 (with reviews by Gauer 2005, Tarditi 2006, and Stibbe 2006); Gaunt 2011.

[14] Rumpf 1957.

[15] Jeffery 1982, 53.

[16] On these see Hitzl 1982, 15-19; Gaunt 2002, 5-27.

[17] For Corinthian kraters of Chalcidian shape, see Bakir 1974, pls 7-8; Bothmer 1986, 114-116; Amyx 1988, 511-512; Gaunt 2002, 13-17, 415-420 (list).

[18] For the Sophilos krater in New York, see Bothmer 1986. For the François Vase, see Cristofani 1981; Hirayama 1998, 40-48 no 16; Hirayama 2010, 220-221 A4, introductory plates and pls 3-14; Moore 2011. For a second volute-krater by Kleitias, see Bothmer 1981; Hirayama 2010, 236-237 B 1 pls 28-29 (as Painter of Acropolis 601). The fragment from Huelva (Cabrera/Olmos 1985, 68, pl. 7a; Hirayama 2010, 224 A 8, pl. 17d) has been misidentified as a neck-amphora or an oinochoe, but should be from a volute-krater: Gaunt 2002, 439-440 no 6. For other early Attic black-figure volute-kraters, see Gaunt 2002, 28-60, 434-442 (list).

[19] On these see Stibbe 1992.

[20] The earliest Attic black-figure representations are on a fragmentary column-krater in New York: Moore 2010, 22 fig. 2, 23 fig. 3.

[21] Representations of volute-kraters on Nicosthenic amphorae include Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 64/52 (Beazley, 1989, 401; Hitzl 1982, 106f, 135f, 138, pl. 38b; Schleiffenbaum 1991, 408-409 D 10; *CVA* 3 [Germany 60] pls 10-11); and London, British Museum B 297: Beazley 1956, 218, no 16; Hitzl 1982, 135; Schleiffenbaum 1991, 409 D 12; *CVA* 4 [Great Britain 5] pls 72-73.

[22] On these, see Schleiffenbaum 1991, 49-51; Stibbe 1992, 18-19.

[23] For the drinking horn, see Filov 1927 30 no 35, pl. VI a; Godart 2010, 65. For the krater, see Godart 2010.

[24] Brussels, Musées Royaux R 401 (no 2); Atlanta, Carlos Museum 2006.42.1-2 (no 4); Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 192 (no 5); London, British Museum B 3 (no 6); Paris, Musée du Louvre E 662 (no 8); Leipzig, Antikenmuseum T 2177 (no 9).

[25] Stibbe, 1992, 19.

[26] *Works and Days* 744-745. For commentary, see West 1978, 340-341.

[27] For the text, see West 1965, 246.

[28] Louvre E 667: Stibbe 1972 pl. 6.

[29] Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi 3123 frr: Orsi 1911, 809-812; Bothmer 1986, 111-114, figs 6-7; Pelagatti / Stibbe 1990, 194, pl. 19a; Stibbe 1992, 59-60 br 1; Barr-Sharrar 2008, 58 fig 60a (drawing of side-view of handles), 87, 201 n. 73.

[30] For the date of the Capua krater, see Johannowsky 1974, 9 (580-565 BC); Hitzl 1982, 243-244 no. 8 (570-550 BC); Schleiffenbaum 1991, 242-243 V 6 (as 570-550 BC); Stibbe 1992, 60 br 2 (as first quarter of 6th c); Gaunt 2002, 633, no 2 (as about 580-570); Bottini in Godart 2010, 79 (as 580-560 BC).

[31] On kraters with gorgon handles, see Rolley 2003; Stibbe 2006, 310-325 and passim; Stibbe 2007; Stibbe 2008 (Bulgaria handle); Barr-Sharrar 2008, 58-60; Godart 2010; Gaunt 2011.

[32] Rolley 2003, 86-88 pls 6, 102-104.

[33] Filov 1927, 73-74 no 92, pl. 13.2. It is possible that the bronze krater from Trebenishte in Belgrade may have had a sieve: Gaunt 2011, 146.

[34] Stibbe 2007, 69 no 36, pl. 9.2.

[35] Paris, Musée du Louvre Br 3000: Rolley 2003, 103 no 16, fig. 62; Stibbe 2006, 311 (for the correct dating).

[36] Stibbe 2006, 311.

[37] London, British Museum Br 583, said to be from Grumento (Basilicata) or Armento (Lucania). The pair of handles, Paris, Musée du Louvre Br 2636 and Nîmes, Musée Archéologique were purchased in Italy. For these, see recently Rolley 2003, 97-98, figs 54-5.

[38] Rhodes, Archaeological Museum 15373: Stibbe 1972, 124, 137-138, pls 75-77; Kaltsas 2006, 132-133 no 46 (M. Filoimonos-Tsopotou). Hunt Painter, ca 555-550 BC. Found in grave with Attic pottery of the second quarter of the 6th century: Jacopi 1936, 85-95. For the palmettes, see also Stibbe 2006, 79 fig. 3 no 60, 84 no 60 (Vix krater), 86 fig. 17, 84 IV Bb (Rhodes hydria).

[39] London, British Museum 1902.12-17.2: Jantzen 1939, 148, 151; Rolley 2003, 103; Stibbe 2006, 311.

[40] Geneva, Ortiz (Sideris 2000, 6 figs 1-2); New York, Steinhardt (Barr-Sharrar 2008, 194 n. 2). With these may well go Olympia B 6250: Gauer 1991, 255 M 27, pl. 83.1, Abb. 3.38, 25.1. For the Derveni krater sieve, see Barr Sharrar 2008, 21 fig 17.

[41] Ortiz 1993, no 102 (independently identified by Stibbe). Argive Heraion: Waldstein 1905, 289 no 2071, pl. 120. The scale of these handles suggests, as Waldstein saw, that they may well take with them a third handle from the Athenian Acropolis (De Ridder 1896, 70 no 212, 71 fig. 46), although this differs in profile and in style. It should have been attached to an element approximately 56 cm in diameter.

[42] Rolley 2003, 103 and Stibbe 2006, 311 give the normal diameter for a plate as 40-45 cm.

[43] Belgrade, National Museum Br 174/1. Diameter of lip: 35 cm. Sofia, Archaeological Museum. Diameter of lip: 40.5 cm. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung 4262. Diameter of lip: 45 cm. Private. Diameter of lip: 55.5 cm.

[44] Curtis 1919, p. 41, pl. 25.

[45] Livadie 1980, 139 fig. 7. I owe my knowledge of this

example to an anonymous reader.

46 On these see Hill 1942.

47 For the Hochdorf dinos, see Biel 1985; for the one from Marathon, Amandry 1971, 602-626. For a variety of somewhat later bronze dinoi see (for instance) Smith 1926; Cooney 1965 (with spool feet and handles); Mitten 1975, 112-115 no 32; Albanese Procelli 2000.

48 *ArchReps* 35 (1988-1989), 91.

49 Filov 1927, 39-47 no 63 (volute-krater) and 47-48 no 64 (column-krater).

50 Filov 1927, 67-68 no 43.

51 *IG* 2,2, no 1694.

52 These include a number of appliqués from the Acropolis: Athens, National Museum Acr. 6649 (Rolley 2003, 82, figs 32-33: lion, from the handle blinkers); Acr. 6623 (Karousou 1979, 82, pl. 19 2-3: hoplite, from the neck); Acr. 6738 (Karousou 1979, 82, pl. 18 no 3: running gorgon, from the neck); possibly Acr. X 6690 (Kaltsas / Shapiro 2008, 75 no 23 [P. Bouyia]: feline, from a tripod stand?).

53 On these see above notes 18 and 20.

54 Homolle 1890, 413; Hamilton 2000, 401 no 80. He translates τετρυπημένον as 'crushed': more likely 'perforated' - see LSJ sv τρυπάω.

55 *IG* XI, 2, 161, C lines 71-77.

56 Pollux X 108.

57 For the sieves on these, see above n. 36.

58 On the krater in a private collection: Gaunt 2002, 645 no 16; Stibbe 2007, 69 no 36, pl. 9.2.

59 On this see Godart 2010. This may also have had a strainer: see Gaunt 2011, 146.

60 Olympia, Archaeological Museum B 6100 fr: Gauer 1991, 254 M 23, pl. 10.1, 77.3, 78, 90,5. Another fragment that is very likely from a volute-krater stand is the running hare, Olympia B 6184 (Gauer 1991, 255 M 26, pl. 77.2): compare the dogs on the krater stand in Belgrade, or the feline from the Acropolis (above n. 52). Since the two stands that are completely preserved have the same construction and subject matter for all three legs, these two fragments should probably belong to different assemblages.

61 Cleveland Museum of Art 2000.104: Gaunt 2002, 638 no 8, pl. 73.

62 Paris, Musée du Louvre Br 2570 (MNC 482): Bothmer 1979, 164 no. 123; Rolley 1981; Stibbe 2007, 65-67 no 33.

63 *IG* XI,2 161 face B 1, 123; Homolle 1890, 415. The same inscription proceeds to record three more Laconian kraters but has nothing to say either about stands or strainers.

64 The complete set is in the collection of George Ortiz: Ortiz 1993, no 149. Stands have been preserved with Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.483 and Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 73.098: see conveniently Barr-Sharrar 2008, 52-54 figs 53, 54, 56. Attic classical red-figure and black-glaze volute-kraters, and South Italian counterparts, are also sometimes equipped with stands.

65 On these see Thönges-Stringaris 1965; Dentzer 1982.

66 Payne 1931, 218 n. 2; Gjødesen 1963; Stibbe 2006, 310 (and elsewhere); Gaunt 2002, 346.

67 Stibbe 2009.

68 Herodotus 1.25.

69 Stibbe 2000. This writer came independently to the same conclusion: Gaunt 2002, 349.

70 Payne 1931, 218, n. 2. For the handle from Cilicia in the Louvre, see Joffroy 1979, 69 fig. 52; for the krater from Russia, see Vierneisel 1984, no 34. Here also belongs the krater in a private collection.

71 Joffroy 1954, 21 - because the other grave goods were second half of the 6th century.

72 Rolley 2003, 129-131, 115 fig. 67.

73 For example Basel, Antikenmuseum BS 451: Amyx 1988, 235 no 2, pl. 104 1 a-b (Athana Painter).

74 New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 31.11.4: Beazley 1956, 78 no 12, 682; Beazley 1971, 30; Hirayama 2010, pl. 18.

75 Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlung 8760: Beazley 1971, 46; Boardman 1974, fig. 69.

76 Pipili 1987, 69.

77 Rolley 2003, pls 96-99. Godart 2010, 75 (and passim).

78 Stibbe 1992, 63.

79 Rolley 2003, 129 n. 260.

80 *Iliad* 23.91-92; *Odyssey* 24.71-77. On keimelia, see von Reden 1997; Crielaard 2003; Guggisberg 2004.

81 For the Droop cup, see Rolley 2003, 161-165 (J.J. Maffre).

82 For the age of the deceased, see Rolley 2003, 34-35 (G. Depierre and H. Duday).

83 On the apsidal building, see for instance Mötsch/Grübel 2010. If this were to be Greek, one might think of the Minoan frescoes from Tell el-Dab'a that have prompted scholars to suggest a dynastic union between Minoan and Egyptian elite: Aruz 2008, 131-132 (M. Bietak).

84 St Petersburg, Hermitage Museum Dn 1870, 1/1: Rolley 2003, 98-100, fig. 56.

85 Stibbe, 2009.

86 Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum 0.21296: Hitzl 1982, 74-76, 282 no 23; Hitzl 1983; Schleiffenbaum 1991, 248 V 15.

87 *IG* XII, 1 column C 1 lines 21-28, section 27. On this krater, see Dunbabin 1948, 318; Braccesi/de Miro 1992, 8-9; *LIMC* VI, 145 Kronos no 25 (E.D. Serbeti); Morris 1992, 198-199; Murray 1992, 54; Boardman 2002, 116; Higbie 2003, 32-33, 108-111; Shaya 2005, 431; Barr-Sharrar 2008, 87, 201 n. 73.

88 For the date of Phalaris, see Graham 1982, 190.

89 Murray 1992, 54.

90 Is it possible that the sea-air at Lindos corroded some of the appliqués to a point where only parts remained, and that, at the time of Xenagoras, this gruesome subject suggested itself on account of the horrific stories of Phaleris' own cruelty that had become popular? For the date of Xenagoras, see Higbie 2003, 74.

91 Morris 1992, 198-199. Serbeti (n. 87) suggests silver.

92 Godart 2010, 92. Boardman (2000, 116) and Shaya (2005, 439) mistakenly take ἐτετόρευτο for 'embossed': this is an anachronism.

93 Milne 1941, esp. 389-390.

94 Boardman 2002, 116.

95 For the Vix-krater, see Rolley 2003, 77-143. For hoplite appliqués from volute-kraters, compare Athens, National Museum, Acr. 6623 from the Acropolis (Karousou 1979, 82, pl. 19 2-3; Rolley 2003, 119, n. 197); Athens, National Museum, Carapanos 35 from Dodona (Karousou 1979, 80 pl. 14 1-2; Rolley 2003, 118 n. 194); Athens, National Museum 7388 from the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoos (Joffroy 1954, 27, pl. 24, 3-4); Athens, National Museum 7550 from Edessa (Karousou 1979, 79-80 pl. 15; Rolley 2003, n. 19).

96 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 96.AC.46: True 1994, 55-56, no 16.

97 For the Persepolis appliqué, see Schmidt 1957, 70, pls 38-39; Boardman 2000, 136, fig. 4.8; Curtis/Tallis 2005, 247 no 446; Stibbe 2006, p. 320 n. 33; Gaunt 2011, 148 fig. 3.

[98] Paris, Musée du Louvre Br 2570 (MNC 482): see n. 62.
[99] Higbie 32-33 no 25, 105-107. For the date of the battle and the suggestion that Ariaitos should be a place rather than a name, see recently Fischer-Hansen 2002, 134.
[100] Pausanias 8.46.2. For a detailed account, see Malkin 1987, 53-54, 259-260; Fischer-Hansen 2002, 134-136. For works by Daidalos in Pausanias, see Arafat 1996, 67-74.
[101] Dunbabin 1948, 318.
[102] On Phalaris, see Dunbabin 1948, 313-315; Murray 1992.
[103] Herodotus 1.69-70.
[104] Pindar, *Pythian* 1.94-98.
[105] For keimelia, see above n. 80. In the context of recycling, Beryl Barr-Sharrar (2008, 43-44) has ascertained that the ownership inscription on the Derveni krater may have been added *subsequently* to the krater's manufacture.
[106] Barr-Sharrar 2008, 87. For the krater itself, see above n. 29.

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Vasellame metallico configurato a sirena: contatti ed influenze tra Etruria, Grecia e Magna Grecia

Laura Ambrosini

Abstract

The study focuses on an Etruscan bronze vase in the form of a siren, worked in sphyrelaton *and* repoussé technique *and decorated with gold leaf. The processing technique and the comparisons with bronzes from Greece and Magna Graecia show a strong Corinthian influence, just softened by the effects of the Ionic style. The vase, made in Vulci in the second quarter of the 6th century BC and probably found in a tomb, was certainly connected to the symposium. In the archaic age the equation sea = wine may have helped to identify the siren in the savior of the soul of the deceased.**

a Sybille Haynes

Presso il British Museum di Londra[1] è conservato un vaso etrusco di bronzo configurato a sirena (*fig. 1*), del quale non esiste a tutt'oggi uno studio puntuale. Il vaso ha finora attirato l'attenzione soltanto di Sybille Haynes in un articolo del 1965 ed in una scheda pubblicata nel 1985 nel volume *Etruscan Bronzes*.[2] Esso, a nostro avviso, costituisce una testimonianza eccezionale per tecnica di realizzazione e per iconografia.[3] Lo studio di entrambi questi aspetti consente di approfondire i rapporti tra metallo-tecnica etrusca e greca e quelli, spesso supposti (ma quasi mai verificabili) con la produzione vascolare in bucchero. Il vaso è un esempio di 'inventive hybridization', per usare una definizione di D. Amyx, nella quale il vaso prendeva la forma di un animale fantastico.[4] Prima di procedere al suo studio, forniamo una descrizione del vaso.

Il vaso

Londra, British Museum.
Inv. 1965.7-26.1.
Bibl. Sotheby's and Walkinson Collection Sale Collection 3 April 1854, lot 40; Haynes 1965, 22; Swaddling 1980, 33; Haynes 1985, 253-254, n. 23, con bibl. cit.
Alt. max 32,7; diam. piede 9,5 cm; lungh. max. corpo 12,3 cm; diam. orlo 3,2 cm; diam. fori presenti sul becco 0,4 cm; diam. rivetti 0,3 cm. I piedi della figura che costituisce l'ansa superiore sono stati incollati recentemente con colla all'ansa inferiore. La testa della sirena fino al collo ha un'altezza conservata di circa 10,2 cm ed un colore verde scuro diverso dal verde chiaro dell'imboccatura del vaso. La testa ed il corpo della sirena sono entrambi realizzati in lamina (con la tecnica dello sphyrelaton e del repoussé), mentre le zampe

Fig. 1. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, veduta frontale (foto autore).

Fig. 2. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio della parte inferiore della coda (foto autore).

Fig. 3. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio del volto (foto autore).

e la coda sono fuse a parte. La testa sembra essere stata infilata come una sorta di cappuccio alla sommità del vaso; una parte della lamina terminale, si sovrappone al collo; quest'ultima, tuttavia, è attualmente lacunosa. Come si osserva nelle vecchie foto di restauro si nota che le zampe non hanno un perno per inserirsi nel corpo, ma alla sommità hanno una superficie circolare. Non sappiamo se questa sia originaria oppure se degli eventuali perni originari siano stati rimossi in un restauro precedente del vaso. La coda ha l'innesto a forma di cono aperto nella parte inferiore (*fig. 2*) per adattarsi alla forma affusolata del corpo. Il viso ha gli occhi realizzati con lamina d'oro ritagliata ed applicata sul bronzo (*fig. 3*). Lo strumento utilizzato per la decorazione realizzata a mano libera sembrerebbe forse un cesello poiché lascia delle tracce con piccoli tratti. Il vaso è fortemente restaurato. Privo di circa metà del corpo, della testa e del collo; le integrazioni sono state realizzate con resina colorata di verde scuro. La parte interna è stata riempita di resina che appesantisce il vaso stesso e di un grande perno a vite di ottone disposto in verticale. L'attacco inferiore dell'ansa è fissato all'esterno del vaso con un gancio moderno circolare assicurato mediante una vite. La coda è assicurata al corpo mediante un perno con un dado.

Vaso in lamina di bronzo configurato a sirena (*figg. 4-6*). Bocca trilobata dotata di fori (ne sono visibili almeno quattro, alcuni non passanti),[5] alla quale è fissata un'ansa 'doppia' (*fig. 7*) che reca al di sopra una piccola ansa plastica costituita da una figura umana ed un'ansa inferiore tubolare. L'ansa superiore reca una figura umana fusa a tutto tondo, disposta in posizione arcuata 'a ponte', sul petto sono due cerchi che sembrano delineare i seni (spirali secondo Haynes),[6] ma che in realtà sono ciascuno un cerchio inserito all'interno di un 'occhio', come se si trattasse dell'iride dell'occhio stesso (*fig. 8*); la figura indossa un perizoma trapezoidale decorato a losanghe (il 'plaid perizoma') (*fig. 9*), con le mani poggiate su due arieti accosciati, con pelame reso a cerchielli. La figura ha capelli corti (*fig. 10*) resi sulla fronte con tratti verticali e ai lati del viso con tratti obliqui incisi molto grossolanamente, i tratti somatici sono appena abbozzati (naso grosso, occhi allungati, bocca che accenna un leggero sorriso); presenta alla base del collo un cordoncino che fa pensare allo scollo di un corto chitone, piuttosto che ad una collana. Questo spiegherebbe la presenza della decorazione 'ad occhi',[7] la sovrapposizione del perizoma alla veste nella zona dei fianchi e la presenza di una cintura alla vita, sopra al perizoma. L'attacco superiore

Fig. 4. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, veduta lato sinistro (foto autore).

Fig. 5. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, veduta lato posteriore (foto autore).

Fig. 6. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, veduta lato destro (foto autore).

Fig. 7. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio delle due anse (foto autore).

Fig. 8. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio dell'ansa plastica (foto autore).

dell'ansa è costituito da una palmetta a sei petali sorgente da doppia voluta fissata all'interno della bocca trilobata con due rivetti (*fig. 11*). L'attacco inferiore dell'ansa, che aderisce alla parte posteriore della capigliatura della sirena, è costituito da due palmette laterali a sette foglie sorgenti su base a doppia voluta (*fig. 12*). L'ansa inferiore, a sezione cilindrica, è costituita da una lamina ripiegata su se stessa; presenta un attacco superiore con modanatura a tre tori e sezione quadrata,

Fig. 9. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio dell'ansa plastica (foto autore).

Fig. 10. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio dell'ansa plastica (foto autore).

Fig. 11. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio della palmetta all'interno dell'imboccatura (foto autore).

Fig. 12. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio delle palmette all'esterno (foto autore).

Fig. 13. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio del volto di profilo (foto autore).

Fig. 14. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio del collo (foto autore).

mentre quello inferiore ha una modanatura a tre dischi sovrapposti ed un attacco a forma ellittica. Il vaso ha una testa umana. Il viso ha bocca, ora lacunosa, in origine forse leggermente socchiusa, mento molto pronunciato, zigomi sporgenti. I capelli, che scendono ai lati delle orecchie (*fig. 13*) in una massa compatta, sono di tipo dedalico (una sorta di copricapo del tipo *klaft* egizio?) che scende dalla testa e che è trattenuta sulla fronte da una piccola fascia. Il collo (*fig. 14*) ed il petto sono decorati a sbalzo (*fig. 15*) con piccole piume di forma romboidale sovrapposte, le grandi ali laterali (*fig. 16*), chiuse, sono tripartite mediante due coppie di doppie fasce verticali in tre riquadri decorati

Fig. 15. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio del petto (foto autore).

Fig. 16. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio delle piume e penne sul lato destro del corpo (foto autore).

Fig. 17. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio della decorazione della coda (foto autore).

Fig. 18. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio delle zampe (foto autore).

Fig. 19. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio della base delle zampe (foto autore).

uno con piume di forma romboidale e due con piume orizzontali. La coda è una lamina piatta, con innesto conico desinente a forma di incudine ed è stata realizzata a parte, decorata e infilata all'estremità del corpo, quando la lavorazione di quest'ultimo era terminata. La decorazione (*fig. 17*), tutta realizzata a mano libera, procede dall'alto in basso a serie di scaglie semicircolari, tre linee orizzontali parallele, motivo a rombi sovrapposti con puntino centrale, tre linee orizzontali parallele, sette baccellature radiali, due linee orizzontali parallele, motivo a rombi sovrap-

posti, due linee orizzontali parallele, otto baccellature radiali. Le zampe (*fig. 18*), realizzate a fusione piena, a tre dita palmate (natatorie)[8], poggiano su un disco fuso (*fig. 19*) ed hanno l'attacco superiore ovale.

Il restauro

L'osservazione diretta dell'oggetto, resa possibile grazie all'amica Judith Swaddling, ha consentito di verificare alcune caratteristiche tecniche del vaso che, unite alla documentazione effettuata per il suo restauro, realizzato nel 1979 (*fig. 20*), gettano luce sulla tecnica di lavorazione dei bronzi etruschi di età arcaica. Non è stato purtroppo possibile esaminare il vaso dall'interno ed in ogni sua singola parte, poiché ricomposto.

Ad un primo esame autoptico, il vaso appare costituito da cinque parti, realizzate separatamente ed unite in seguito. Il pezzo principale è senz'altro il corpo, sul quale sono state fissate la testa e la coda, infine le zampe, l'ansa superiore e l'ansa inferiore.

Si fornisce il testo della scheda di restauro, compilata dal restauratore R.M.T. Holmes il 2/5/1979.[9]

> 'Questo oggetto era stato precedentemente restaurato con una piastra in gesso, quando ricevuto dal Dipartimento era in frammenti. In primo luogo una serie di fratture e incrinature sul frammento del grande corpo e sulla testa sono state riparate utilizzando un montaggio di fibre di vetro e cemento "Durofix".[10] La riparazione è stata colorata con colori a polvere e gomma lacca. L'armatura è di rude fibra di vetro plasmata con resina ed era costruita come una forca. È stata costruita un'armatura interna di legno grezzo per sostenere la plastilina. Questa è stata modellata per sostenere il principale frammento del corpo e per indicare le zone mancanti. Nessun dettaglio era incluso, solo la forma di base. Altri frammenti del corpo sono stati inclusi e la plastilina modellata a stampo intorno ad essi. I frammenti sono stati rimossi e il modello bloccato in alto. Il modello è stato spalmato di vasellina e uno stampo in gesso preso in 4 sezioni. La parte superiore e 2 lati dello stampo sono stati riuniti insieme, ed è stata presa un'impronta con la resina & fibre di vetro. Alla resina è stato dato un debole colore verde scuro. La procedura sopra descritta è stata seguita per la testa, essendo fatta in due valve, il volto e gran parte della testa. Al volto è stata data una certa quantità di dettagli. Gli stampi sono stati puliti e le sezioni del corpo saldate insieme per formare una singola unità. La testa è separata e in valve. I frammenti sono stati montati ai calchi (i frammenti principali del corpo scivolano sopra) e le aree che necessitavano di essere costruite con il riempimento "Milliput".[11] Raccordi in Perspex sono stati costruiti per fissare i frammenti ai calchi. C'è un dispositivo di chiusura dentro la testa per fissarla al corpo e un piccolo rinforzo per assicurare la coda. L'estremità dell'ansa è fissata con una piccola staffa di rame. Prima del montaggio finale tutta l'armatura è stata dipinta di verde opaco. L'orlo e la figura di acrobata sono lasciati staccati. R.M.T. Holmes.'[12]

Come si evince dal resoconto edito da Swaddling,[13] il restauro è consistito nella realizzazione di un'armatura lignea (*fig. 21*) sulla quale è stata modellata la plastilina per ottenere la forma del corpo del volatile. I frammenti del vaso sono stati inseriti nella plastilina in recessi poco profondi (*fig. 22*) e poi rimossi, di questo oggetto è stata

Fig. 20. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, in corso di restauro, 1979 (foto British Museum).

Fig. 21. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, armatura di legno (foto British Museum).

Fig. 22. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, fissaggio dei frammenti sulla plastilina (foto British Museum).

realizzata una matrice in gesso (*fig. 23*). In seguito è stato realizzato uno stampo in fibra di vetro (*figg. 24-25*), dipinto di verde scuro, al quale sono stati fissati i frammenti metallici con staffe (*fig. 26*), in modo che in futuro possano essere smontati.

Fig. 23. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, realizzazione della matrice e calco del corpo (foto British Museum).

Fig. 24. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, stampi in fibra di vetro (foto British Museum).

Fig. 25. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, stampi in fibra di vetro assemblati (foto British Museum).

Fig. 26. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, restauro terminato (frammenti di bronzo fissati con grappe sullo stampo in fibra di vetro dipinto di verde scuro) (foto British Museum).

Fig. 27. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, veduta frontale prima del restauro del 1979, data ignota (foto British Museum - IB 18).

Il vaso, in data imprecisata (forse durante le fasi di restauro), è stato sottoposto ad analisi, i cui risultati sono stati pubblicati da Haynes nel 1985:
Piede: Cu 89,00; Pb 0,50; Sn 7,00; Orlo: Cu 92,00; Pb 0,20; Sn 8,00;
Ansa: Cu 91,00; Pb 0,15; Sn 8,30;
Coda: Cu 91,00; Pb 0,30; Sn 8,00;
Corpo: Cu 90,00; Sn 8,50.

La tecnica di lavorazione

Il vaso, come evidenziato dal restauro, è composto da varie parti, alcune delle quali realizzate nella tecnica dello *sphyrelaton* e *repoussé* - la testa ed il corpo -, e altre invece con la tecnica della fusione (a cera persa?) - l'imboccatura, l'ansa plastica, la coda e le zampe, oppure composita (ansa inferiore). Ciò rende un documento eccezionale questo oggetto è che su di esso (come già notato nel 1965 da Haynes[14] e poi, purtroppo non registrato nello studio successivo ad opera della stessa Haynes),[15] erano state applicate delle foglie d'oro decorate, come è stato possibile 'scoprire' grazie alle fotografie conservate presso il British Museum (scattate prima del restauro del 1979).

È possibile osservare che la decorazione in

Fig. 28. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, veduta lato sinistro prima del restauro del 1979, data ignota (foto British Museum - I B 6).

foglia d'oro visibile nei due fotogrammi conservati, che riproducono la veduta frontale (*fig. 26*) e laterale sinistra (*fig. 27*) dell'oggetto, consisteva nell'occhio destro e in un collier sul collo. Gli occhi - quello destro è ancora conservato -, erano costituiti da un semplice elemento a forma di foglia d'olivo. Il collier era costituito da tre rosette raccordate da una fascia decorata con rosette di dimensioni minori. La rosetta centrale, di dimensioni maggiori, visibile nella fotografia che riproduce la veduta frontale del vaso (*fig. 28*), è costituita da un bottone centrale formato da due cerchi concentrici e da una serie di petali arrotondati. Essa è collegata a due rosette laterali di dimensioni inferiori (*fig. 29*) mediante una fascia di forma rettangolare decorata con una o più rosette di piccole dimensioni. Pertanto il collier va ricostruito con una rosetta centrale di grandi dimensioni, due laterali di dimensioni medie, raccordate da una fascia con rosette di piccole dimensioni. La decorazione a foglia d'oro è stata rimossa, come si può vedere in una fotografia (in sette frammenti) in fase di restauro, ma attualmente non è stato possibile reperirla. Dal momento che, in fase di restauro, non sono state osservate prove certe dell'attacco dei frammenti di foglia, essi non sono stati ricollocati.[16] Tuttavia, a nostro avviso, osservando accuratamente le vecchie fotografie si nota molto bene che il collier era applicato al 'bordo' inferiore della testa, quello che poggiava sul corpo. Esso è ora lacunoso, pertanto credo che sia difficile trovare tracce delle impronte delle rosette. Mi risulta difficile pensare, tuttavia, che un collier di questo tipo sia stato aggiunto in epoca moderna al vaso. Considerata la presenza dell'occhio destro decorato a foglia d'oro (non rimosso nel restauro poiché giudicato pertinente) e l'uso di ornare gli *sphyrelata* con foglie d'oro, sarei propensa a credere che il collier fosse pertinente al vaso. In questo modo esso aveva la funzione non solo di abbellire la figura e renderla più preziosa, ma anche di camuffare la giunzione tra le due parti. Nel catalogo di Sotheby's (*fig. 31*) non sono menzionate lamine d'oro e nel disegno esse non sono raffigurate. Va però detto che in questo caso bisognerebbe forse mettere in discussione anche la resa grafica del vaso nel catalogo: nell'occhio destro è raffigurata l'iride, ora non presente, le piume presenti sulla parte anteriore del corpo del volatile non sono raffigurate. Nelle foto di archivio si osserva che la sovrapposizione della testa della sirena al collo, certamente poco gradevole alla vista, era parzialmente 'camuffata' dalla decorazione con il collier di foglie d'oro. Un alto collare decorato ad incisione con rombi e perle con bordo inferiore a denti di lupo è presente anche al collo del busto cd di Iside dalla Tomba di Iside di Vulci (*fig. 32*).[17]

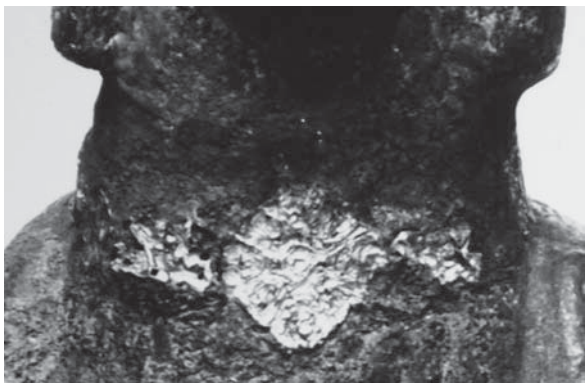


Fig. 29. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio del collier, veduta frontale prima del restauro del 1979, data ignota (foto British Museum - IB 18).

Fig. 30. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio del collier, veduta lato sinistro prima del restauro del 1979, data ignota (foto British Museum - I B 6).

Com'è noto le sottili lamine d'oro prodotte nel 'libro' venivano applicate con adesivi organici solitamente sopra ad una base di gesso o calcite. Un altro metodo di applicazione del sottile strato d'oro su metallo è la tecnica che consiste nell'applicare uno strato di mercurio sulla superficie da dorare.[18] Nel nostro caso non si può pensare ad un'applicazione mediante semplice pressione con strumenti in legno, osso o avorio, o con pietre dure perché lo strofinamento avrebbe danneggiato il sottile strato d'oro (certamente già decorato). Il collier ricorda nella composizione generale, una fascia con rosette, come quella aurea da Kos.[19] La rosetta centrale, per composizione, ricorda pendenti dell'Orientalizzante antico, come quello da Vetulonia.[20] Il corpo centrale della rosetta laterale

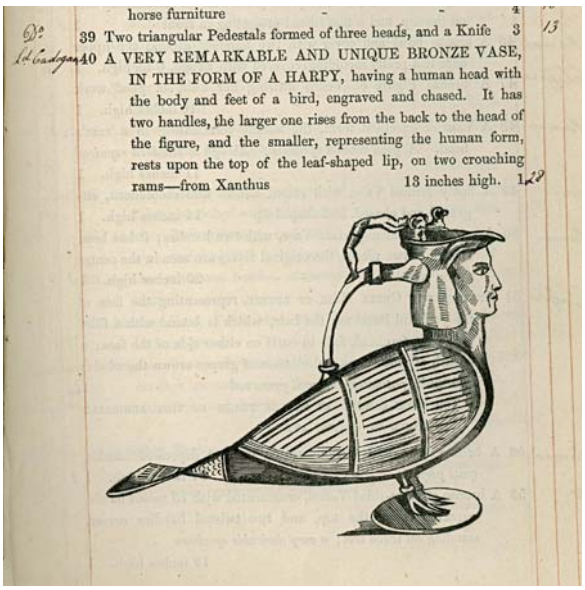

horse furniture
39 Two triangular Pedestals formed of three heads, and a Knife 3
40 A VERY REMARKABLE AND UNIQUE BRONZE VASE, IN THE FORM OF A HARPY, having a human head with the body and feet of a bird, engraved and chased. It has two handles, the larger one rises from the back to the head of the figure, and the smaller, representing the human form, rests upon the top of the leaf-shaped lip, on two crouching rams—from Xanthus 13 inches high.

Fig. 31. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, catalogo d'asta di Sotheby's 1854 (foto British Museum).

Fig. 32. Busto femminile di bronzo dalla Tomba di Iside a Vulci, Londra, British Museum, veduta frontale, dettaglio del collare (foto British Museum).

Fig. 33. Rosetta in foglia d'oro dal santuario di Sibari presso Timpone Motta di Francavilla Marittima (da Papadopoulos 2003, 13, fig. 7).

destra è molto simile alle rosette della collana in oro dalla tomba 131 di Polis-tis-Chrysokou,[21] alle rosette presenti sulla lamina d'oro da Narce[22] o sul pettorale di Baltimora.[23] La forma delle rosette rinvia a quella di archetipi rodii-insulari e ai loro successori magno-greci. La decorazione a rosette compare sulle rotelle dell'imboccatura delle *oinochoai* rodie con una singolare equazione rotelle = orecchie che sembra aver diffuso tale tipo di decorazione negli orecchini, grazie alla diaspora degli artigiani greco orientali in Occidente.[24] Le *oinochoai* in lamina di bronzo che imitano modelli greco orientali divengono rapidamente commerciabili fra le aristocrazie nell'area Tarquinia-Vulci.[25] Per le rosette magno-greche possiamo citare come esempio quella dal santuario di Hera Lacinia a Capo Colonna (edificio B)[26] e quella dal santuario di Sibari presso Timpone Motta di Francavilla Marittima (*fig. 33*).[27] Entrambi per la caratteristica dei petali, dal profilo arrotondato e dalla superficie bombata vengono orientati verso archetipi rodio-insulari. La resa dei petali con linea di contorno (come sembra di potersi dedurre dalle due fotografie) richiama da vicino quella della rosetta da una tomba presso Bollendorf[28] e le rosette da Dodona[29] esposte al Museo di Ioannina. In generale, dovremmo immaginare il collier simile, per qualche verso, ai diademi in uso nelle statue crisoelefantine: un confronto diretto è possibile stabilire con i diademi rinvenuti a Delfi da P. Andry

Fig. 34. Diadema in foglia d'oro con rosette pertinente a statua crisoelefantina dal santuario di Apollo a Delfi. Delfi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (da L'oro dei Greci, 133, fig. 96.6).

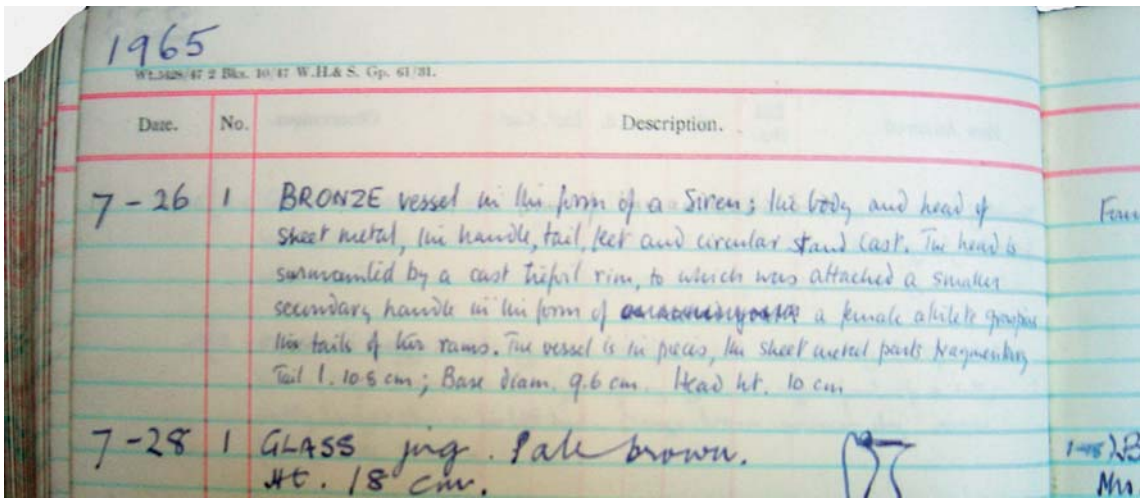
nel 1939 nelle due fosse scoperte sotto la pavimentazione della Via Sacra. Nella più grande rinvenne i frammenti di tre statue crisoelefantine a grandezza naturale, distrutte da un incendio ed interrate intorno alla metà del V sec. a.C. Alla statua con testa di avorio virile (Apollo?), viene attribuito il diadema di lamina d'argento dorato (*fig. 34*), considerato opera di artisti ionici e datato intorno al 560 a.C.[30]

La provenienza

La provenienza del vaso è sconosciuta.

Il vaso,'Found unregistered', risulta inventariato nel Registro del British Museum soltanto nel 1965 (*figg. 35-36*). Non sappiamo pertanto in quale anno il vaso sia entrato nelle collezioni del museo. Sappiamo però che esso fu messo in vendita a Londra dalla casa d'asta Sotheby's and Walkinson il 3 aprile del 1854 come proveniente da Xanthus. Nel catalogo d'asta di Sotheby's conservato presso il British Museum, accanto alla scheda del vaso (definito a forma di arpia), è annotato a matita 'Do. Ld. Cadogan' (cioè *Ditto* Lord Cadogan) e la somma £ '28'. Nel registro del British Museum c'è un'annotazione importante: 'See Sotheby's and Walkinson Collection Sale Collection 3 of 1 April 1854 lot 40 - said to be from Xanthus.' Nel registro è stata aggiunta, con una grafia diversa, un'ulteriore frase scritta da Michael Downing:[31] '(but several Etruscan objects in the same are said to be from Xanthus, including Lot 220 which is also said to be from Cumae!).' Infine, segue una frase annotata a matita 'Get copy of target annotated «Ld Cadogan [£] 28» Cadogan's collection was sold at Sotheby's in?'. Credo che l'indicazione della provenienza da Xanthus potrebbe essere stata condizionata dal noto monumento funerario con le Sirene psicopompe (in realtà Arpie), scoperto da Sir Charles Fellows il 19 aprile 1838 ed acquisito proprio dal British Museum nel 1848. Il Lord Cadogan citato sia nel catalogo d'asta che nel registro potrebbe essere George Cadogan, 1st Baron Oakley later 3rd Earl Cadogan, nato il 5 maggio 1783 e morto il 15 settembre 1864.[32] Cadogan nel 1852 divenne Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London e fu Sloane Trustee of the British Museum tra il 1833 ed il 1864. La sua collezione risulta venduta da Sotheby's il 23 Marzo 1865. Da questi dati risulta però un'aporia, evidentemente già rilevata a suo tempo, tra l'anno di vendita del vaso che risulta nel Registro del British Museum (1854) e l'anno in cui fu venduta la collezione di Lord Cadogan.

Il riferimento della provenienza di un lotto da Cuma, non ha molto rilievo. I primi scavi regolari nella necropoli di Cuma, condotti dal Conte di Siracusa, erano iniziati nel 1852 e proseguirono fino al 1857.[33] Scavi procedevano anche nell'Etruria meridionale, al cui ambiente artistico, come vedremo oltre, è possibile riferire il nostro vaso. Se cerchiamo possibili luoghi di provenienza, dobbiamo pensare soprattutto a Vulci dove, com'è noto, l'attività di scavo nelle necropoli era frenetica. A partire dal 1828 e fino al 1840, le necropoli orientali furono scavate con i fondi del feudatario

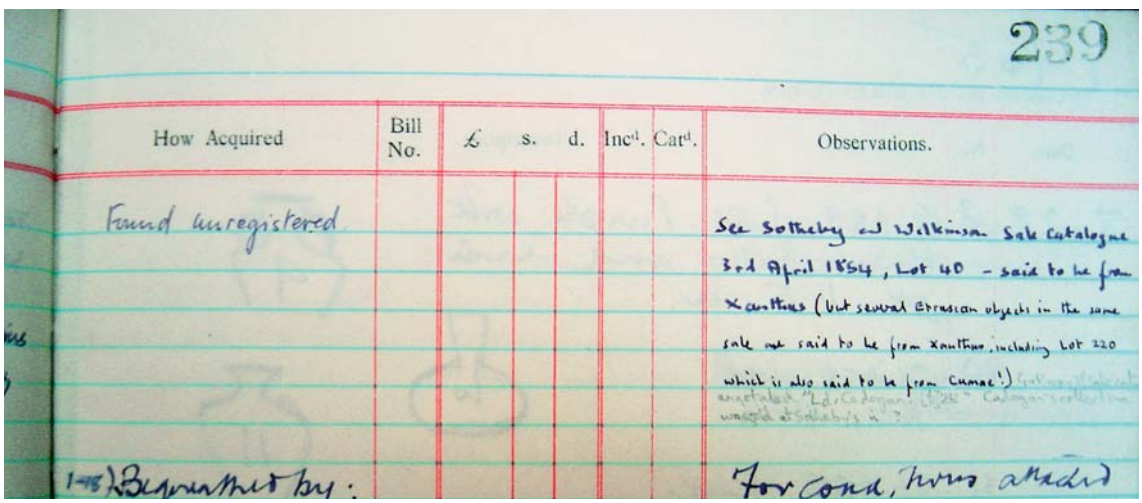

1965

Date. | No. | Description.

7-26 | 1 | BRONZE vessel in the form of a Siren; the body and head of sheet metal, the handle, tail, feet and circular stand cast. The head is surrounded by a cast triple rim, to which was attached a smaller secondary handle in the form of a female athlete grasping the tails of her rams. The vessel is in pieces, the sheet metal parts fragmentary. Tail l. 10.5 cm; Base diam. 9.6 cm. Head ht. 10 cm.

7-28 | 1 | GLASS jug. Pale brown. Ht. 18 cm.

Fig. 35. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, Registro (foto autore).


239

How Acquired | Bill No. | £ s. d. | Incd. | Catd. | Observations.

Found unregistered

See Sotheby and Wilkinson Sale Catalogue 3rd April 1854, Lot 40 – said to be from Xanthus (but several Etruscan objects in the same sale are said to be from Xanthus, including Lot 220 which is also said to be from Cumae!)

1-48) Presented by: For cond, Terms altered

Fig. 36. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, Registro (foto autore).

della zona, Luciano Bonaparte,[34] le necropoli occidentali tra il 1834 ed il 1837 da Vincenzo Campanari in società con il Governo Pontificio,[35] e nel 1853 il feudo passò ai Torlonia. Sappiamo che Domenico Campanari si era trasferito a Londra, aveva aperto un'attività commerciale di materiali archeologici ed era in contatto con il British Museum e con il mercato d'arte londinese.[36] Non escluderei, pertanto, che il vaso etrusco possa essere giunto sul mercato d'arte londinese proprio attraverso il Campanari.

La forma del vaso e l'inquadramento stilistico

Il vaso del British Museum testimonia una fase della metallo-tecnica etrusca nella quale non si era ancora pervenuti all'invenzione del metodo di produrre da un'unica lamina anche forme chiuse.[37] Pertanto il contenitore era il risultato dell'unione di parti realizzate separatamente, alcune in lamina con la tecnica dello *sphyrelaton*[38] ed altre con la tecnica della fusione. Analizzeremo le singole parti costituenti per trarre da esse informazioni utili all'inquadramento generale dell'oggetto.

La conformazione dell'imboccatura del vaso e l'attacco superiore con la palmetta fissata all'interno con due rivetti è tipica delle *oinochoai* rodie.[39] Il nostro vaso tuttavia, ha un ventre di forma *askoide*, che mal si confà con l'ampia imboccatura trilobata, tipica delle *oinochoai*. Negli *askoi* configu-

rati a sirena, come vedremo, l'imboccatura trilobata, laddove presente, è di dimensioni decisamente inferiori. Il vaso, pertanto, pur essendo simile ad un *askos* per la forma del corpo, per la presenza dell'ampia imboccatura trilobata potrebbe aver svolto la funzione di *oinochoe* piuttosto che di *askos*. Potremmo pertanto definirlo come una sorta di '*oinochoe askoide*'. A nostro avviso l'ansa del nostro vaso è un ibrido tra la *Griechische Ephebenkanne* (typo D di Weber)[40] e i manici antropomorfi di *paterae* (in cui però gli arieti non sono a tutto tondo). L'ansa è chiaramente collegata a quella dei manici di *paterae* rinvenuti in Grecia, come quello dal Pritaneo di Olimpia[41] ed inoltre la sua palmetta assomiglia molto a quella di altri attacchi di ansa rinvenuti ad Olimpia (*Rollenattaschen mit Palmetten*)[42] di origine peloponnesiaca tardo arcaica e corinzia. C'è da dire che questo tipo di palmetta interna è identica a quella dell'*oinochoe* in bronzo da Castel San Mariano[43] e che tale motivo decorativo è stato considerato etrusco da W. Ll. Brown.[44] Secondo M. Gjødesen vi sarebbe una priorità nell'uso della figura umana come elemento decorativo per manici di specchi in Grecia, per poi passare alle *oinochoai*, alle *hydriai* ed alle *paterae*.[45] Com'è noto, si deve a K.A. Neugebauer una prima distinzione tra quelli con attacco costituito da due arieti contrapposti (prodotti in Italia meridionale ed Etruria) rispetto a quelli che ne sono privi (originari della Grecia).[46] Sulla tipologia hanno lavorato Gjødesen, ed in seguito P. Amandry e U. Jantzen. L'attribuzione del tipo II con raccordo lavorato 'à jour', con due figure di arieti contrapposti, al mondo magno greco è stata generalmente condivisa. Chiara Tarditi ha però sottolineato come, data la grande differenza stilistica tra i vari pezzi da lei raggruppati in questa variante, non si possa pensare ad un'unica provenienza, e come non vi siano elementi precisi a favore di un'origine magno greca. La Tarditi propende infatti, basandosi su confronti stilistici con la statuaria di maggiore impegno, per un'attribuzione all'ambito artistico peloponnesiaco.[47] La resa del pelame degli arieti sul vasellame rinvenuto in Grecia e Magna Grecia è molto plastica e non piatta (resa a cerchielli) come sul nostro vaso.[48] La presenza del perizoma su una serie di manici ha fatto sì che le figure fossero considerate femminili, nell'atto di svolgere il ruolo di acrobate.[49] Il motivo del perizoma compare anche su due manici di patere rinvenute nel santuario di S. Biagio a Metaponto e la pettinatura con i capelli corti di una delle due statuette conferma che la non nudità non implica necessariamente che si tratti di figure femminili.[50] Il 'plaid perizoma' indossato dalla nostra figura[51] trova confronti per la forma con analoghi esemplari greci ('more or less triangular front piece pulled up through the legs in front and over the pieces at the sides');[52] inoltre, la delineazione dei seni, che potrebbe far pensare all'identificazione del sesso, sembra invece soltanto decorativa ed indicare l'iride di occhi 'disegnati' sul chitone indossato dalla figura. Gli occhioni, disegnati ai lati dell'imboccatura trilobata delle *oinochoai* (per dotarle di un carattere antropomorfo) sono prima attestati in Etruria grazie alle opere del Pittore delle Rondini[53] e poi verso la fine del VII e i primi decenni del VI sec. a.C. nella produzione etrusco-corinzia dei Pittori di Pescia Romana, di Volunteer[54] ecc. ed in seguito anche nel bucchero pesante che si ispira alla metallo-tecnica.[55] È a Sparta, com'è noto, che viene attribuito un ruolo decisivo nella produzione di vasi bronzei in età arcaica ed alla sua produzione è stata attribuita anche l'invenzione delle *hydriai* con ansa costituita da una statuetta di *kouros*, motivo che verrà ripreso e sviluppato soprattutto a Corinto dopo la metà del VI sec. a.C.[56] L'ansa con figura di 'acrobata' che indossa il 'plaid perizoma' è un motivo di età orientalizzante che troviamo già nelle quattro anse da Castelluccio La Foce nel Senese.[57] Lo schema 'a ponte' come presa di coperchio per ciste è stata giudicata di origine etrusca, derivata da prototipi che circolavano in ambito greco per anse di vasi, ciste e *paterae*. L'origine tipologica dell'ansa, vista la fiorente produzione di vasi bronzei con anse a forma di *kouroi* nudi dal corpo più o meno inarcato è stata ricondotta, ragionevolmente, a Vulci.[58] L'ansa inferiore tubolare[59] cava (*fig. 37*) del vaso di Londra ci conduce alle *oinochoai* 'rodie': nelle *oinochoai* venivano fissati tre tubicini cavi ottenuti da lamine bronzee ripiegate su se stesse, inseriti ad incastro nell'elemento di giunzione con l'imboccatura del vaso, realizzato a fusione piena, arricchito nella parte interna con una placchetta decorata a sbalzo con motivo floreale a palmetta e volute. Considerate in passato come imitazioni delle *oinochoai* fittili di Rodi e attribuite quindi a produzione rodia, in seguito imitate da bronzisti etruschi ed italici, la maggior parte di esse sono state recentemente attribuite, eccetto pochi esemplari, ad *ateliers* etruschi. Alcuni esemplari sono stati considerati da F. Hiller, C. Rolley e C. Pare i progenitori *Aegean Greek* della produzione etrusca, ma questa soluzione non soddisfa B. Shefton. Secondo Shefton la creazione etrusca della forma nel terzo quarto del VII sec. a.C. riprende quella delle *oinochoe* milesie del *Wild Goat Style*,[60] anche se i motivi applicati all'ansa non sono greco-orientali, ma sembrano essere peloponnesiaci.[61] Lo

Fig. 37. Vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena. Londra, British Museum, dettaglio dell'ansa inferiore (foto autore).

studioso ipotizza che il luogo dove si è potuta sperimentare questa creazione sia stato Vulci, dove nel tardo VII sec. a.C. emigrano artigiani greco-orientali, come il Pittore delle Rondini. Quando la produzione cessa, si trasferisce nei centri greci dell'Italia meridionale.[62] La tecnica di martellatura del corpo del vaso di Londra e la sua unione all'imboccatura realizzata a fusione sono altri due elementi che ci inducono però a riflettere. Nel suo recente lavoro sulle *oinochoai* rodie, Shefton delinea la produzione dell'*oinochoe* di tipo Ba che mostra il corpo realizzato a martellatura, l'imboccatura realizzata a parte con fusione e poi inserita nel vaso. Lo studioso sostiene che la manifattura greca di questo tipo Ba sia plausibile per via della decorazione a sbalzo, che è completamente greca 'in character'.[63] Lascia dunque intuire

Fig. 38. Maschera in bronzo di dea, da Olympia (da Kyrieleis 2008, tav. 17).

che, poiché durante i decenni centrali e oltre del VI secolo c'è stato uno scrupoloso adattamento di ciò che era stato un prodotto di élite etrusco da parte di un centro greco nell'Italia meridionale, la produzione di questo tipo di *oinochoai* possa essere magno-greca.[64] Il volto della nostra sirena, a differenza del volto del busto femminile dalla Tomba di Iside di Vulci, ha occhi con contorni meno marcati, zigomi più pronunciati, mascella più arrotondata con un mento prominente al posto della mascella squadrata e del mento meno prominente, il collo più snello e meno massiccio. In poche parole nel volto della sirena sembrano già recepiti i primi influssi ionici attivi sul suolo etrusco. La bocca, per quanto lacunosa, in base ai resti conservati, si presume che fosse quasi nella posa del sorriso arcaico, mentre le labbra del volto del busto di Iside sono sottili e in posa serrata.[65] Nell'ambito delle opere realizzate nelle stessa tecnica dello *sphyrelaton*, notiamo che il volto della sirena assomiglia moltissimo alla maschera alto arcaica da Olympia (*fig. 38*):[66] raffigura una dea che indossa una *stephane* ed è identificata come parte di una statua (ricostruita sul modello della celebre statua di Nikandre) di produzione samia, per la quale si offrono confronti greco-orientali di fine VII sec. a.C. Proprio ad ambito samio rinvia la forma del mento e della bocca (per quello che

Fig. 39. Busto di dea di bronzo, da Samo (da Buschor 1934, fig. 74).

se può dedurre dallo stato di conservazione) della sirena: il busto femminile realizzato nella tecnica dello *sphyrelaton* rinvenuto a Samo (*fig. 39*), interpretato come Hera da E. Buschor, presenta il medesimo ovale, mento e zigomi pronunciati.[67] La testa della nostra sirena è stata giudicata femminile da Haynes.

Vorrei osservare che la conformazione della capigliatura fa pensare, come già detto brevemente, piuttosto ad una sorta di corto *klaft* di tipo egizio, che consisteva di una tela rettangolare fissata sulla fronte con un cerchio metallico. In ambito peloponnesiaco copricapi di questo tipo, anche decorati, sono attestati su statue indubbiamente femminili, con collane al collo.[68] Va però sottolineato che questa acconciatura di tipo dedalico in Etruria è attestata su bronzetti virili del secondo quarto del VI sec. a.C. come un bronzetto virile collegato ad ambiente chiusino.[69] Nessuna affinità si nota invece con gli *sphyrelata* con rifiniture incise come il volto femminile da Castel San Mariano[70] e con il colino-*infundibulum* da Capua,[71] attribuiti recentemente a produzione dell'Etruria interna (Orvieto/Chiusi),[72] che, a mio avviso, mostrano tratti di ionismo più maturo ed un accentuato 'decorativismo' esaltato dell'incisione.[73] Non conosciamo al momento confronti puntuali per il corpo, dal momento che il corpo delle altre sirene metalliche a noi note, sono realizzati nella tecnica a fusione, con i dettagli delle piume realizzati a freddo (vedi *infra*). Il primo dato da osservare è che la nostra sirena è priva di braccia, come è norma nel mondo laconico, e, pertanto, priva di attributi (*syrinx*, cetra, melagrana o altro). Sembrerebbe contrastare con l'aspetto di tipo virile (in ambito etrusco, ma non greco) della capigliatura, lo sfavillante collier in foglia d'oro che la sirena indossava al collo: va tuttavia osservato che nelle manifestazioni artistiche etrusche dello stile fiorito subarcaizzante e delle prime fasi dell'alto arcaismo tale tipo di capigliatura appare diffuso in altre raffigurazioni di personaggi virili (come, ad esempio, nella Tomba Campana di Veio).[74] Il nostro vaso configurato a sirena è stato attribuito in modo convincente, credo, da Haynes a produzione vulcente per le evidenti affinità con un'ansa da Vulci[75] e con il busto dalla Tomba di Iside per l'uso combinato della tecnica dello *sphyrelaton* e della fusione e della doratura con foglia d'oro.[76] A produzione etrusca attribuiva il vaso di Londra indirettamente anche Rolley quando, parlando di iconografia dei bronzi in Magna Grecia affermava: 'L'iconografia riflette anche pensieri ed idee che spesso ci sfuggono: abbiamo a Crotone tre statuette di "Sirene," un tema eccezionale nel bronzo; ma esse derivano direttamente da un modello etrusco.'[77]

Il nostro esame ha messo in evidenza il carattere ibrido di questo prodotto: accanto ad elementi tipicamente etruschi come l'uso combinato di tecniche diverse, l'abbigliamento della figura plastica che costituisce l'ansa superiore, la resa del pelame degli arieti e la capigliatura di tipo dedalico, si osservano elementi di origine peloponnesiaca (come l'ansa plastica del tipo *Griechische Ephebenkanne*, la palmetta all'interno dell'imboccatura del vaso, il tema degli arieti contrapposti), rodii (l'ansa tubolare) e samii (volto) elaborati in ambito etrusco.

La realizzazione del nostro vaso in Etruria appare evidente, così come evidente è, nondimeno, il contatto con la bronzistica peloponnesiaca e greco-orientale. Difficile stabilire, nell'assenza totale di dati circa il rinvenimento del vaso (non solo il luogo ma soprattutto il suo contesto), se questi contatti siano avvenuti effettivamente a Vulci (sempre che il vaso sia stato realizzato nel luogo dove è stato rinvenuto). La metropoli, in

effetti, nel secondo quarto del VI sec. a.C., epoca nella quale possiamo agevolmente inquadrare il nostro vaso, avrà accolto toreuti stranieri[78] (greco-orientali) arrivati in Occidente.[79]

I confronti con gli *askoi* di bronzo dalla Grecia e Magna Grecia

Il vaso di bronzo configurato a sirena che abbiamo attribuito a produzione etrusca, conservato a Londra, non ha paralleli in ambito etrusco. Appare tuttavia rilevante come lo stesso tema iconografico compaia su altri recipienti di bronzo, con tettonica analoga, anche se con dimensioni pressoché dimezzate. Esistono infatti *askoi* in bronzo rinvenuti in Grecia e in Magna Grecia che presentano con esso alcune analogie strutturali ed iconografiche.

L'esemplare che proviene dalla Grecia è stato rinvenuto nell'Argolide, a Kynourìa,[80] sito a tre ore da Leonidi. L'*askos* (*fig. 40*) con il n. inv. 18805 già conservato ad Astros, nel Museo Etnico Archeologico, è attualmente presso il Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Atene. È stato rinvenuto da A. Mastorakis nei pressi del santuario dedicato ad Apollo ὁ Τυρίτας presso un tratto delle mura che circondano l'acropoli.[81] Il piccolo vaso con bocca trilobata (altezza 7 cm, lunghezza 8,5 cm) è giudicato un prodotto di Argo ed è datato dagli archeologi greci al 600-575 a.C. Nonostante la conformazione dell'imboccatura, tipica dell'*oinochoe*, il vaso è simile ad un *askos* e può essere considerato un contenitore di unguenti,[82] per la presenza (per quanto è possibile giudicare dalle fotografie edite)[83] di una presa ad anello forata per la sospensione, posizionata sul dorso della sirena, simile a quella presente sugli unguentari sami. All'interno di una piccola presa, in tutto simile, presente nell'esemplare fittile greco-orientale configurato a sirena rinvenuto a Samo, nella tomba 45 del Pythagoreion, necropoli occidentale (conservato a Kassel),[84] datato alla metà del VI sec. a.C., è conservata una sorta di 'ansa mobile' in filo di bronzo che serviva a sospendere il vaso. La sirena da Kynourìa ha capelli a lunghe trecce (*fig. 41*) che ricadono sul dorso e in avanti sul petto ed è priva di braccia. Al collo reca una collana dalla quale pende al centro un pendaglio globulare. La sirena ha larghe spalle arrotondate e collo affusolato.

In Magna Grecia è stato rinvenuto negli anni '20 del XX secolo un *askos* di bronzo (*fig. 42*),[85] configurato a sirena con testa di donna e ansa configurata a donna stilizzata del tipo delle *korai*, nel territorio di Cutro,[86] a sud di Crotone, in una

Fig. 40. Askos di bronzo configurato a sirena da Kynourìa, veduta lato sinistro (da Phaklares 1990, 78.c).

Fig. 41. Askos *di bronzo configurato a sirena da Kynourìa, veduta frontale (da Phaklares 1990, 78.d).*

'zona presso un ponte della strada che porta ad Isola Capo Rizzuto'. Fu donato ad Armando Lucifero, ed in seguito fu assicurato alle collezioni statali dal Soprintendente Edoardo Galli. La località ai limiti della Piana di Sant'Anna e prossima a Testa Divina è nota nella letteratura scientifica per la presenza di un importante santuario della chora crotoniate.[87] E' pertanto probabile che fosse un ex-voto esposto in ambito santuariale e poi

Fig. 42. Askos *di bronzo configurato a sirena dalla Piana di Sant'Anna, veduta lato destro (da Marino 2010, 26).*

Fig. 43. Askos *di bronzo configurato a sirena dalla Piana di Sant'Anna, veduta frontale e posteriore (da Marino 2010, 28).*

deposto in una stipe votiva. La zona si trova a Sud del Santuario di Hera Lacinia. Il piccolo *askos* (altezza 9 cm, lunghezza circa 11,5 cm), con semplice bocchello arrotondato, è stato attribuito ad officine di bronzisti attive a Crotone e datato al 540-530.[88] La sirena con testa femminile (*fig. 43*), indossa un diadema decorato con motivo 'a torre'[89] (come una sorta di corona). Ha capelli a lunghe trecce che scendono sulle spalle (due da ciascun orecchio), non ha la testa ruotata verso destra (come di norma negli unguentari greco-orientali), ma rivolta in avanti, seno femminile e sporgente coperto dall'*apoptygma* del peplo a pieghe larghe e appiattite, digradanti ai lati, le ali raccolte con punte incrociate alle estremità, coda a ventaglio ed è priva di zampe; un foro irregolare al di sotto del corpo fa supporre che esse fossero realizzate a parte, a fusione, ed unite in seguito al corpo. La sirena indossa al collo un laccio dal quale pende una bulla ghiandiforme baccellata,[90] mentre il peplo reca una fascia superiore con perle, ed una inferiore con meandro continuo ed una identica a quest'ultima disposta in verticale al centro della veste. La bulla ghiandiforme baccellata ci sembra un elemento molto utile ai fini della cronologia. In ambito etrusco *bullae* di questo tipo sono raffigurate al collo di donne in monumenti di metà VI sec. a.C. (come, ad esempio, il coperchio di urnetta fittile ceretana da Monte Abatone).[91] L'ansa, col retro piatto (*fig. 44*), è costituita da una *kore*, con lunghi capelli a treccia ricadenti sulle spalle, che indossa abbigliamento ionico (*himation* sul chitone), nell'atto di impugnare nella mano destra una corona verso il petto, mentre la sinistra con la *paryphé* ornata con motivo a meandro, è accostata al fianco corrispondente.

Fig. 44. Askos *di bronzo configurato a sirena dalla Piana di Sant'Anna, veduta lato sinistro (da Marino 2010, copertina posteriore).*

Secondo R. Spadea il pendente può richiamare

Fig. 45. Askos *di bronzo configurato a sirena dalle Murge di Strongoli, veduta lato destro (da Marino 2010, copertina anteriore).*

Fig. 46. Askos *di bronzo configurato a sirena dalle Murge di Strongoli, dettaglio lato destro (da Marino 2010, 8).*

l'ambiente argivo e, se alcuni particolari decorativi hanno dei precedenti in elaborazioni di matrice rodia o corinzia (resa dei particolari del piumaggio), nondimeno è palese l'influsso laconico nel trattamento del volto, della pettinatura nella parte frontale e in alcuni particolari (il pendente, il *polos*). La presenza del meandro e la tipologia del pezzo sembrerebbero confermare la tesi di un prodotto locale che ha risentito dei vari influssi e correnti presenti nella koiné delle colonie achee.[92]

Sempre dalla attuale Calabria, proviene un altro *askos* (*fig. 45*),[93] recentemente 'riacquisito' dallo Stato Italiano. Viene da una delle tombe della Comunella delle Murge di Strongoli[94] devastate nell'ottobre del 1987, area dove la Soprintendenza stava scavando dal 1983. Acquistato dal J.P. Getty Museum nel 1992 grazie all'intermediazione di una gallerista elvetica, il vaso è stato restituito all'Italia dagli USA e consegnato al Museo Archeologico di Crotone il 27 novembre del 2009.[95]

Fig. 47. Askos *di bronzo configurato a sirena dalle Murge di Strongoli, dettaglio ansa plastica (da Marino 2010, 24).*

L'esemplare delle Murge di Strongoli (altezza 15,3 cm, lunghezza 18,7 cm, larghezza 8,4 cm) ha un'ansa configurata a *kouros* (lunghezza 7,8 cm), dotata al braccio sinistro di un anello (diametro 1 cm), pertinente alla catenella (*fig. 46*) alla quale era appeso probabilmente il tappo del contenitore[96] che si innestava nel *polos* a clessidra che costituisce il bocchello troncoconico alla sommità della testa della sirena. Il *kouros* (*fig. 47*) ha capelli divisi da una scriminatura centrale in due bande ondulate che arrivano all'altezza delle orecchie e le braccia piegate ai fianchi. La base di appoggio della figura (costituita dai talloni) si inseriva sul dorso della sirena in un apposito foro. La sirena

Fig. 48. Askos *di bronzo configurato a sirena dalle Murge di Strongoli, dettaglio volto (da Marino 2010, 4).*

(*fig. 48*) indossa un diadema radiato (corona),[97] ha i capelli divisi da una scriminatura centrale in due bande ondulate che arrivano all'altezza delle orecchie e che scendono in una massa compatta sulle spalle; indossa una collana (?) resa con due sottili linee incise sul collo[98] ed un peplo ridotto al solo corpetto superiore squadrato con scollo a V, con bordo a fascia, che copre il busto, con il seno poco evidenziato. Le braccia umane protese in avanti (*figg. 49-50*) recano una melagrana nella mano sinistra e una *syrinx* nella destra. Il corpo è decorato con piume e penne rifinite a freddo e le zampe sono fissate al corpo attraverso fori tondeggianti posti sulla superficie inferiore di quest'ultimo.

Conosciamo i dettagli tecnici del vaso attraverso quanto edito da Margherita Corrado: il corpo della sirena, 'cavo, prevedeva fori tondeggianti per l'inserzione delle zampe, - le braccia invece sono tutt'uno con il busto-, piene, fuse singolarmente e, al pari delle altre superfici, rifinite a freddo prima di essere lucidate. Un cavo di dimensioni maggiori e di forma irregolare doveva

Fig. 49. Askos *di bronzo configurato a sirena dalle Murge di Strongoli, dettaglio lato sinistro (da Marino 2010, 22).*

Fig. 50. Askos *di bronzo configurato a sirena dalle Murge di Strongoli, veduta frontale (da Marino 2010, 25).*

Fig. 51. Askos *d'oro configurato a sirena, n. 3630, veduta lato destro (da www.tkasian.com).*

Fig. 52. Askos *d'oro configurato a sirena, n. 3630, dettaglio dell'ansa plastica (da www.tkasian.com).*

invece accogliere la testa della Sirena, anch'essa ottenuta con la tecnica 'a cera persa', dissimulato anteriormente dal profilo a V della scollatura del peplo e seminascosto posteriormente dalla massa dei capelli ricadente sulle spalle.'[99] La testa, dunque è stata attaccata al collo seguendo un taglio predisposto a V, che è visibile alla base del collo.[100] Il vaso sarebbe dunque stato realizzato con la tecnica a cera persa a 'fusione per settori staccati' e rifinito a freddo.

Il corpo della sirena mostra una conformazione del tutto singolare: soprattutto nella veduta frontale le ampie spalle 'squadrate' e massicce, leggermente spioventi, conferiscono al busto una massa sproporzionata rispetto alla piccola testa ed alla breve estensione della parte inferiore del corpo (peraltro rastremata). I dettagli stilistici del vaso consentono una datazione nello stile severo, tra 470-460 a.C.

È stato possibile rintracciare recentemente sul sito internet di TK Asian (sito www.tkasian.com) a Williamsburg, Virginia (USA) un *askos* in oro (*fig. 51*) che ha tutta l'aria di essere un falso, cioè una copia moderna, realizzata traendo spunto dall'*askos* dalle Murge di Strongoli, conservato dal 1992 al 2009 negli USA. L'oggetto, con il n. 3630, ha l'altezza di 6 1/8", che corrispondono circa a 17,14 cm. La sirena ha un'ansa configurata a *kouros* (*figg. 52-53*) nella stessa posa di quello dell'*askos* dalle Murge di Strongoli, con l'unica differenza che nell'*askos* aureo il *kouros* ha le mani sul ventre e non ai fianchi. Anche in questo caso la figura poggia con i talloni sul dorso della sirena. La sirena (*fig. 54*), come nell'esemplare dalle Murge di Strongoli, indossa un diadema a denti di lupo (corona), ed al di sopra un *polos* a rocchetto decorato con denti di lupo alternati, che imitano boccioli di loto e che costituisce il bocchello del contenitore. I capelli a fitte ciocche incorniciano il volto con un'anomala acconciatura a 'frangetta' e scendono in una massa compatta sulle spalle. Le braccia umane protese in avanti (*fig. 55*) recano una melagrana nella mano sinistra e un serpente attorcigliato all'avambraccio destro, con la testa nel pugno della mano (*fig. 56*). Il corpo è decorato con piume e penne (*fig. 57*), in modo simile, ma più plastico rispetto all'*askos* dalle Murge di Strongoli. Le piume sono ben evidenziate anche nella parte superiore delle zampe, la destra delle quali nella fotografia appare singolarmente schiacciata. Le zampe poggiano su una base circolare con bordo rilevato. Nel sito web si afferma che sono state compiute sull'oggetto analisi XRF, radiografie, analisi dell'Uranio, Torio, 4He (isotopo non radioattivo dell'Elio) da Stoetzer, Inc.[101] e che i risultati di queste analisi sarebbero consistenti con la datazione stilistica al V sec. a.C. di questo oggetto fornita dal confronto con l'*askos* già conservato al J.P. Getty Museum. Il vaso aureo, secondo TK Asian, 'may have been crafted for or by the Scythians'. Le troppe analogie iconografiche con il vaso bronzeo dalle Murge di Strongoli inducono a sospettare della autenticità dell'esemplare aureo.

È stato sottolineato come in Magna Grecia la sirena, oggetto di un vero e proprio culto[102] abbia avuto un decisivo ruolo di essere psicopompo. Le figurine umane che costituiscono le anse plastiche di questi *askoi* sono state interpretate come un'eco di queste 'ansie funerarie': la sirena doveva portare l'anima del defunto verso il mondo della luce.[103]

Fig. 53. Askos *d'oro configurato a sirena, n. 3630, dettaglio volto (da www.tkasian.com).*

Fig. 54. Askos *d'oro configurato a sirena, n. 3630, dettaglio volto (da www.tkasian.com).*

L' ICONOGRAFIA

Non è nostro scopo dilungarci sull'iconografia della sirena, sulla quale esiste una bibliografia molto estesa.[104] Vasi a forma di volatili con testa femminile compaiono in Grecia nel periodo arcaico fondamentalmente in due aree, la Grecia orientale, con probabile fulcro a Rodi, e a Corinto.[105]

Ad ogni modo occorre sottolineare due elementi: nel vaso del British Museum il corpo della sirena ha poco di umano, ad eccezione della testa. Conformemente al modello peloponnesiaco, il corpo è di uccello: non vi sono cenni alla sporgenza dei seni, non indossa pertanto un chitone atto a coprire la nudità del corpo di tipo femminile, non vi sono braccia umane e neppure diademi che coronano la testa. In buona sostanza il vaso di Londra raffigura un volatile con testa umana e non un volatile antropomorfo. Le sirene corinzie[106] non avevano braccia, mentre alla fine del VI sec.

Fig. 55. Askos *d'oro configurato a sirena, n. 3630, veduta di tre quarti (da www.tkasian.com).*

Fig. 56. Askos *d'oro configurato a sirena, n. 3630, dettaglio delle braccia (da www.tkasian.com).*

Fig. 57. Askos *d'oro configurato a sirena, n. 3630, veduta lato sinistro (da www.tkasian.com).*

Fig. 58. Scarabeo di corniola con sirena che assale o rapisce un uomo, da Chiusi, disegno (da Egeler 2011, fig. 56).

a.C. raffigurazioni di sirene rinvenute in altre zone presentano braccia per impugnare strumenti musicali, evidentemente per accompagnare il loro canto. La sirena di Londra ha il corpo allungato simile a quello delle sirene greco-orientali, che hanno, tuttavia, la testa volta verso destra.[107] Le

Fig. 59. Vaso plastico corinzio configurato a sirena, Centre Island di New York, collezione privata (da Biers 1999, 143).

sirene corinzie, con lo sguardo quasi costantemente rivolto in avanti, hanno corpi più arrotondati, con code corte e spesso privi di alcuna raffigurazione di ali. Il tipo corinzio e quello greco-orientale sono ben distinti, ma nella più antica produzione greco-orientale si possono individuare degli influssi corinzi sia nella forma generale che nella decorazione, tanto da indurre alcuni studiosi a ritenere che vi fosse l'influsso di ipotetici esemplari proto corinzi.[108]

C'è da dire di più: come già anticipato nell'esame stilistico, la testa della sirena di Londra ha una capigliatura di tipo dedalico che in Etruria trova confronti puntuali con bronzetti virili del secondo quarto del VI sec. a.C.[109] L'iconografia della sirena con testa con acconciatura a *klaft* in Etruria si diffonde anche grazie ad oggetti come lo scarabeo di corniola da Chiusi (*fig. 58*)[110] dello '*Sphinx and Youth Group II*', con la sirena che assale o sostiene con le zampe un uomo,[111] accostato ad uno greco-orientale con una raffigurazione simile.[112] In ambito greco, la sirena rientrerebbe nel tipo B della classificazione di Wicker (volatile con testa virile imberbe e sopra alla fronte una fascia decorata con rosette).[113] Il tipo mostra delle analogie con le sirene raffigurate su due *oinochoai* rodie da Vroulià (una a Leida ed una a Londra).[114] In generale, dunque, dal punto di vista iconografico la sirena di Londra sembra un ibrido, di creazione etrusca, che riprende dall'iconografia del tipo corinzio la frontalità, lo sviluppo lungo l'asse verticale del corpo, l'assenza della braccia e la capigliatura di tipo dedalico, mentre da quella greco-orientale la forma allungata del corpo, con la coda a ventaglio.

Un buon esempio dell'iconografia corinzia può essere fornito dall'esemplare più antico finora

noto, del Centre Island di New York (*fig. 59*). Attribuito al Transizionale, ha corpo ovoidale, ali indicate ed è stato datato al primo quarto del VI sec. a.C.[115] La sirena ha il petto decorato a squame come sul nostro vaso ed il corpo è coperto da ali che, esattamente come sul vaso di Londra, sono tripartite mediante due coppie di doppie fasce verticali in tre riquadri decorati uno con squame e due con piume orizzontali. Nella sirena del vaso di Londra sia la capigliatura che i tratti del volto sono meno dedalici rispetto al vaso corinzio e mostrano già i segni dello Ionismo incipiente.

Anche le sirene virili potevano avere diademi e dunque gioielli. Particolare rilievo va dunque riservato alla decorazione in foglia d'oro applicata al collo della nostra sirena. Così come nelle statue polimateriche di Delfi già citate, anche le figure virili sono dotate di gioielli che ne mettono in evidenza la condizione sovrannaturale. La connotazione sovrannaturale della sirena sembrerebbe confermata dalla raffigurazione presente in uno scarabeo etrusco a Berlino nel quale *Turms* accarezza una sirena con testa virile.[116]

Fig. 60. Oinochoe *in bucchero pesante configurata a sirena, da Vulci. Berlino, Altes Museum (da Antiken-Museum Berlin 1988, fig. 9).*

Fig. 61. Oinochoe *in bucchero pesante configurata a sirena, da Vulci. Berlino, Altes Museum (da Jucker/Pallottino 1955, fig. 16).*

Le *oinochoai* etrusche in bucchero configurate a sirena

Il vaso londinese trova una stretta affinità, in ambito etrusco, per tettonica ed iconografia, con un piccolo gruppo di *oinochoai* in bucchero pesante. Le tre *oinochoai* a corpo di sirena in bucchero pesante, sono state raggruppate nel 1973-1974 da G. Camporeale. Si tratta di un esemplare conservato a Berlino[117] rinvenuto a Vulci (*figg. 60-61*), uno conservato a New York[118] dall'Etruria (*fig. 62*) ed uno ad Orvieto dalla tomba 9 della necropoli di Crocefisso del Tufo (*fig. 63*).[119] A nostro avviso i tre vasi rivestono una grande importanza poiché denotano la notevole capacità dell'artigianato etrusco di creare, innovare ed ampliare il repertorio formale prendendo spunto, spesso, dalla metallotecnica.

Secondo Camporeale, le tre *oinochoai* costituiscono un gruppo omogeneo i cui elementi costanti

Fig. 62. Oinochoe *in bucchero pesante configurata a sirena, dall'Etruria. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (da Picon et al., fig. 321).*

Fig. 63. Oinochoe *in bucchero pesante configurata a sirena, da Orvieto, necropoli di Crocefisso del Tufo tomba 9 (da Bizzarri 1962, tav. XVI).*

Fig. 64. Oinochoe *configurata a sirena, da Kythera. Londra, British Museum (foto: British Museum).*

sono l'altezza (circa 24-25 cm) ed il collegamento formale all'*askos* a sirena noto nella produzione ionica e corinzia della seconda metà del VII e prima metà del VI sec. a.C. A tale proposito lo studioso li avvicina all'*askos* bronzeo dal territorio di Cutro del quale abbiamo già trattato.[120] La nuova forma vascolare creata in Etruria nasce dalla contaminazione tra il vaso plastico configurato a sirena e l'*oinochoe*. A nostro avviso le matrici culturali di riferimento non sono così palesemente greco-orientali. Infatti in due vasi di bucchero (nel vaso da Orvieto è difficile dirlo) la sirena è di tipo virile, mentre negli unguentari greco-orientali è normalmente femminile, con lunghi capelli acconciati in trecce; inoltre il corpo del vaso si sviluppa secondo l'asse verticale e la testa della sirena è sempre rivolta di fronte e mai verso destra come di norma negli unguentari greco-orientali.

Nell'insieme ci sembra, pertanto, che i modelli di riferimento non siano gli unguentari greco-orientali configurati a sirena.[121] Un esemplare da Kythera[122] (*fig. 64*) di fine VII a.C., attribuito dubitativamente a produzione laconica, con altezza compatibile con quella dei vasi etruschi (è alto 21,5 cm) offre un confronto abbastanza puntuale. Le dimensioni dei tre vasi etruschi, come già notato da Camporeale, sono sensibilmente mag-

giorate rispetto a quelle degli unguentari greci.[123]

Difficile ci sembra, inoltre, assegnare, in ragione delle differenze stilistiche, i tre esemplari ad un unico centro di produzione: secondo Camporeale uno dei centri di produzione sarebbe stato Chiusi, 'senza escludere che anche qualche altro centro, ad esempio Orvieto, possa essere tenuto in conto.'[124] Lo studioso delinea una seriazione stilistico cronologica secondo la quale nell'*oinochoe* di Berlino sarebbero evidenti le esperienze della plastica dedalica (sotto l'aspetto di manifestazioni attardate) ma del tutto assenti quelle della plastica ionica, nell'*oinochoe* di New York sarebbero contenute quelle della plastica dedalica e presenti quelle della plastica ionica, ed infine nell'*oinochoe* di Orvieto irrilevanti quelle della plastica dedalica e fortemente sviluppate quelle della plastica ionica.[125]

Va sottolineato, in effetti, che questa seriazione delinea, a mio avviso, non solo diversi modelli di riferimento, ma anche altrettanti differenti ambiti produttivi. Ci sarebbe pertanto una seriazione tipo-cronologica che consente di individuare nell'esemplare da Vulci a Berlino modelli di riferimento ancora peloponnesiaci (corinzi), in quello 'dall'Etruria' a New York di evidente manifattura chiusina le prime formulazioni greco orientali (per lo più rodie) e nell'esemplare da Orvieto uno ionismo più elegante (continentale). Nell'esemplare da Vulci a Berlino ci sembra di cogliere nella capigliatura echi dei vasi plastici corinzi con capigliatura dedalica, come, ad esempio, con quello configurato a comasta, del Gruppo di Megara Hyblea, conservato a New York,[126] databile al 570 a.C. I dettagli posti in evidenza da Camporeale come la barba decorata a zig zag e la collana a linguette riportano a confronti con bucchero e con la statuaria chiusina di età arcaica. Nel vaso a sirena di bucchero a New York sono ben evidenti i richiami all'ambito rodio innanzitutto nel trofeo di palmette che si immagina decorare la parte anteriore della veste della sirena: trova confronti puntuali con trofei di palmette dipinti su unguentari rodi configurati a busto femminile del Gruppo Normale.[127] Ad ambito corinzio e rodio rinviano a mio avviso anche le due protomi anseriformi che, nelle vedute laterali del vaso, costituiscono la sua prosecuzione ideale, come se si trattasse di un *askos* configurato ad anatra. Dal punto di vista stilistico i richiami effettuati alla produzione chiusina di bucchero pesante, come l'orecchio a listello curvilineo, la placchetta frontale con testina femminile tra due volatili al di sopra dell'ansa, sono del tutto convincenti.[128] L'ultimo esemplare, rinvenuto ad Orvieto, nella tomba 9 della necropoli di Crocefisso del Tufo, è quello che mostra i tratti più marcatamente ionici dei tre. Del tutto assente è la decorazione a graffito, sostituita da contorni molto fluidi. Colpisce la particolare resa delle ali, la cui linea morbida si congiunge ininterrottamente a quella delle sopracciglia. La resa delle ali con una riga a rilievo che costituisce quali una mantellina sul corpo si trova su un unguentario arcaico esposto nel Museo Archeologico di Sozopol (l'antica Apollonia Pontica) in Bulgaria.[129]

Quello che succede nelle botteghe dei ceramisti etruschi, era già avvenuto in Grecia, soprattutto a Corinto.[130] Modelli allogeni vengono scelti, adottati ed adattati introducendo alcuni elementi che possono essere cambiati, inventando così nuove forme adatte alle esigenze della propria cultura.

Conclusioni

Alla luce dell'analisi effettuata cerchiamo di trarre delle considerazioni conclusive sul vaso in bronzo etrusco configurato a sirena del British Museum. Il vaso, per le sue caratteristiche tecniche (*sphyrelaton* e *repoussé* e decorazione in foglia d'oro) che ne facevano un oggetto delicato, prezioso e sottoposto a pericolo di danneggiamenti involontari (ammaccature, fessurazioni o rotture, perdita della decorazione in lamina d'oro), a nostro avviso, mal si prestava ad un uso frequente o quotidiano. Un vaso di questo tipo difficilmente sarà stato un dono votivo in santuario: si sarebbe optato per una statuetta realizzata con la tecnica delle fusione o per un vaso fittile; probabilmente il vaso di bronzo sarebbe stato troppo fragile e delicato come strumentario del culto per il personale sacro addetto al santuario. Si tratta, a nostro avviso di un oggetto prezioso, anche se non, forse, di destinazione votiva o sacra.[131] Infatti, dalla documentazione archeologica finora esistente risulta che l'immagine della sirena viene solitamente associata a contenitori di unguenti offerti spesso in santuari dedicati a divinità femminili (Hera, Artemide, Demetra e Kore, Ninfe).[132] Pertanto un vaso di bronzo, di questo tipo, non miniaturistico, difficilmente destinato a contenere unguenti, per via della bocca trilobata eccessivamente ampia, dovrebbe rientrare a tutti gli effetti tra il vasellame del simposio. Dal momento che vasellame da simposio pregiato e che mal si prestava ad un uso frequente o quotidiano viene rinvenuto quasi esclusivamente in contesti funerari, l'ipotesi più plausibile, dunque, è che il vaso sia stato rinvenuto in una tomba. La sua tettonica e la sua decorazione in foglia d'oro conferiscono al contenitore un aspetto di oggetto particolarmente singolare e prezioso. Il nostro vaso prodotto in Etruria, verosimilmente a

Vulci nel secondo quarto del VI sec. a.C. è, a nostro modo di vedere, riferibile con ogni probabilità ad un servizio da simposio aristocratico da parata. Se questa deduzione coglie nel vero, il vaso rientrerebbe in quella categoria di 'oggetti di particolare pregio artistico e materiale, opere la cui visione suscita meraviglia e stupore in chi le osserva e che procurano gloria e onore a chi le possiede, opere ricevute per lo più in dono ed oggetto di scambio all'interno di un commercio «arcaico» nobile e prestigioso, frutto di un artigianato altamente specializzato ed esperto.'[133]

Il contesto di rinvenimento del vaso sarebbe stato fondamentale per assegnare al contenitore il corretto significato; dico questo soprattutto in ragione del motivo iconografico su di esso raffigurato, la sirena, da sempre, com'è noto, oggetto delle interpretazioni più varie. Restringendo il nostro campo all'ambito funerario etrusco dobbiamo, tuttavia, sforzarci di stabilire dei parametri. Si tratta, in buona sostanza, di capire se in Etruria possiamo attribuire alle sirene, in questa fase cronologica, la funzione che rivestivano in ambito funerario sia in Grecia che in Magna Grecia. Com'è noto, le sirene in Grecia talora sono utilizzate come custodi delle tombe[134] per segnalare un limite, il passaggio a qualcosa d'altro. Il legame tra le sirene e il mondo dell'Ade è presente in Euripide (*Elena*, 167-179). In rapporto al mondo femminile l'ornamento di gioielli alle orecchie ed al collo, contribuiscono a dare alla sirena un aspetto seduttivo che rafforza il legame tra la sirena ed Afrodite.[135] Presenti al ratto di Persefone da parte di Ade, le sirene assistono al momento cruciale in cui la fanciulla passa alla condizione di *gyne*, donna sposata e regina del mondo dei morti. Questo può spiegare per quale motivo tra VI e V sec. a.C. si diffondono immagini di sirene *psychopompai* di giovani.[136] Vengono spesso confuse con le Arpie, che mostrano tuttavia degli artigli utili al rapimento. Definite da Sofocle *korai* e da Euripide *parthenoi*, vengono assimilate ad altri ibridi femminili della mitologia greca. Secondo alcune tradizioni furono fanciulle punite da Afrodite per avere trascurato l'amore e mutate in uccelli; la leggenda di Partenope racconta che fuggì dai propri pretendenti, si tagliò i capelli e si rifugiò nel golfo di Napoli da cui la città prese il nome. La figura della sirena sembra dunque legata ai riti di passaggio femminili tra infanzia ed età adulta, sottolineando il passaggio più cruciale, la fine della vita umana e il transito verso le sedi oltremondane nei riti funerari.[137]

Per quanto riguarda la sfera di riferimento maschile, non si può non porre in evidenza come la sirena fosse un essere fantastico legato al mare, posto a tutela dei naviganti nei bracci di mare pericolosi. Non a caso i santuari dedicati alle sirene, disposti lungo le linee della colonizzazione greca del Tirreno meridionale tra lo Stretto di Messina e il Golfo di Napoli, segnalavano l'inizio della zona degli empori commerciali per chi veniva da oriente.[138]

In ambito etrusco, secondo Ingrid Krauskopf, che si è occupata nello specifico dell'argomento, la sirena, figura di volatile con testa umana presa in prestito dall'arte greca, può essere utilizzata per raffigurare un demone funerario; tuttavia, questa sua funzione (così come in Grecia) non è unica ed esclusiva. L'immagine della sirena sembra stabilizzarsi tra la fine del VI ed il IV sec. a.C. ma la sua funzione di demone funerario non sembra prevalere, ma essere utilizzata in aggiunta ad altri tipi di demoni.[139] A nostro avviso, nel vaso di Londra non sono ravvisabili elementi che rinviino in alcun modo alla funzione di essere psicopompo; si notano invece gli aspetti di essere androgino, che contrastano, in qualche modo, con il collier a foglia d'oro (se effettivamente pertinente) che sembra rinviare ad aspetti di tipo più 'femminile'.

Il nostro vaso, utilizzato forse con la funzione di oinochoe, sarà stato destinato, con ogni probabilità, a contenere vino: in molte raffigurazioni vascolari la sirena è presente in un contesto rituale collegato al dionisismo e al mondo del vino, raffigurata insieme a danzatori con coppe e tralci di vite.[140] Nella ceramica laconica, ad esempio, accanto ai consueti protagonisti del simposio, poi, vediamo di frequente sirene che offrono corone[141] e ciò ha determinato le interpretazioni delle varie scene in senso cultuale o funerario.[142] Dal vino come dal mare, si può riemergere e questa funzione di salvatrice poteva avere la sirena.[143] Gli studi di L. Cerchiai e di B. d'Agostino hanno posto in evidenza, in sintesi, l'equazione mare = vino nella mentalità arcaica come esperienza di una totale alterità simile a quella offerta dalla morte, dalla quale si può tuttavia riemergere con una radicale rigenerazione.[144] Le figure che costituiscono le anse di vasi destinati a contenere liquidi (quasi esclusivamente vino), con la loro posizione verso l'imboccatura del vaso richiamano certo le figure di acrobati impegnati in esercizi ginnici o danze durante i banchetti, oppure figure di servitori o coppieri che assecondano con la loro posizione l'azione del 'versare'.

Viene da chiedersi, tuttavia, se queste figure plastiche possano raffigurare, in qualche modo, un personaggio impegnato in un tuffo, sotto la tutela

di animali altamente simbolici in campo religioso come gli arieti o i leoni, all'interno del liquido. d'Agostino ha ricordato che in ambito omerico per il tuffatore si utilizza il termine ἀρνευτήρ, che indica in primo luogo l'acrobata.[145] Come già ricordato, figure di questo tipo costituiscono le anse plastiche di vasellame bronzeo vulcente. Non possediamo dati relativi al rinvenimento del vaso di Londra, ma crediamo che il suo inquadramento all'interno della produzione vulcente abbia le sue motivazioni. Vulci nell'alto arcaismo detiene un primato difficilmente uguagliabile nel panorama dell'artigianato artistico dell'Etruria: in questo centro di produzione primaria sembra di intravvedere una situazione altamente ricettiva agli stimoli esterni, tipo quella evidenziata da Francis Croissant e Rolley per la Magna Grecia, in cui si concentrano correnti ed influssi che riportano a precise aree della Grecia, prima fra tutte la Laconia e Corinto, e della Ionia.

NOTE

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1 G71/22.

2 Haynes 1965, 22; 1985, 253-254, n. 23.

3 Assente nel *LIMC* VIII, 1997, 1104, s.v. Seirenes (I. Krauskopf).

4 Amyx 1988, II, 661.

5 Credo che siano riferibili alla tecnica di fusione dell'imboccatura e non decorativi o funzionali all'inserzione di elementi decorativi come ad esempio pendagli o anellini.

6 Haynes 1985, 243.

7 La decorazione delle vesti limitata alla zona dei seni si trova in altri oggetti di metallo di produzione vulcente (vedi ad es. il gancio di cintura in oro da Vulci (?) a Londra, in Cristofani/Martelli 1983, 193, fig. 197 a destra.

8 Tre dita palmate sono tipiche degli Anseriformi (oche, cigni ed anatre), ma non dei cormorani e dei pellicani che ne hanno quattro.

9 Poiché la scheda è scritta a mano e la grafia è di difficile decifrazione, si è ritenuto opportuno tradurla nel testo e trascriverla in lingua originale in nota per fornire in futuro dati utili per ulteriori restauri.

10 Il Duro Fix è un microcemento, prodotto bi-componente, che contiene una polvere ed un liquido. Questi, in una proporzione di 2 a 1, vengono miscelati attivamente per ottenere un impasto morbido che viene applicato con una spatola su superfici piane verticali ed orizzontali in uno spessore di 2 a 3 mm. Può essere posizionato su calcestruzzo, cartone rigido, legno, vetro, ceramica, mosaico, metallo, plastica, gesso, ecc. È ignifugo e resistente alla abrasione. Fonte www.duropisos.com.ar; www.microkuarz.com/informacion-de-microcemento.html

11 Il Millput è una resina epossidica in pasta utilizzata per incollaggi, ricostruzioni e stuccature di vari materiali. Si tratta di un formulato bi-componente, si presenta quindi sotto forma di 2 cilindretti da 56,7 gr. da miscelare prima dell'utilizzo. Inizialmente soffice ed estremamente adesiva, indurisce a temperatura ambiente in 2-3 ore, dopo le quali può essere lavorata come un qualsiasi altro materiale. In genere per i metalli si utilizza il Milliput 'Argento'. Ha l'aspetto di una pasta densa, è parzialmente solubile in acqua, il punto di decomposizione è >200°C, il tempo di lavorazione è di 30 minuti, il tempo di indurimento (a 25°C) è di circa 3-4 ore, il tempo di completo indurimento è di 24 ore; ha un'ottima resistenza all'acqua ed una resistenza alla temperatura fino a 130 °C. Il Milliput secco diventerà rimovibile solo meccanicamente. Fonte: www.antichitabelsito.it.

12 'This object had been previously restored with plaster hob when received by the department was in fragments. Firstly a number of splits and crunches on the large body fragment and head were repaired using glass films setting and "Durofix" cement. The repair being colored up with powder colors and shellac. The armature is rude of glass film boded with resin and was constructed as gallows. A rough wooden inner armature was constructed to support plasticine. This was modeled to support the main body fragment and to indicate the missing areas. No details were included, only the basic shape. Other body fragments were included and the plasticine moulded around them. The fragments were removed and the model tided up. The model was greased with vaseline and a plaster mould taken in 4 sections. The top and 2 sides of the mould were joined together and a resin & filmglass casts taken. The resin was given a failing dark green color. The above procedure was followed for the head, it being made in two valves the face and the much of the head. The face was given a certain amount of detail. The casts were cleaned up and the sections of the body cemented together to form a single unit. The head is separate and in the valves. The fragments were fitted to the casts (the main body fragments slides on) and areas that needed it were build up with "Milliput" filler. Perspex fittings were made to secure the fragments to the casts. There is a locking device inside the head to secure it to the body and a small clump to secure the tail. The end of the handle is secured using a small copper strap. Before final assembly the whole armature was painted matt green. The rim and acrobat figure are left loose.' (R.M.T. Holmes).

13 Swaddling 1980.

14 Haynes 1965, 22. S. Haynes parla di alcuni pezzi rettangolari di lamina d'oro con decorazione a rosette che sembrano essere stati in origine un collier.

15 Haynes 1985, 252-253, n. 23.

16 Comunicazione di Judith Swaddling (e-mail del 5/7/2012).

17 Vedi Cristofani 1985, 217, 289, n. 111, fig. 111.

18 Formigli 1985, 90-92, 104-106; M. Rubinich, in *Le arti di Efesto*, 124-125.

[19] *L'oro dei Greci*, 123, 250, fig. 84 età Orientalizzante.
[20] Formigli 1985, 20, fig. 12, dato ultimo quarto del VII sec. a.C.
[21] *L'oro dei Greci*, 145, 258, fig. 112 datata prima metà V sec. a.C.
[22] Monte Cerreto, Cristofani/Martelli 1983, fig. 112, 284, n. 112, metà VII a.C.
[23] Strøm 1971, 75, fig. 38.
[24] Shefton 2009, 35.
[25] W. Johannowsky, in Rolley 1982, 7.
[26] Spadea 1994, 22, n. 31 tav. VI.i, datato seconda metà VI (al terzo quarto del VI in Spadea 1996, 119, n. 70).
[27] Papadopoulos 2003, 13-14, n. 1, figg. 7-8, n. 1, tav. 1a-c, con altri cfr. cit.
[28] Jacobsthal/Langsdorff 1929, 64-65, tav. 35.h.
[29] Papadopoulos 2003, 13 con bibl. cit.
[30] Pentazos-Sarla 1984, 122-124; *L'oro dei Greci*, 133, fig. 96.6, 253, n. 96.6, datato intorno a metà VI sec. a.C.
[31] Devo l'identificazione della grafia a Judith Swaddling.
[32] Un ritratto realizzato da Camille Silvy (album en carte-de-visite) nel 1860 è conservato a Londra presso la National Portrait Gallery (cortese segnalazione di Judith Swaddling).
[33] Fiorelli 1853.
[34] Torelli 1966, 1209.
[35] Buranelli 1991.
[36] Perkins 2007, 4 con bibl. cit.
[37] Per la martellatura Rolley 1988, 9.
[38] Sphyrelaton: De Angeli 1989; Papadopoulos/Cellini 1980; Bammer 1988; Kunze 1994; Romano 2000; Jurgeit 2002; Kyrieleis 2008; Hampe 1966; Papadopoulos 1997.
[39] Shefton 2009, tav. 3.2; vedi anche l'anfora in Rolley 1982, tav. XIX.86.
[40] Weber 1983, tav. VII, I.D.14.
[41] Furtwängler 1890, 26, 85 e 85a, tav. IX.
[42] Gauer 1991, 45, 200-201, nn. Le 192-193, tav. 31.1 e 4a.
[43] Bellelli 2006, tav. XXXV.3.
[44] Brown 1960, 111.
[45] Tarditi 1996, 179, con bibl. cit.
[46] Neugebauer 1923-1924, 410-411.
[47] Tarditi 1996, 174-175.
[48] Vedi Rolley 1982, tavv. VII.25-28, XI.41-43, 44-48, XIII.56-57, XXIX. 136, XXXI,145, XXXII.150, XXXIX.185, XLIII.197.
[49] Bonfante 2003, 19.
[50] Tarditi 1996, 178, fig. 47.
[51] Bonfante 2003, 164, fig. 23, F vedi anche fig. 24.
[52] Vedi Bonfante 2003, 26, 165, fig. 24.
[53] Vedi Martelli 1987,108-109, fig. 58.
[54] Martelli 1987, 117, fig. 66, 122, fig. 71.
[55] Vedi ad es. Capponi/Ortenzi 2006, 122-129, nn. 88-95, con bibl. cit.
[56] Tarditi 1996, 197, con bibl. cit.
[57] Coppola 2000, 73, con bibl. cit., tav. LXXVII, figg. 3-4; C. G. Cianferoni, in Cygielmann/Rafanelli 2007, 25, n. 23, foto a colori alla fig. 55.
[58] Coppola 2000, 73-74, con bibl. cit.
[59] Non è assente un influsso delle prime importazioni fenicie: viene ideata la complessa giunzione di un'ansa a stelo tubolare con un elemento destinatario fuso alla sommità (Shefton 2009, 127).
[60] Shefton 2009, 126, con bibl. cit.
[61] Shefton 2009, 127.
[62] Shefton 2009, 124-125.
[63] Shefton 2009, 121.
[64] Shefton 2009, 125.
[65] Difficile stabilire un confronto diretto con il troppo lacunoso volto in argento da Marsiliana d'Albegna necropoli della Banditella, Circolo degli Avori (secondo-terzo quarto del VII a.C.), interpretato come maschera funeraria d'argento.
[66] Inv. 5099. Kyrieleis 2008, 185-186, tav. 17. Per la maschera da Olimpia Kunze-Goette 1994, 139: definita spartana con influssi greco-orientali.
[67] Buschor 1934, 24, figg. 74, 77; Hampe 1966, 444, fig. 546, 446.
[68] Vedi la bella fotografia a colori in Karpodini-Dimitriadi 2003, 123, fig. 89, testa femminile fittile dall'acropoli di Sparta.
[69] Cristofani 1985, 134, fig. 20, 263, n. 20, fig. 20, l'attività della bottega è datata alla metà del VI sec. a.C.
[70] Da ultimo Bellelli 2006, 46-49, tavv. XII-XIII, XXXIII.
[71] Bellelli 2006, 51, secondo la Höckmann si tratta di una produzione della Campania greca.
[72] Bellelli 2006, 54.
[73] Lo stesso direi anche per i cosiddetti lacunari bronzei tarquiniesi con protomi di leone, ariete e Acheloo (Scala 1993). Per quanto attiene alla tecnica di lavorazione, si parla di martellatura per l'ampia cornice, matrici per le protomi, particolari eseguiti ad incisione con il bulino, elementi riportati (Scala 1993, 153).
[74] Colonna 1994, 575, fig. 641 prima a sin. fig. in alto.
[75] Haynes 1985, 253, n. 22, al Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, n. inv. 12725, da Vulci.
[76] Haynes 1985, 254. Già nel 1965 Haynes collegava il vaso al busto dalla tomba di Iside per le affinità tecniche riscontrate nel volatile in bronzo decorato con foglia d'oro e per la decorazione a squame (Haynes 1965, 22).
[77] Rolley 2002.
[78] Da ultimo Bellelli 2006, 52 con bibl. cit.
[79] Bonamici 1997.
[80] Romaios 1911, 273, fig. 13; Haynes 1985, 254; Fuhrmann 1940, 537-538, fig. 53; Jacopi 1953, 10-11, tav. 4-8; Hofstetter 1990, 400, nota 1253; Phaklares 1985, 212, tav. 136; Herfort-Koch 1986, 121, n. K 157; Phaklares 1990, 78.c-d; Marino 2010, 32, fig. 1, 33.
[81] de la Genière 1997, 57, nota 19.
[82] La presenza della bocca trilobata si nota, ad esempio, anche su altri tipi di unguentari, come, ad esempio, le piccole *oinochoai* in pasta in pasta vitrea vedi, ad esempio, *Parfums de l'antiquité* 2008, 378, n. III.A.34, di fine VI-V sec. a.C.
[83] Romaios 1911, fig. 13; Marino 2010, 32, fig. 1, 33.
[84] *Parfums de l'antiquité* 2008, 370, n. III.A.8, con bibl. prec.
[85] Reggio Calabria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, n. inv. 6713.
[86] Fuhrmann 1940, 531, 537-538, fig. 53 attribuito ad arte ionica arcaica; Jacopi 1953; Hofstetter 1990, 266; R. Spadea, in *Santuari della Magna Grecia in Calabria* 1996, 241, n. 4.1; M. Rubinich, in *Le arti di Efesto*, 198-199, n. 38; Spadea 2005, vol. I, 35-38, vol. II, tav. XIII, figg. 24-27; Marino 2010.
[87] A. Ruga, in Marino 2010, 21.
[88] M. Rubinich, in *Le arti di Efesto*, 177.
[89] Definito 'radiato' da Spadea (Spadea 2005, p. 38).
[90] R. Spadea lo confronta con un esemplare da Argo.
[91] Vedi Cristofani/Martelli 1983, 18, tav. V.
[92] Spadea 2005, 37-38.
[93] Reggio Calabria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, n. inv. 92.AC.5.
[94] Getty Museum J 21, 1993, 104-105; *LIMC* VIII, 1097, n. 38; R. Spadea, in *Santuari della Magna Grecia in Calabria* 1996, 241, n. 4.3; True 1997 (errore nella citazione del rinvenimento: a Stromboli!); Spadea 2005, 38-39, tav. XIV,

figg. 28-29, XV, fig. 30; Nostoi, 154-155, n. 40; Marino 2010.

[95] 'E' uscito dall'Italia per via stradale e qui sarebbe rientrato dopo una sosta in Svizzera al fine di acquisire la patente di legittimità che ha permesso al Getty il suo legittimo acquisto.' (Spadea 1997, 60). Il reperto, già visto in fotografia in Italia nel 1988 (le fotografie sono presumibilmente quelle scattate dopo lo scavo clandestino, ora pubblicate in Marino 2010, 15) era stato acquistato tramite un intermediario da una gallerista elvetica per la somma di 400.000 dollari che lo aveva rivenduto ad una gallerista di New York. Il 6 febbraio del 1992 era stato acquistato per 600.000 dollari dal J. Paul Getty Museum di Malibu (USA). Nel *J.P. Getty Museum Journal* 21, 1993, 105 la provenienza dell'oggetto risulta: 'Private collection, New York'. Rientrato in Italia nel novembre del 2007 per essere esposto nella mostra alle Scuderie del Quirinale dal titolo 'Nostoi. Capolavori ritrovati', è stato restituito all'Italia al termine di una lunga attività extragiudiziale posta in essere dalle autorità' italiane con quelle federali statunitensi.

[96] Non il coperchio come si afferma M. Corrado, in Marino 2010, 23.

[97] Spadea lo definisce a zig zag (Spadea 2005, 38).

[98] Potrebbe trattarsi anche della 'collana di Venere', i solchi orizzontali, simili a rughe, tipici del collo femminile.

[99] M. Corrado, in Marino 2010, 23.

[100] Spadea 2005, 38.

[101] 'XRF analysis, Radiographic study, Uranium, Thorium, 4Helium Analysis and Dating, Independent examination by Stoetzer, Inc.'

[102] Sul culto delle sirene vedi Genovese 1999, 143-144, 188 con ampia bibl cit.

[103] de La Génière 1997, 57.

[104] Per la sirena in generale vedi: Russu 1962; Touchefeu-Meynier 1962; Rossi 1970; Cruz García Fuentes 1973; Gropengiesser 1977; Garbini 1981; Gigante Lanzara 1987; Iriarte 1992 e 1993; Bader 1996; Leclercq-Marx 1997; Pizzocaro 1997; Cavallaro 1999; Pugliara 2000; Monte 2001; Tsiafakis 2001; Mezzadri 2003; Mancini 2005; Cabrera 2007; Meliadò 2010; Egeler 2011, 351-458. Per la sirena in ambito etrusco vedi soprattutto *LIMC* VIII s.v. Seirenes (I. Krauskopf); Scheffer 1979; Del Chiaro 1983; d'Agostino 1995; Knippschild 2005; d'Agostino 2008-2009; Opgenhaffen 2011. Per le sirene in Magna Grecia e Sicilia vedi soprattutto: d'Agostino 1982; Leyenaar-Plaisier 1984-1985; Breglia Pulci Doria 1987; 1990; 1992; d'Agostino 1992; Greco 1992; Bottini/Guzzo 1993; Scotto di Freca 1993-1995; Breglia Pulci Doria 1994; d'Agostino 1995; Amiotti 1999; Ceserani 2000; Breglia Pulci Doria 2005; Moro 2005; Mosino 2006; Stibbe 2006; d'Agostino 2008-2009; Federico 2010; Marino 2010; Mele 2010. Per la sirena in Grecia vedi soprattutto Mühlestein 1957; Muscarella 1962; Comstock 1965; Pollard 1965; Gresseth 1970; Kanowski 1973; Brooks 1982; Greifenhagen 1982; Woysch-Méautis 1982; Hofstetter 1990; Neils 1995; Barbanera 1996; Dalby 1996; Ewald 1998; Biers 1999; Assaël 2003; Walter 2003; Tarabochia Canavero 2004; Gotteland 2006; Bettini - Spina 2007; Mancini 2007; Menichetti 2007.

[105] Biers 1999, 139.

[106] Biers 1999, 138.

[107] Biers 1999, 139.

[108] Biers 1999, 139.

[109] Cristofani 1985, 134, fig. 20, 263, n. 20, l'attività della bottega è datata alla metà del VI sec. a.C.

[110] Furtwängler 1900, III, 103, fig. 70; Weicker 1902, 8, nota 1; Boardman 1975, 85, n. 14 con commento; Hofstetter 1990, 294-295; da ultimo Egeler 2011,425-426, fig. 56 datato all'ultimo quarto del VI sec. a.C.

[111] Krauskopf 1987, 24, nota 48 definisce la raffigurazione una 'Vermischung beider Motive'.

[112] Weicker 1902, 7, fig. 2.

[113] Weicker 1902, 102.

[114] Hofstetter 1990, 226-227, tav. 18.2 *oinochoe* rodia a Leida; 18.3 *oinochoe* rodia a Londra.

[115] Biers 1999, fig. a 143, 144, n. 1. Late Early Corinthian/ Early Middle Corinthian.

[116] Furtwängler 1900, I, 94, n. 50, tav. XIX.50; Wiecker 1902, 12, nota 5, fig. 6.

[117] N. inv. F 1609; Jucker / Pallottino 1955, 58, n. 76, fig. 16; Camporeale 1973-74, 115, n.1; *Antikenmuseum Berlin* 1988, 202, fig. 9, 203, n. 9; alt. 23 cm, datata seconda metà VI sec. a.C.

[118] Metropolitan Museum of Art, n. inv. 18.145.25. Camporeale 1973-74, 115, n. 2, con bib. cit., tav. XXX; da ultimi Picón et al. 2007, 267, 469-470, no. 321.

[119] Bizzarri 1962, 74, n. 149, tav. XVI; Camporeale 1973-74, 115, n. 3.

[120] Camporeale1973-74, 116, nota 44.

[121] Per i quali, vedi, ad esempio, Hofstetter 1990, tav. 20. O44 e 21.O41.

[122] Londra, British Museum, n. inv. 1868.1-10.767 (A 1019). Ha le braccia conserte dipinte sul ventre: Weicker 1902, 122, fig. 47; Hofstetter 1990, 207 con bibl. cit. L 14, 'laconic?'. Lasciato in eredità da James Woodhouse.

[123] Camporeale 1973-74, 116.

[124] Camporeale 1973-74, 119.

[125] Camporeale 1973-74, 118.

[126] Vedi Metropolitan Museum of Art, n. inv. 21.88.8 (Ducat 1963, 447, n. 3, figg. 15-16).

[127] Ducat 1966, 35, n. 27, tav. V.5, da Caere a Berlino F 1301, 178, n. 15.

[128] Camporeale 1973-74, 117.

[129] http://bulgariatravel.org/en/object/13/Archeologicheski_muzej_Sozopol.

[130] Biers 1994, 515.

[131] Pausania (9.34,2) riferisce di un simulacro di Hera a Cheronea che recava su ambedue le mani sirene, e al quale due Perinzî dedicarono una sirena maschile d'argento (iscrizione da Samo). Vedi Genovese 1999, 188, con bibl. cit. Un culto particolare era attribuito alle sirene in una località a S-O di Sorrento (Strabone 1,22 e 5,247).

[132] Vedi Biers 1999, 139, con bibl. cit.

[133] De Angeli 1989, 404.

[134] Paribeni 1966, 479.

[135] Le immagini di sirena ornano oggetti di toeletta femminili come specchi, vasi per l'acqua, contenitori per cerimonie nuziali.

[136] Mertens-Horn 2006, 20.

[137] Freccero 2006, 7-8.

[138] Freccero 2006, 7.

[139] Krauskopf 1987, 23-25.

[140] Freccero 2006, 2.

[141] Stibbe 1972, nn. 13, 45, 191, 312.

[142] Faustoferri 1986, 120.

[143] d'Agostino/Cerchiai 1999, XXXIII.

[144] d'Agostino 1999, 115.

[145] d'Agostino 1999, 108.

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Distinguishing colours
A colorimetric approach to architectural terracottas from Satricum (Le Ferriere, Latina)

Riemer Knoop

Abstract

The colours of the fired clays of architectural terracottas are among their most obvious characteristics. Breaking easily and being susceptible to wear and tear, they often appear without recognizable shape or form. The question is therefore frequently asked whether it is possible to classify an unadorned architectural terracotta fragment on the basis of the colour of its fired fabric alone. A corpus of pre-Roman material from the acropolis of the ancient city of Satricum (Le Ferriere, province of Latina, Italy) is used to consider this method of visual decision-making in terracotta classification, thanks to the categorical way in which colorimetric observations have been made for this large volume of finds. The use of Munsell colour classifications within macroscopic fabric descriptions is reassessed in light of the history of analytical study of this corpus of terracotta material.

The corpus

Since the late 19th century, some 35,000 fragments of architectural terracottas have been recorded during the excavations of the Mater Matuta sanctuary at Satricum.[1] The site has been intermittently investigated by Italian and Dutch teams, the former led by Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia director Felice Barnabei and his inspector Ranuccio Mengarelli since 1896, the latter by archaeologists from the Royal Netherlands Institute and the universities of Groningen and Amsterdam from 1977 onwards. Since then, yearly campaigns have been carried out at Borgo Le Ferriere, while materials from previous excavations began to be systematically studied in the Villa Giulia, including the architectural terracotta corpus of ca 1,750 items.[2] Right from the start the terracotta finds had raised the keen interest of many scholars and the wider public alike. The finds of terracotta antefixes and other coroplastics from Satricum, in particular those of the early 5th-century phase of the sanctuary, came as a total surprise and were immediately recognized as of exceptional quality.

The bulk of the material was found from 1977 onwards on the Satricum acropolis. Over the years, the finds were made by a number of teams working with different research objectives, registration methods and preservation strategies. In the course of these campaigns, most plain roof-tiles were, after being counted, inventoried, and classified per excavation trench and unit, subsequently discarded. These selection choices were governed by the view that a large portion of the excavation areas on the Satricum acropolis then under consideration consisted of secondary deposits of finds dumped during the 1896-1898 campaigns. Wherever a primary deposition context was suspected, however, such as several settlement areas at the south and west parts of the acropolis or in the Archaic layers below the temples, more rigorous documentation and retention policies were adopted. The result is a very large but rather uneven database.

Classification

The classification principles went through several changes over the course of the decades, to end, in the late 1990s, with a five-fold, essentially chronological system. At its heart sit three very clearly definable, chronologically successive terracotta groups. On the basis of their figured parts and numerous parallels all over central Italy, these three are both well attributable in a cultural sense and precisely datable. Two additional groups have been identified. One is a large corpus of undecorated, roughly worked, dark-red compact fabrics, referred to as Dark Red; the other, a group of likewise undecorated fabrics that are very light, both in colour and density, called Late.

This five-fold classification is the end result of a long period of gestation. The key to understanding the three core groups was found in a petrographical analysis, carried out in the mid 1980s, aimed at testing a traditional classification

of antefixes.[3] The groups were dubbed after the areas their styles are thought to derive from: Caeretan, Campanian, and Latin (alternatively known as Late Archaic). The three correspond to elaborate, almost entirely preserved roof systems not yet fully published.[4]

Both to the naked eye and under the microscope, the fabrics of the central three terracotta groups show up as qualitatively different in a meaningful way. A quantitative study was carried out to identify both the texture of the clay matrix and the components that were added to the clay. In this filler analysis, eight groups of minerals were identified either already present or added as tempering material to the filtered clay, in the latter case perhaps to enhance the plastic and constructive properties of the finished products. Thus the hypothesis of 'guide minerals' was born, significantly present in all groups: plagioclase in the Caeretan and Campanian fabrics, leucite in the Latin/Late Archaic ones. The Caeretan material appeared furthermore to differ from the Campanian pieces by a decidedly more abundant presence of the plagioclase guide mineral. The success of this investigation made it possible to additionally classify non-figured fragments, not by microscope but with the naked eye, while also using macroscopic observations on colour, texture, density and porosity of the fired clay matrix, as well as the presence of grog (ceramic grit). The guide minerals were next shown to have originated from three quite distinct sources: an area north of Rome, a Phlegraean Fields deposit, and the Alban Hills, respectively. The ensuing triple classification into Caeretan, Campanian and Latin/Late Archaic could then be transferred to fragments of revetments and of plain roof-tiles lacking morphological features. To these, the two categories Dark-Red and 'Late' were later added. The main characteristics of all five are summarized in table 1.

The three central groups have been described elsewhere in detail, as part of the petrographical analysis referred to above, but research since has added valuable new insights. We therefore summarize here the observations on all five groups.

Dark Red terracottas are characterized by a very coarse fabric which shows dark red on the outside, and similar or lighter (but sometimes darker) in the core. The structure of the fired clay is heterogeneous, flaking easily in horizontal chunks and containing numerous, very varied particles, often quite sizeable. Characteristic are

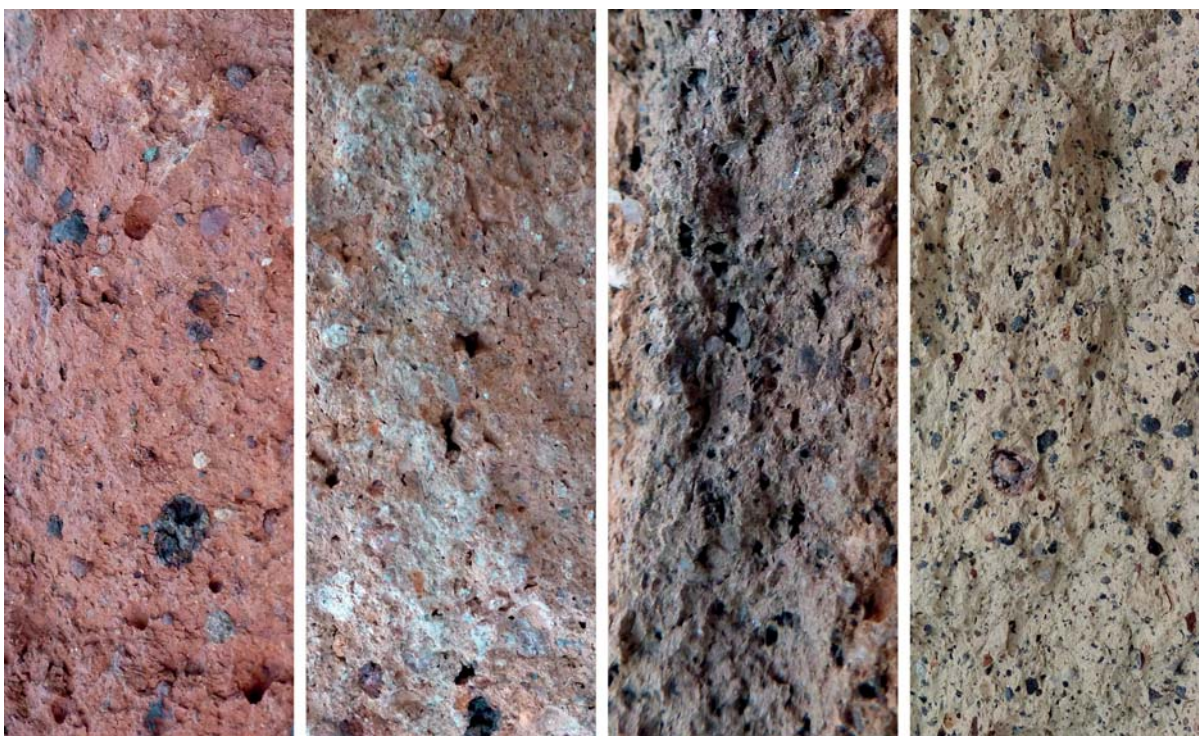

Fig. 1. Macroscopic photographs of cores (fresh breaks) of Groups I though IV fabrics (from left to right) architectural terracottas, Satricum acropolis. Each strip is about a cm wide (photo M. Gnade).

	DARK RED I	CAERETAN II	CAMPANIAN III	LATIN IV	Va	'LATE' Vb	Vc
Texture	coarse	coarse	Semicoarse	semicoarse	fine	semicourse	very coarse
Clay colour on surface	dark red	orange to yellowish pink	pink to light red/orange	creamy white greenish hues	white/pink	orange or cream+chunks	orange
Clay colour in core	dark red or darker	similar or lighter, with white chunks	grey, much mica	similar	similar	orange bands	similar
Surface treatment	smooth, black or red clay paint	smooth, buff slip, red clay paint	smooth (frequent smoothin marks) Black-ground	top smooth light slip (clay paint)	top smooth light slip	coarse light slip	coarse
Soffit treatment	coarse + gritty	coarse, not gritty	coarse, very gritty	uneven, coarse, slightly gritty	coarse, uneven, not smooth	uneven, coarse	coarse

Table 1. Characteristics of main architectural terracotta fabric groups from the Satricum acropolis (plain roof-tiles).

large lumps of rusty, reddish black ferromanganese (FeMn) nodules. Especially noteworthy are large pieces of mica and lumps of ceramic grit. The surfaces are made smooth (burnished) before firing, sometimes covered by a black, occasionally red, clay-paint. Typical are very frequent large black stains. The soffits of the plain tiles are typically coarse and covered with a layer of sandy gritty particles. This fabric occurs mainly in plain roof-tiles showing both the overlapping and nesting construction arrangements as in Acquarossa Types I and II (Wikander).[5]

The fabric in the second main group, 'Caeretan' (elsewhere also Ionian, or Etruscanized Ionian), similarly stands out clearly both to the naked eye and under the microscope. It is characterized by its coarse but compact nature and by the absence of FeMn nodules. It has been described as 'orange-firing clay with predominantly quartz, feldspar and tuff'.[6] The inclusions in the clay are small- to medium-sized grains, of which quartz and chalky particles are prominent, intermingled with some ceramic grit and/or tufa. In addition, the clay contains numerous volcanic minerals, together with glass and pumice lumps; there is a significant absence of leucite minerals. The clay has a characteristic pink to light red or light brown colour, with a similar or slightly lighter core. The surfaces of the clay are mostly covered with a layer of buff, light red to cream-coloured slip. A layer of bright-red to orange paint, applied either to the clay directly or on the slip, is seen in many roof-tiles. A team from Groningen University identified a peculiar fabric category not confined to architectural terracottas, termed 'oatmeal', during the investigations of the southern and western settlement areas on the acropolis.[7] This fabric is characterised by the exclusive presence of tufa as tempering material, which is perhaps the same as what in earlier petrographical analyses on Caeretan materials was identified as 'ceramic grit'.[8]

The third, 'Campanian' fabric is semi-coarse, containing a high concentration of fine particles, especially augite, which results in a remarkably compact but at the same time brittle structure.[9] Mica particles are especially abundant here, while FeMn lumps are absent from the clay matrix. The fabric is invariably very hard to the touch. The dominant colour of the fired clay is pink to light red, with a distinct grey zone in the core. The surfaces, especially secondary areas, are often decorated in black- or red-ground technique, a unique feature within the Satricum corpus. Undecorated areas have a characteristic 'sandpaper' quality, in particular the flip-sides of the roof-tiles, which are additionally covered with a layer of sandy, gritty, and glassy particles. The fingerprint of this fabric as well as its almost unique isolation from all others has been independently underpinned by a very large-scale, detailed analysis of some 4,400 pottery and architectural terracotta samples.[10]

The fourth, 'Latin' or 'Late Archaic', fabric group is distinguished by a strikingly light-coloured, semi-course but not very compact clay which is well purified with a moderate amount of fillers of all colours, usually quite large. The mineral composition and secondary characteristics (firing temperature and analysis of pigments) were analysed four times, based on six samples taken from antefixes, thirteen thin sections of life-size statue fragments, and some forty samples taken from all members.[11] The fourth, largest analysis was car-

ried out by the Laboratory for Conservation and Material Studies of Groningen University.[12] In comparison with previous fabrics, these pieces are much more homogeneous in texture, containing 'angular grey-black, grey-brown, and some white mineral grains and rock fragments' in a 'very fine-grained, middle-hard matrix' of the fired clay. Characteristic is the occurrence in the temper of crushed lava containing leucite crystals (also in rock fragments), clinopyroxene and biotite.[13] At the surfaces the fired clay shows as off-white to cream and typically lacks a discolouring in the core, no doubt due to a very homogeneous firing. An additional greenish hue is often seen in the fired clay. A cream-coloured slip, or wash, covers the surfaces, concealing most of the fillers in the clay. Due to the relatively soft structure and low level of compactness of the fabric, however, the fragments in this group appear to withstand wear less easily than those in other groups. The soffits of pan-tiles are uneven and coarse but not markedly gritty.

Within this group, however, several 'transition zones' of classification around a clear-cut core group (conveniently dubbed 'Latin 1') have been identified. Representing less than one percent of the corpus, this regards a set of plain roof-tiles of slightly but consistently deviant fabrics (discarded and now beyond verification), called 'Latin 0'. The consistent nature of the variation suggests a batch that was mis-fired or contained slightly more variable temper. In addition, a rather loosely knit group of figured pieces of various fabrics remains, still with light-coloured clays but in various degrees differing from the Latin 1 pieces, and therefore dubbed 'Latin 2: Related Materials'. Difficult to assess, it comprises varying tile fabrics ranging from white throughout with hardly any particles whatsoever to extremely brittle and awkwardly if not defectively made orange fabrics that show multiple layerings of dark and white/ grey in cross section.

The fifth and last fabric group, 'Late', is not very homogeneous and is formed by pieces that are soft to the touch, with clays that are white throughout but otherwise lack distinctive features. For obvious reasons, it is left out of the colour analysis below.

Colour analysis

The easiest way to differentiate between the four fabric groups just discussed, short of using provenance indications or cultural tags, is by referring to them by their dominant colour name: dark-red, orange, pink, cream/white.[14] Such indications can be rationalized by using standardized and referenced notations, for instance those given in the widely used Munsell Color System for numerical colour description developed around 1900 in the US. In the description of many items in the Satricum architectural terracotta corpus, colour code observations have been made using the Munsell Soil Color Charts 1978 revised edition. A sample population of 457, or less than 1.5 per cent of the total of ca 35,000 Satricum fragments, have undergone this analysis. Of the figured fragments, the number of colorimetrically analysed pieces amounts to ca 10 per cent.[15] The resulting dataset, however, is problematic in various ways.

First of all, the method of standardized colour observation has been less than constant. No protocols were followed as to solar conditions, such as angle of light, time of year or day; or to the difference between open-air (field) and closed environment (field laboratory, museum) observation. Nor was there much awareness of colour perception deficiencies in individual observers or of the benefit of double-blind trials preceding actual colorimetric observations. Second, over the course of three and a half decades the hundreds of Munsell codes now available have been applied by dozens of researchers with different classification strategies in mind and regarding material, moreover, that is far from homogeneous. For example, it makes quite a difference whether fabric colours are observed on sherds directly upon leaving the ground, after cleaning, or after restoration; and whether the observed colour occurs on the surface, which can be covered by a layer of slip but which often is not, on a section of the surface especially scraped clean, or on a fresh break. The resulting bias cannot be countered easily, since, as was pointed out above, most of the non-figured, plain-tile pieces were discarded after summary descriptions. The problem is exacerbated by Munsell-coded observations being done in museums around the world with a view to comparative studies, but which are obviously even harder to replicate. The third issue is formed by the nature of the resulting dataset. Using Munsell colour codes means referring to a three-dimensional notation system comprising hue, value and chroma, or basic colour, lightness (grey scale) and purity (saturation). Hue, in the Satricum architectural terracottas, is restricted to two basic shades (red and yellow) and one intermediate (yellow-red) one, but in varying levels of intensity, totalling seven. The degree of continuity is debated.[16] Value refers to a ten-step range from dark to light, and chroma to a likewise, stepped range indicating the degree of saturation. To the best of my knowledge, its use thus far resisted

Group	Hue		10R	2.5 YR	5 YR	7.5 YR	10 YR	2.5 Y	5 Y	(absolute)
I	Dark Red			39.8	30.9	6.5	22.8			(123)
II	Caeretan			50.0	50.0					(14)
III	Campanian			6.8	29.7	54.1	9.5			(74)
IV	Latin	Latin 0 Latin 1 Latin 2	1.9 0.4	1.9 14.4 6.1	7.5 1.0 13.4	9.4 9.6 17.1	11.3 17.4 22.0	11.3 5.2 6.1	5.7 43.5 2.4	(27) (261) (41)
	(total)									(540)

Table 2. Number of Munsell observations of the Satricum architectural terracottas, per hue (percentages).

comprehensive analysis in the archaeological fields of both ceramics studies and architectural terracottas.[17]

Munsell observations have been made on some 540 pieces in four of the five groups. All are reported below, divided over the relevant classes (*table 2*).

The colours in the main groups seem to prevailingly occur in distinct hues, made bold in the table (Dark Red in 2.5YR with some 5YR; Caeretan between 2.5YR and 5YR; Campanian in 7.5YR with some 5YR; Latin 0 between 10YR and 2.5Y; Latin 1 in 5Y; and Latin 2 between 7.5YR and 10YR, with some 5YR). There is, however, a large degree of overlap: reddish in Dark Red and Caeretan, lighter in Latin 0 and 1, with Campanian and Latin 2 taking a middle position. Combining them in a graphic representation (*fig. 2*) brings out the confusion: only hues 2.5Y and 5Y are both unambiguously specific and statistically relevant.

Now the practice of assigning standardized Munsell codes in archaeology tends to privilege the importance of scoring value and chroma variables, made easy by the physical type of arrangement of the very Munsell charts themselves, being organized in separate hue pages, but per page in value/chroma combinations. For anyone trying to establish typical colours for given fabric groups, the solution might be in disregarding the hue, focussing on value/chroma combinations instead. In this way, the awkward three-dimensionality of the Munsell coding system can be avoided. In doing so, moreover, the data lend themselves to decimal reworking, since the value and chroma

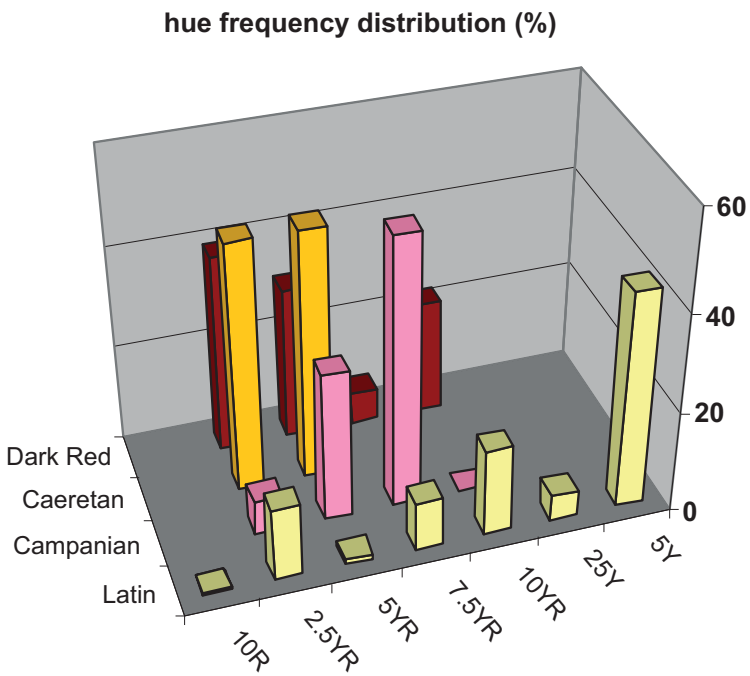

Fig. 2. Relative frequency of hue distribution of all fabrics, architectural terracottas, Satricum acropolis.

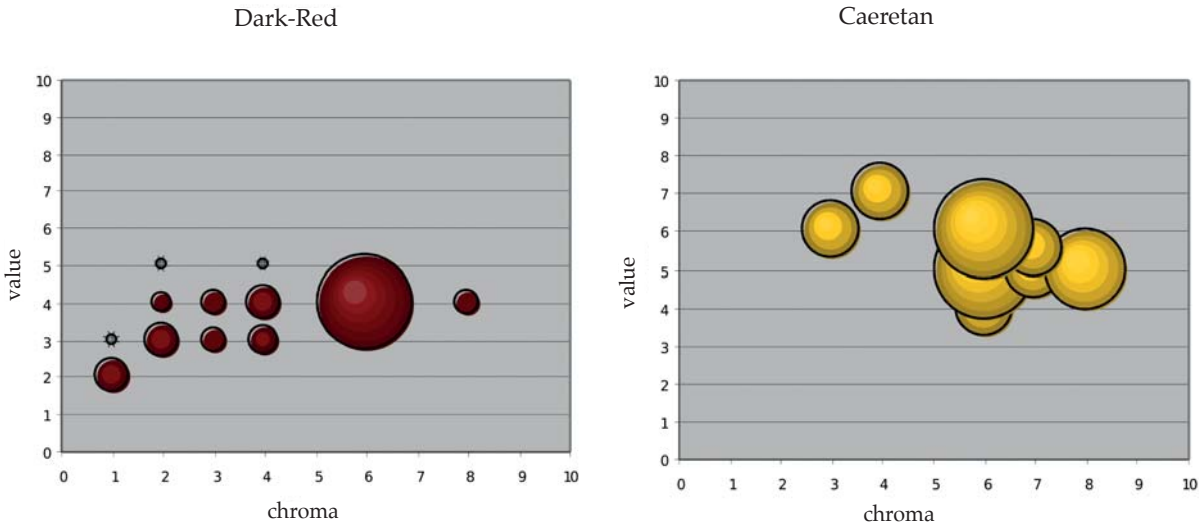

Fig. 3. Frequency distribution of Munsell colour observations (value/chroma) on sample populations, architectural terracottas from the Satricum acropolis. Left: Dark-Red (n = 123); right: Caeretan (n=14).

scores are arranged in stepwise successions, while the hues, indicating basic and intermediary colours, are not.[18] The intuition that chroma and value are more informative than hue is further confirmed by trial comparisons of a sample population using every possible two-dimensional chart, plotting hue, value and chroma three times, each time in a different combination of two against the remaining one (cfr. *fig. 7*). Leaving hue out of consideration offers the diagnostic tool easiest to use. The resulting graphs (*figs 3-4*) retain the familiar layout of the Munsell charts, i.e. chroma on the X axis and value on the Y axis. For all data, the numbers of occurrences in the samples are given as recalculated percentages of the total of items in the various fabric groups. In addition to presence and absence of observations, the frequency of any observed value/chroma combination is indicated by the relative size of the bubble in the graph.[19]

Discussion

The graphic representations in figures 3-4 help in assessing the measure of separation between the four fabric groups with regard to dominant colours, especially in the case of the Dark-Red fabrics against the other three. Various overlaps are, however, to be noted. In particular the separation between Caeretan and Campanian colours allows for some intermediary areas where value/chroma combinations occur that are common for both groups.

In addition, the discontinuity of colour observations in the Caeretan group and the large spread in the colour distribution of the Latin fabrics are noteworthy. In the former case, the non-continuous occurrences in the 6/3-7/4 range may be due to some very rare cases where, exceptionally, colour observations were taken from the core and slipped surface areas, respectively. The large spread in the latter case is caused by the combination, in the same graph, of the three subgroups Latin 0, 1, and 2 in the graph.

The question of whether any architectural terracotta newly found on the Satricum acropolis can be unequivocally assigned to any of the four fabric groups by noting only its value/chroma score, for instance when morphological features are missing, can be answered in two ways. First of all qualitatively (*fig. 5*): It can if and when the score in question falls outside the overlapping areas indicated above. For the Dark-Red, Caeretan and Latin groups, these are reasonably clear. For fabrics in the Campanian group, this is much less so. Hence perhaps some confusion in published reports between Campanian and Latin 0 plain roof-tiles. And hence, perhaps, also the triple, not quadruple, classification of Satrican fabrics, with two intermediary fabrics connecting them, in earlier publications.[20]

Second, and more fruitfully, a quantitative approach may be applied. An indication of the chances for a given piece, when classified in a transition area between any of the main classes,

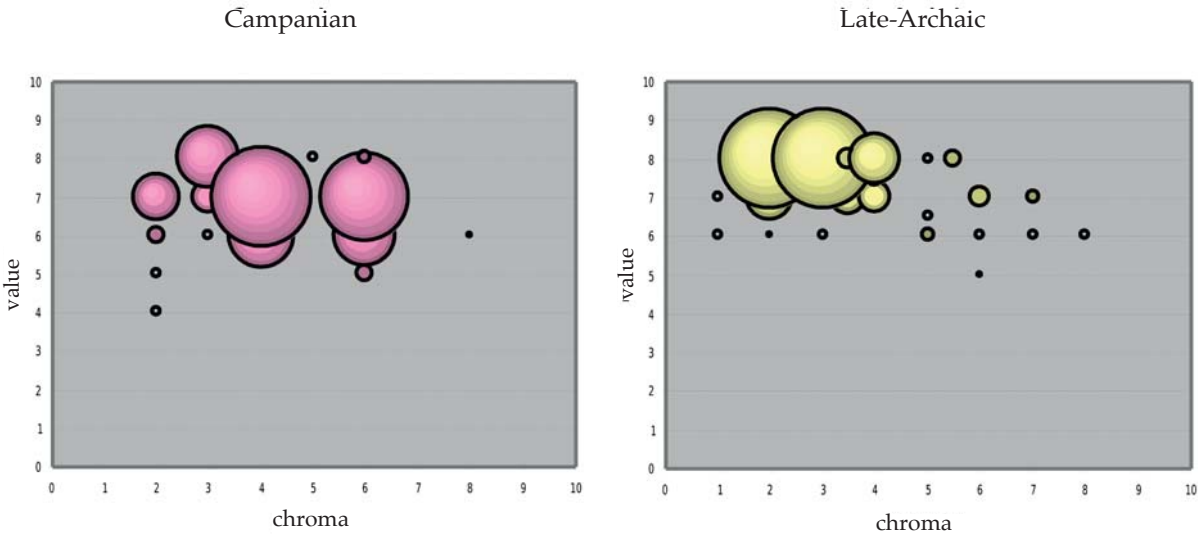

Fig. 4. Frequency distribution of Munsell colour observations (value/chroma) on sample populations, architectural terracottas from the Satricum acropolis. Left: Campanian (n = 74); right: Latin (n = 329).

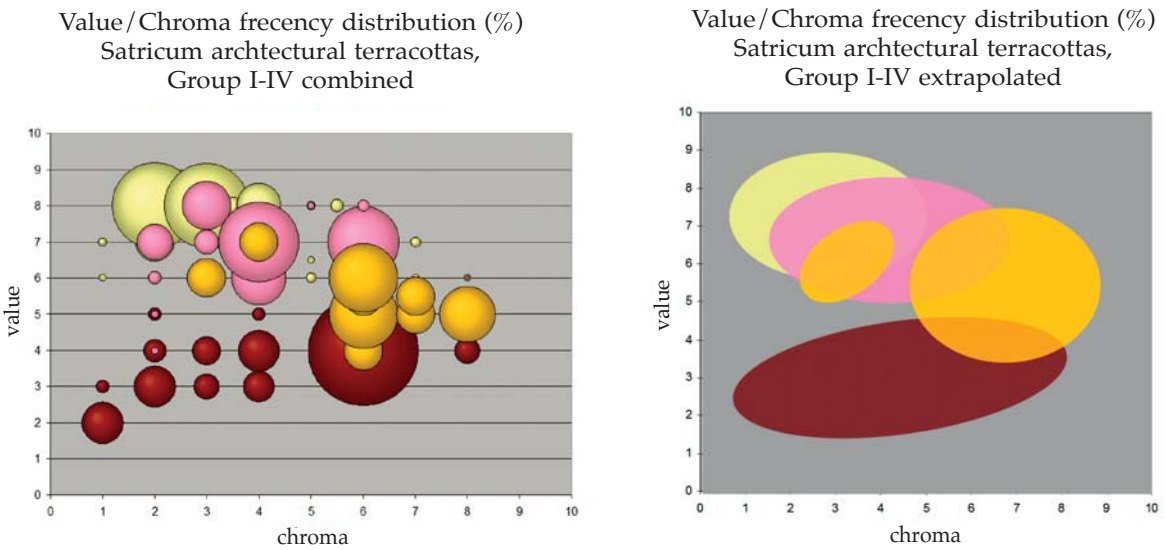

Fig. 5. Frequency distribution of Munsell colour observations (value/chroma) in combined (left) and extrapolated (right) Satricum sample populations of architectural terracotta and roof-tile fabric groups.

is given in the graph in figure 6, where the number of sample data per fabric group are corrected to represent the entire populations of each group, totalling some 60,000 pieces.[21] The frequency separation between Dark-Red, Campanian and Latin is very clear now, with the Caeretan colours being statistically quite hard to differentiate from those in the Dark-Red and Campanian groups.

Finally, this exercise points to a conclusion of a different kind. Caution is called for when using objectified observations. In itself their relevance is doubtful. Generally, colour coding is one of a series of strategies with which to achieve reliable separations in large corpora of material, in addition to observations on, e.g., texture and temper composition. The point of this study had been to try to simplify the use of the Munsell charts in such contexts. The result is that archaeological determination on colour alone is only possible in exceptional cases, for instance if no other strategy

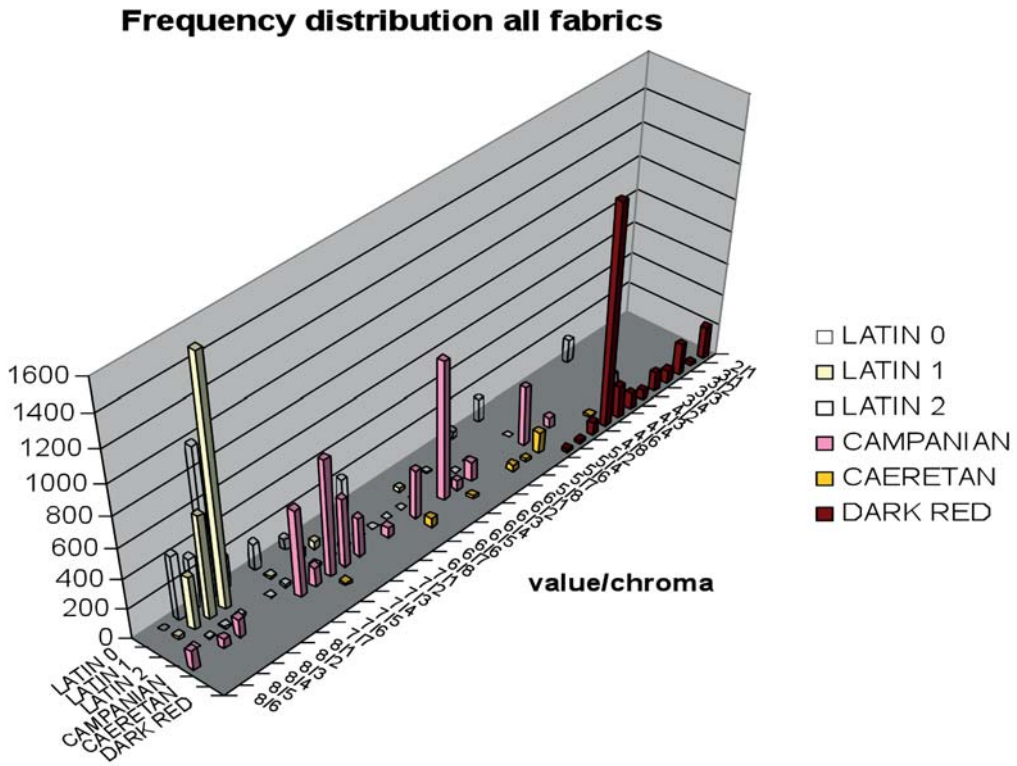

Fig. 6. Absolute frequency of value/chroma distribution of all Satricum acropolis architectural terracotta fabric groups.

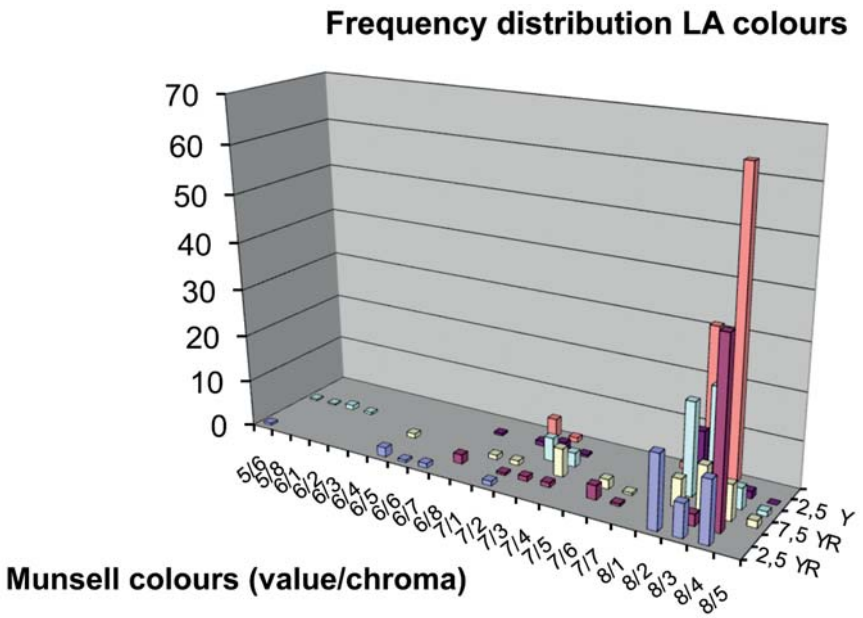

Fig. 7. Relative frequency of value/chroma distribution of Late Archaic (Group IV) architectural terracotta fabric from the Satricum acropolis.

is available and statistical probabilities are already known. More to the point, I feel Munsell observations in pottery or on terracottas to be most significant when (1) carried out under standard viewing conditions and either (2) applied to studies into the very merits of using Munsell codes themselves or (3) when studying batches of fired products from the same kiln, workshop of production area and/or comparing them with others. To me this is another way of saying that while an observed fabric colour is the result of a complex sequence of selecting and working primary and secondary materials, of firing temperature and oxidation/reduction techniques, of post-production processes and age-long wear and tear, as well as of post-depositional, retrieval and preservation circumstances, it remains clear that any meaningful classification depends on the validity of the question asked.

Notes

1 Full bibliography in *Satricum* 1997.

2 Knoop 1987, Lulof 1996. Most recently: Lulof 2011. A comprehensive study of all the materials and a reconstruction of the successive temple roofs was made possible by a grant from NWO, the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research, grant.no. 365-61-002, for the project 'Three Central-Italic Roof Systems: Architectural Terracottas from the Sanctuary of Mater Matuta at Satricum', a co-production of the author and Dr. P.S. Lulof, University of Amsterdam. The publication has been under preparation for several years. This article was originally an appendix of it. I wish to thank Prof. Marijke Gnade and Jill Hilditch, University of Amsterdam, for their kind remarks on the text.

3 Knoop 1987, appendix B; Kars et al. 1987. See also Kars et al. 1990.

4 Most recently: Knoop and Lulof in Gnade 2007, 32-42, and Lulof 2011.

5 Wikander 1993, 25-29. Knoop in Gnade 1992, 89-98

6 Attema et al. 2001, 393, Appendix 2, Family II: 'SAT II.AD*J.vps(1-4).ab, porosity +'. Illustrated www.lcm.rug.nl/lcm/teksten/teksten_uk/fabric_sat_2adj.htm.

7 Maaskant 1992, 25 and 87; Bouma 1996, II, 42 and 45; discussed by Gnade 2002, 42, with n. 139.

8 Knoop 1987, 227. Identification tufa with grit: personal communication prof. H. Kars, Free University, Amsterdam.

9 Knoop 1987, 196, 227-231.

10 A.J. Nijboer, Method of Fabrics Research and Classification, in Attema et al. 2001, 321-396, especially 367-376, Fabric 9; specified elsewhere as an orange-firing clay with a predominance of quartz and feldspar; containing a high concentration of moderately well to poorly sorted particles, especially augite.

11 Kars et al. 1987; Lulof 1996, 12-16.

12 Attema et al. 2001, 375, fabric 12: 'SA II/III.E.ps-vps(1-4).a, coarse fritty/leucite-lava and leucite-tuff.'

13 Knoop 1987, 231; Lulof 1996, 12-16.

14 Or: 'red, orange and pale', with the transitional shades 'red to orange' and 'orange to pale'. See the colour classification criteria of A.J. Nijboer in Attema et al. 2001, 367-370, fig. 21.

15 Some 250 by ourselves, supplemented by data from Attema et al. 2001, Maaskant 1987 and 1992, and Bouma 1996.

16 See explanations at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Munsell_color_system (accessed August 1, 2012) with reference to http://web.archive.org/web/20030813092028/www.adobe.com/support/techguides/color/colormodels/munsell.html.

17 Critical literature on the use of Munsell coding in archaeology is scarce. See, however, Frankel 1980, Gerharz et al. 1988, Frankel 1994, Franklin 2009, and Stanco et al. 2011. Since early 2012, a downloadable Munsell application (mColorBook) has become available for iPad and iOS: http://itunes.apple.com/us/app/mcolorbook/id485611271?mt=12.

18 Interesting but not easily accessible alternatives for decimal (and digital) reworking of Munsell data are found in, e.g. www.cis.rit.edu/mcsl/online/munsell_data/real.dat. The stepwise succession of chroma on the hue pages proceeds with different intervals, however.

19 Using Microsoft Office 2003 Excell 'bubble type' of chart. The sizes of the bubbles are adjusted for maximum clarity.

20 Nijboer 1998, 87f, fig. 25; and Nijboer in Attema 2001, see above, footnote 10.

21 The totals for Dark-Red (estimated 25,000) and Latin 0 (30,000) have been brought down by a factor 10, in order to render the graph in Fig. 6 readable.

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Campo della Fiera at Orvieto and *Fanum Voltumnae*: identical places?

L. Bouke van der Meer

Abstract

*The orientation of the temple as well as inscriptions from the sacred enclosure in Campo della Fiera near Orvieto (*Volsinii veteres*) strongly suggest that gods of the underworld were worshipped there.* Apa *(Father) is probably a hypostasis of Tinia (Iupiter) as infernal god. The deities* Tluschva *belong to the* pars hostilis *of the Etruscan heaven (sky). Circumstantial evidence shows that Campo may be the place of* Fanum Voltumnae*, the Etruscan federal sanctuary, not of chthonian but of katachthonian gods. The Latinized name Voltumna is akin to* Veltune*, whose image is visible on a famous mirror from Tuscania, which was probably made in the* Ager volsiniensis.

Recent excavations led by Simonetta Stopponi (University of Perugia) in the suburban *località* Campo della Fiera (Fair Grounds) to the west of Orvieto (*Volsinii veteres*) have yielded inscriptions with names of gods.[1] Do they suffice to identify the Campo as the suburban location of the *Fanum Voltumnae*, the political, federal sanctuary where the annual *concilia*, the meetings of twelve or all peoples of Etruria, took place between 434 and 389 BC?[2] And if so, what kind of gods were worshipped there?

On the basis of literary, epigraphic and topographic evidence, Stopponi presumes that the Fanum was situated near *Volsinii veteres* and that Campo was the place of the Fanum because of its strategic position, its temples, the impressive 5th century BC *via sacra* (with a maximum width of ca 7 m), the continuity of the cultic use of the place from the archaic period to AD 380, the presence of a church in the Middle Ages and a market used until ca 1900 but she admits that the identification is still a hypothesis.[3] Most scholars regard the Latin name Voltumna as an epithet or hypostasis of Tinia, the Etruscan Iupiter. Tin(ia)'s dominant position is visible on the Bronze Liver of Piacenza (ca 100 BC) where he occupies three successive regions of the sixteen-part margin of the visceral side (*fig. 1*). If the equation Voltumna = Tinia is correct, what kind of Tinia was Voltumna in this place: a Tinia of heaven, earth or the underworld? That Tinia might be an underworld god can be deduced from an inscription found in the sanctuary of the so-called Belvedere temple at Orvieto reading *tinia calusna*[4] (*tinia* of *calus* (underworld)). The other, older inscriptions mention *sur(i)* who is probably identical to the Faliscan/Latin underworld god Soranus Apollo/Ditis Pater Soranus (Latin Dis pater),[5] and *apa* (Father).[6]

The sixteen-part margin of the Bronze Liver of Piacenza which mirrors the Etruscan sixteen-part heaven (sky), mentions *tin* in three successive regions in the north part. He shares each region with another deity.[7] The inscriptions read *tin cilen(s)*, *tin θuf(lθa)*, and *tinsθ neθ(uns)*, which means 'Neptunus in (the region) of Iupiter.' According to Plautus Iupiter lives in the north.[8] Therefore one would expect that the temple (dated to the 4th century BC) in the sacred precinct of Campo della Fiera would be oriented south like the urban Tinia temple in Marzabotto (in Etruscan called Kainua (New)) and the acropolis temple at Talamone. By contrast, the temple in Campo is oriented east, deviating only 5 degrees to the south, as can be deduced from the axial position of the contemporaneous main altar to the east of the temple (*fig. 2*).[9] This may imply that the main god or gods of the temple lived in the opposite west-north-west region of heaven (sky), the *pars hostilis*, in other words in the underworld half.[10]

An inscription, dated to ca 400 BC, found to the east of the temple in the sacred enclosure of Campo (*fig. 3*) in the lowest stratum next to a small altar of *tufo* near the main altar, reads *apas* (of *apa*: of Father).[11] Stopponi quotes one parallel, an Apa inscription found in the acropolis sanctuary at Volterra which consists of two parallel temples. She follows M. Bonamici in her interpretation that *apa* would be Tinia (Iupiter).[12] Another inscription from the Volterran sanctuary mentions *ati* (Mother).[13] Four goddesses have *ati* as epithet: Turan (Greek Aphrodite),[14] Caθa (Latin *Solis filia*, daughter of the Sun,[15] both in heaven and in the

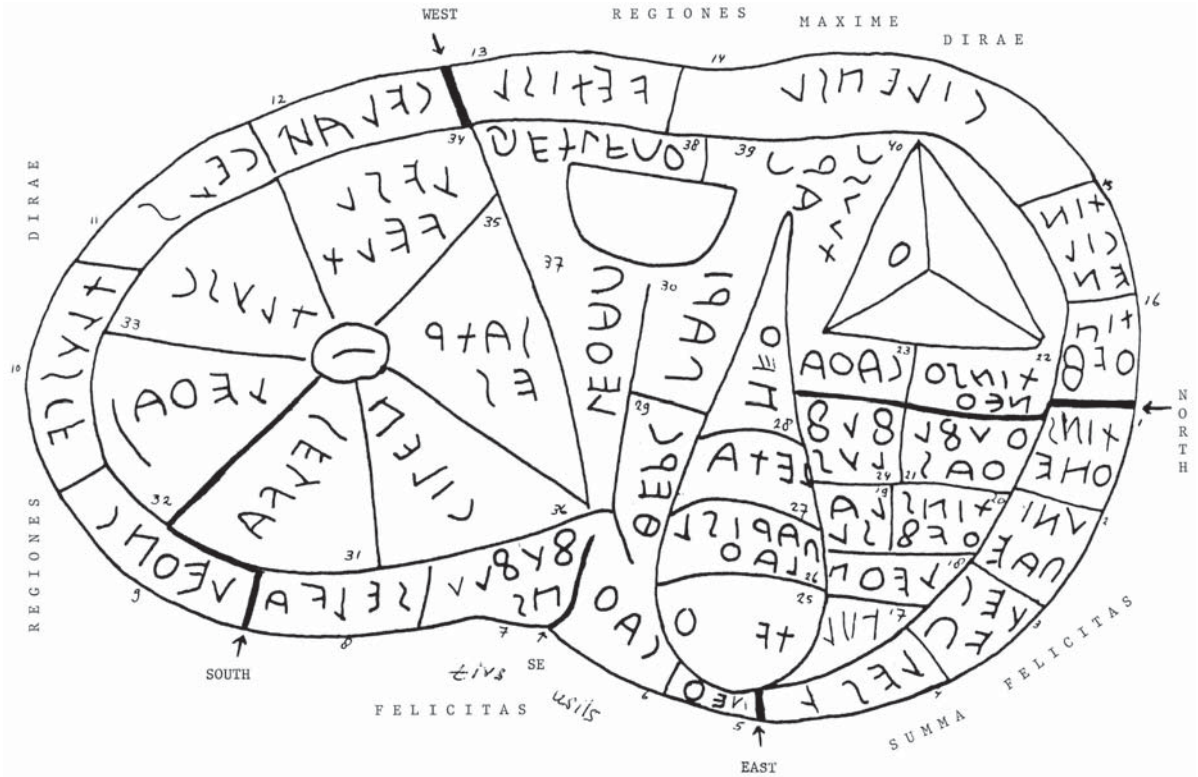

Fig. 1. Bronze liver of Piacenza (drawing author).

underworld; see below)[16], Cel (the goddess Earth),[17] and maybe Espi, mother of Caθa.[18] Ati at Volterra is probably Caθa as she occurs as Cav(a)θa together with Apa and Suri in the southern sanctuary of Pyrgi (see below).

The inscriptions of the Belvedere temple at Orvieto mentioned prove that *apa*, *sur(i)* and *tinia calusna* reside in the western half of heaven. The temple is oriented south-east. It implies that the domicile of its gods is in the north-west quadrant of heaven, the *pars maxime dira*.[19] Interestingly, the southern sanctuary at Pyrgi has several inscriptions mentioning *śuri* and *cav(a)θa*, convincingly interpreted by G. Colonna as an Etruscan Hades and Persephone, *cav(a)θa* being in this context 'Daughter of the Sun of the Night/Underworld'.[20] The same sanctuary yielded inscriptions with the name *apa*, interpreted by Colonna as a hypostasis of *śuri*, 'black god', who can be compared with the Greek Apollo Sourios and the Faliscan Soranus Apollo.[21] Two other Apa inscriptions were found in temple Vigna Parrocchiale II at Cerveteri. They date from ca 550 and ca 300 BC.[22] This temple too is oriented along the north-west/south-east axis, therefore in all probability oriented south-east as so far no temples are oriented north-west.[23] These contexts strongly suggest that *apa* in Campo may be interpreted as an Etruscan underworld god.

Another inscription from Campo also points to katachthonian deities. It is written in *scriptio continua* on a statue base of trachyte, dated to ca 525-500 BC (*fig. 3*) and found inside the quadrangular structure in the sacred precinct to the east of the temple:[24]

kanuta larecenas laute
niθa aranθia pinies puia turuce
tlusχval marveθul faliaθ
ere

tentatively translated by Stopponi:[25]

Kanuta Larecenas, freedwoman (?) (*lauteniθa*), Aranth Pinie's wife (*puia*), gave (*turuce*) to the *tlusχva* (a group of deities) of the seat (?) (*marveθul*) in the celestial place (?) (*faliaθere*).[26]

The translation of the last word is based on a Latinized Etruscan word *faladum* (< Etruscan **falat/θ(e)-*) meaning heaven.[27] In addition, Stopponi suggests a connection between the *nomen gentilicium* Falius and the Etruscan *cognomen* Tinia

Fig. 2. Map of Campo della Fiera, after S. Stopponi, Campo della Fiera at Orvieto: new discoveries, in N.T. De Grummond and T. Edlund Berry (eds), The Archaeology of Sanctuaries and Ritual in Etruria *(JRA, Suppl. 81, 2011, 23, fig. 17); courtesy JRA.*

(Iupiter) mentioned in a Latin inscription from Spello (Hispellum), dated to ca 90 BC.[28] *Faliaθere* is the locative of **faliaθera*. The translation is problematic if *-θera* is a suffix. A funerary inscription at Tarquinia mentions *faluθras* (probably: of/for *falu-θra*). The suffix *–t/θra* may indicate a collec-

Fig. 3. Map of the sacred enclosure in Campo della Fiera, Orvieto (drawing author).

tive like **huzrnatra* (Latin *iuventus*).[29] Another similar lexeme, *falaθres*, is probably a *nomen gentilicium* in the nominative.[30] If, however, the suffix is an adjective ending on *-ra*, the translation may be correct. **Faliaθer* may be akin to the Italic *divus pater Falacer* (not Iupiter)[31] since in Etruscan the θ and c/χ may be exchangeable (cf. *zilaθ* and *zilaχ*). In that case **faliaθere* (< **faliaθer-re*) means in the area of the god Faliather.

The collective of gods called *tlusχva* (plural of **tlus*) is also present on the margin of the Bronze Liver of Piacenza next to *cel* (Earth), its partly adjacent inner region, and in the inner region next to *mar* between the *processus papillaris* and the *processus pyramidalis* (*fig. 1*).[32] Whatever the exact position of the cardinal points on the Liver margin is,[33] all the *tlusχva* live in the western, hostile part of heaven (*fig. 4*).[34] A. Maggiani has tentatively identified them as a collective of two or more female, chthonian deities, Nymphs or more probably Charites. He bases his interpretation also on the context of three inscriptions mentioning *tlusχval* (ca 490 BC), *tlu* (ca 325-250 BC) in cistern no 3 and *tlusχ*[----] (ca 300 BC) in the *bothros* of one of the two urban parallel temples, temple A, in *località* Sant'Antonio at Caere (Cerveteri).[35] This temple is oriented south-east, suggesting that its main deities lived in the north-west quadrant of heaven. Interestingly, an inscription (ca 550-500 BC) reading *apa* was found in the monumental basin which was covered by the archaic temple proto-A.[36] Maggiani's first equation of the Tluschva with Nymphs is mainly based on the presence of a 3rd century BC stone capital showing the head of Acheloos. This god was said to be the father of the Nymphs. Since Nymphs are already known in Etruscan religion as Lasa's, assistants of Turan/Aphrodite, Maggiani prefers an equation with the Charites. His identification is mainly based on a shard of an Attic red figure cup showing a girl holding a flower in her right hand (inscribed *Aglaia*) and facing a hovering Eros (ca 490-480 BC). Aglaia was one of the Charites. These equations are problematic because the meaning of the lexeme *tlus* is unknown. Since other words ending on *-χva* or *-cva* indicate nouns in plural (e.g. *cilθva* (Latin *arces*), *pulumχva* (stars; nails), *luθcva* (stones)), *tlusχva* may personify concrete things just like *culscva* means gates or gate gods (*culs*: gate).

Since the Apa and Tluschva inscriptions were found inside the precinct but to the east of the temple in Campo, both names may refer to visiting deities. J. MacIntosh Turfa writes that 'we cannot be sure in Etruria if there was a single, formal

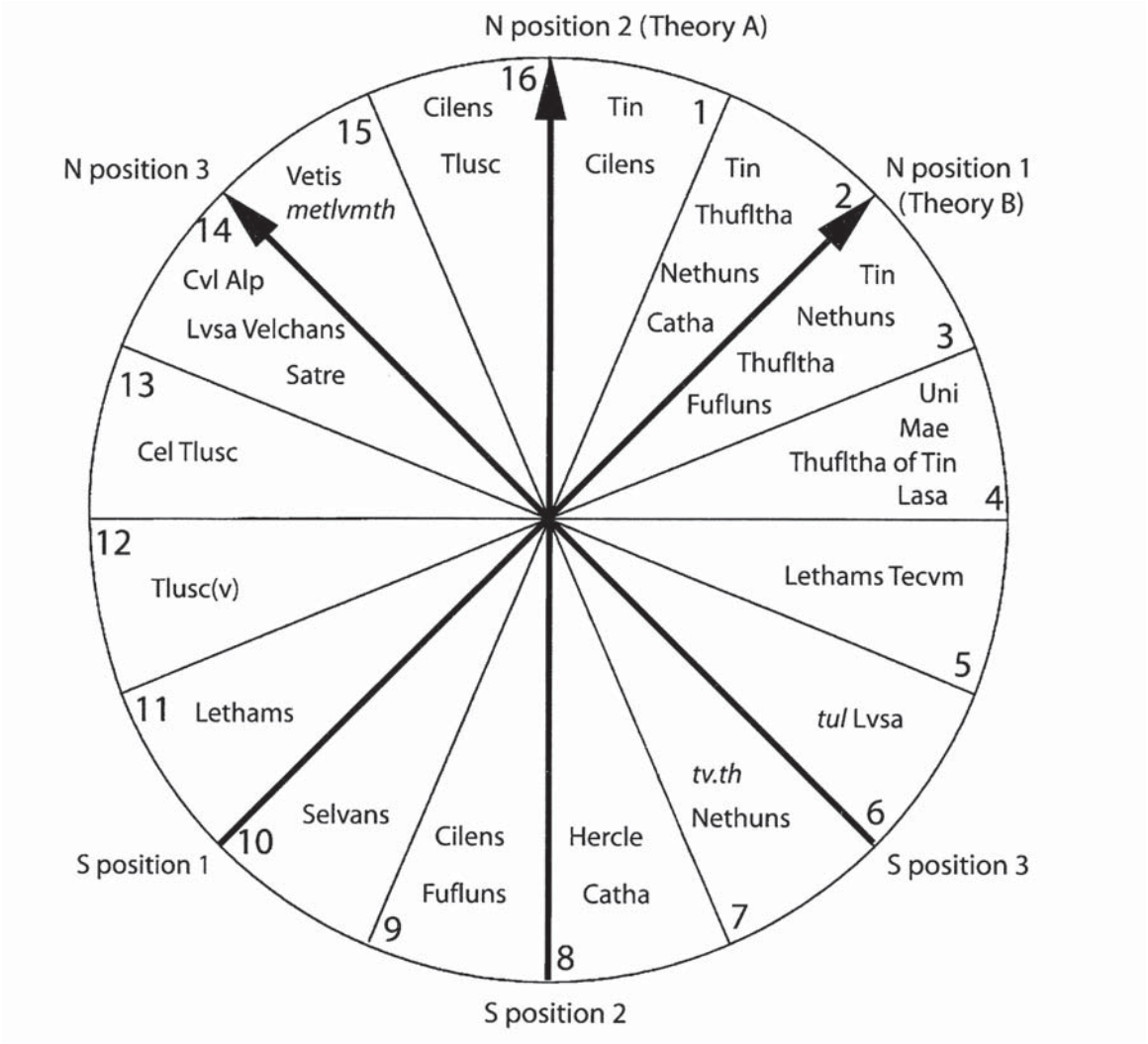

Fig. 4. The three positions of north in the Etruscan heaven (drawing N.L.C. Stevens).

dedication of a sanctuary.'[37] Names like *Fanum Voltumnae* and *Lucus Feroniae* or *Feroniae Fanum*, however, show that we can be more optimistic. In addition, as we saw, the three gods of the Belvedere temple have a similar nature.

The god of the Etruscan federation may have had a katachthonian nature like those of cities in the Po valley. According to the *Scholia Veronensia* to Vergil's *Aeneid*, 10.200 twelve *oppida* (settlements/cities) there were dedicated to Dis Pater (mentioned before):

> *[***Tar]chon, inquit, cum exercitu Appenninum transgressus primum oppidum constituit, quod tum [Mantuam n]ominavit, voca[tumque] Tusca lingua [a] Dite Patre est nomen. Deinde undecim dedicavit Diti Patri [urbes et] ibi constituit annum et item locum consecravit, quo duodecim oppida condere[***].*
>
> (Tarchon, he said, after having passed the Apennines with his army, founded a first *oppidum* which he then called Mantua, a name called so in the Etruscan language after Dis Pater. Thereafter, he dedicated eleven cities to Dis Pater and there he constituted the year and also the place where to found twelve *oppida*).

Colonna finds confirmations of the text in: 1) the *mundus* (building B) on the 'acropolis' of Marzabotto which would have been dedicated to Dis Pater, 2) the name of Mantua, called after the

underworld god *mant(h)*-), and 3) the presence of an inscription reading *manθ* in Pontecagnano, another Etruscan 'colonial' city in the *Ager Picentinus*.[38]

So the question is whether there are other indications that Voltumna can be related to the underworld.

A bronze statue of Vertumnus, also called Vortumnus, from *Volsinii* (*veteres*),[39] whose name is akin to Voltumna (see below),[40] stood in the Vicus Tuscus in Rome on the margin of the Forum Romanum at the foot of the Palatine. Our source, Propertius' description of it is a poetical interpretation based on the Latin verb *vertere/vortere* (to turn, change).[41] It can hardly be used for the reconstruction of the original function and appearance of the statue.[42] The poet rather describes the possible metamorphoses of the god. He tells that the earliest statue, a wooden piece (*stipes acernus*), was transferred to Rome after Romulus' reconciliation with the Sabine king Titus Tatius who was buried later nearby.[43] Mamurius, the famous Oscan maker of eleven Salian bronze *ancilia*, would have made the bronze version in Numa's time. If, however, the bronze version, probably of later date, really came from Volsinii, it may have been transferred to Rome much later, in 264 BC, after the destruction of the Etruscan town. In that case the poet created an artificial, polysemic image of a Sabine/Oscan/Etruscan/Roman god in order to make him attractive for the Roman public. Whether the Temple of Vertumnus on the Aventine founded by M. Fulvius Flaccus, conqueror of Volsinii in 264 BC, contained the Voltumna statue from Volsinii, is not known.[44]

Vortumnus was *deus Etruriae princeps* according to Varro.[45] Voltumna, a name of Italic/Indo-European origin (like Umbrian Clitumnus), was called *Veltumna in Etruscan (the Etruscan e may become Latin o, cf. Velathri > Volaterrae), but more probably *Veltumne,[46] and due to wear and tear Veltune (see below). A similar process noticed by Colonna occurred with the Latin name Tolonios (from Etruscan *Tulun-), which developed from the archaic Etruscan *nomen genticilium* Tulumnes. Colonna hypothesizes that the Latin name Voltumna is a 'hyper-Etruscization' invented by a now lost author and used by Livy.[47] In other words the suffix *-na* would have been influenced by that of Etruscan male family names. All scholars consider Veltune to be the name of a deity in the nominative. It is, however, not completely excluded that Veltune is a locative of *Veltuna. Veltune may derive from *Veltunei, originally from *Veltunai (in (the region) of *Veltuna) like *raθlθ* is the locative

Fig. 5. The Pavatarchies mirror from Tuscania (drawing after BABESCH *84, 2009, 42, fig. 2).*

of *raθ*. A parallel is *capue* (< **capuei* < **capuai*), locative of *capua* (Capua) mentioned in a famous inscription at Tarquinia.[48] On the other hand *Veltunei would have been confusing as suffixes of names ending on *-nei* indicate a female *nomen gentilicium*.

An Etruscan representation of him, labelled *veltune*, is visible on a famous bronze hand-mirror from Tuscania, dated to ca 300 BC (*fig. 5*), showing *pavatarχies* (*pava tarχies*) consulting a liver.[49] On the far left stands a man with a *chlamys* around his shoulders holding in his right hand a little laurel branch turned down. He is labelled with an inscription reading *raθlθ* (*raθ-l-θ*), which means 'in (the region) of *raθ*'. He is an oracular kind of Etruscan Apollo.[50] On the far right stands in frontal position a man labeled Veltune, according to most scholars a god, but according to M. Cristofani a magistrate or martial person.[51] He is probably a god since he stands in the foreground, slightly overlapping *pava tarchies*. The latter, with an *apex*-hat, is consulting the liver in the presence of an older, bearded colleague, *avltarχunus (avl(e) tarχunus)*, who leans on a staff and has his *apex*-hat off, placed on his neck. Behind *pava tarχies* stands

an attentive woman labeled *ucernei*, which is a female *nomen gentilicium*. According to Cristofani Avl(e) Tarchunus cannot be the legendary Tarchon. He is rather Avl son of Tarchun (cf. *aivas tlamunus*: Aias, son of Telamon). This scholar further presumes that the two *haruspices* are in competition,[52] which is not the case. Avl is rather the teacher, watching his pupil. They imitate in a traditional way how the *haruspex* Tarchon listens to Tages in the myth told by Johannes Lydus (see Appendix).[53] Even if the scene shows a real, non-mythical divination, possibly on behalf of Ucernei's wedding, it is situated in a cosmic setting, since Dawn on a four-in-hand in the upper- and a winged Atlas-like young man in the lower exergue, hint at respectively the sky and the underworld. The knotty staff of Avl crosses the bottom line, the boundary between earth and underworld.[54] Rath protects mantic activities like divination, in this case the liver consultation by Pava Tarchies. His name means according to M. Harari 'Little boy Tarchies' or less likely 'Little boy of Tarchie', since Tarchie is not (yet) known as name of a city, family or person.[55] Greek authors may have misunderstood *tarχies* and have changed the name into Tages (Greek *ta gès*, things of the earth).[56] The reason why *veltune* is present is less clear. According to some scholars because he was the supreme national god mentioned by Varro. N.Th. de Grummond, however, suggests that he is the grandfather of Tages, who according to Festus is *Genii filius*, *nepos Iovis* (father of Genius, grandson of Iupiter).[57]

Veltune is frontally rendered, bearded, almost nude, barefooted, his head turned to the main scene, holding vertically in his right hand a spear which crosses the upper exergue line. A mantle is wrapped around his left arm. Around his left upper arm is a bracelet with three *bullae*,[58] and just above his ankles are horizontal straps with a protruding loop and hanging ends along the sides. His right thumb is turned upward, maybe underlining the lucky omen, the presence of the *caput* (head; *processus pyramidalis*) of the liver.

He is without thunderbolt, which is the usual attribute of Tinia (Iupiter).

Most conspicuous are his curious leg straps, which look like bootlaces though they are not attached to boots, shoes, sandals or slippers.[59] There are similar straps visible on an inscribed mirror, now in Mariemont (Belgium), showing *hercle* (Heracles), assisted by *menrva* (Athena/Minerva), at a crossroad between *eris* and *θeθis*. Eris (Dispute), in Greek mythology a personification with a negative connotation, does not only have the curious straps, here attached to her shoes, but also a crossed belt on her breast which makes her an infernal goddess like Vanth or a Fury.[60] So Rath on the Pavatarchies mirror may be linked to heaven, and Veltune to the underworld. An interesting parallel for a similar oppositional pair of flanking gods is visible on a mirror from Castelgiorgio in the *Ager volsiniensis*.[61] It shows in the centre *umaele*, with his left foot placed on a stone, holding and consulting a large liver, opposite a goddess, *alpnu*. They are flanked by *turms* (Hermes) holding a *kerykeion* on the left and *aplu* (Apollo), without laurel branch, on the right. Turms is among others a god of the underworld and therefore Aplu may be celestial. The superior exergue shows the personification of Dawn in a *quadriga* and the inferior one probably sea-monsters. These comparisons suggest that Veltune, and by implication Voltumna, is an underworld god.

The Pavatarchies mirror was found in a tomb at Tuscania with modest grave gifts. It was probably made in or near *Volsinii veteres*, since similar hand-mirrors with inscriptions on the outer border were found in the *Ager volsiniensis*.[62] So the engraver could have been familiar with the nearby sanctuary of Veltune. Since the word *ucer* in the exceptional female family name Ucernei seems to be akin to the Umbrian word *ukar/ocar* (Latin *ocris* (hill, citadel)), the lady or her family may originate from Umbria. She may have been married to a man from Tuscania and have received the mirror as a wedding gift. Weddings were preceded by divination.[63] In addition, Ucernei may indicate the name of the mirror owner.[64]

In conclusion, according to Colonna the sanctuary of Campo della Fiera *certainly* is the *Fanum Voltumnae*.[65] It is probable but we cannot yet be sure until an inscription mentioning *Veltumne or Veltune is found and the region around the sanctuary is known. A counter-argument is that the Campo sanctuary already existed in the archaic period[66] and continued to be a religious place, with successive restructurings, after 264 BC, when *Volsinii veteres* and Campo were destroyed by the Romans. In addition, no structure for meetings like the *bouleuterion*/theatre in Cerveteri and the theatre in Castelsecco near Arezzo has yet been found. Maggiani defines the gods in Campo as chthonian. They were, however, katachthonian.[67]

Appendix

Johannes Lydus, De ostentis *(*prooemium*) 3*

Τάρχων, ταύτῃ ἔχων τὴν προσηγορίαν, ἀνὴρ γ[έγονε μὲν] θυοσκόπος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γραφῆς εἰσενήνεκται, εἷς [τῶν ὑπὸ] Τυρρηνοῦ τοῦ Λυδοῦ διδαχθέντων. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τοῖς Θούσκ[ων γράμμα]σι ταῦτα δηλοῦται, οὔπω τηνικαῦτα τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις Εὐάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρκάδος ἐπιφανέντος. ἦν δὲ ἀλλοῖός τις ὁ τῶν γραμμάτων τύπος, καὶ οὐδὲ ὅλως καθημαξευμένος ἡμῖν· ἦ γὰρ ἂν τῶν ἀπορρήτων τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτέρων οὐδὲν ἔμεινεν ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος λανθάνον. φησὶ τοίνυν ὁ Τάρχων ἐπὶ τοῦ συγγράμματος, ὅπερ εἶναί τινες Τάγητος ὑποπτεύουσιν, ἐπειδήπερ ἐκεῖ κατά τινα διαλογικὴν ὁμιλίαν ἐρωτᾷ μὲν δῆθεν ὁ Τάρχων, ἀποκρίνεται δὲ ὁ Τάγης ὡς προσκαρτερῶν ἑκάστοτε τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὡς [τυχὸν] συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ κατά τινα χρόνον ἀροτριῶντι θαυμάσιόν τι, οἷον οὐδὲ ἀκήκοέ τις ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ γενόμενον· ἀνεδόθη γὰρ ‹ἐκ› τοῦ αὔλακος παιδίον, ἄρτι μὲν τεχθῆναι δοκοῦν, ὀδόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γνωρισμάτων ἀπροσδεές. ἦν δὲ ἄρα τὸ παιδίον ὁ Τάγης, ὃν δὴ καὶ χθόνιον Ἑ[ρμῆν] εἶναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔδοξεν, ὥς που καὶ Πρόκλος φησὶν ὁ διάδοχος. τοῦτο δὲ ἀλληγορικῶς παρὰ τὸν ἱερατικὸν παρακεκάλυπται νόμον, ἐπεὶ οὐ προφανῶς ὁ περὶ θειοτέρων πραγμάτων λόγος διὰ τοῦς ἀνιέρους, ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν μυθικῶς νῦν δὲ παραβολικῶς παραδέδοται· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰπεῖν ψυχὴν τελειοτάτην καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἐνεργειῶν ἀπροσδεῆ ἐπὶ τὴν ὕλην ἐλθεῖν, βρέφος ἀρτιγενὲς ἐκ τοῦ αὔλακος ἀναδοθηναί φησι. Τάρχων δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτερος (γέγονε γὰρ δὴ καὶ νεώτερος, ἐπὶ τῶν Αἰνείου στρατευσάμενος χρόνων) τὸ παιδίον ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐναποθέμενος τόποις ἠξίου τι παρ᾽ [αὐτοῦ] τῶν ἀπορρήτων μαθεῖν. τοῦ δὲ αἰτουμένου τυχὼν βι[βλίον] ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων συνέγραψεν, ἐν ᾧ πυνθάνεται μὲν ὁ Τάρχων τῇ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ταύτῃ συνήθει φωνῇ, ἀποκρίνεται δὲ ὁ Τάγης γράμμασιν ἀρχαίοις τε καὶ οὐ σφόδρα γνωρίμοις ἡμῖν γε ἐμμένων τῶν ἀποκρίσεων.

Tarchon - that was his name - was, as he introduces himself in his writing, *haruspex* (*thuoskopos*), one of those who were taught by Tyrrhenos the Lydian. These things are revealed by the Etruscan written signs, when on those places Euander the Arcadian had not yet appeared. There existed another letter type that was not yet completely used by us: otherwise nothing of the secrets and necessary things would have been hidden until now. So Tarchon speaks in a writing which according to some people is of Tages: for in it, as in a dialogue, Tarchon is evidently asking questions but Tages answers as somebody who is continually involved in sacred things. He tells that something miraculous happened to him by chance when he was plowing once upon a time. Nobody had ever heard that a similar thing had happened. For a little boy appeared from a furrow that seemed to be new born but nevertheless had teeth and other markings of great age. This little boy was Tages, by the Greeks seen as the chthonian Hermes as Proclus Diadochus says somewhere. This is hidden by allegories according to sacred usage: for the doctrine about divine things has not been revealed in public but now by stories, now by parables. Instead of saying that a very perfect soul was incarnated who did not miss the right capacities, he says that a new born baby emerged from a furrow. When Tarchon - at a later age, because in his youth he participated in the war in the time of Aeneas - had lifted up the child and placed him on a sacred place, he asked him to teach him the secrets. His request was granted. Based on the sayings he wrote a book in which Tarchon asks questions in a language which was current in Italy but Tages' answers have archaic elements which are unknown to us.

Translation by L.B. van der Meer

Notes

1 See Stopponi 2002, 2007, 2009, 2011. *REE* 2011, 52-53, 137-141.

2 Livy 4.23.5, 25.7-8, 61.2; 5.17.6-10; 6.2.2. For comments see Camporeale 2010; Briquel 2003.

3 Stopponi 2011, 17. A church, San Pietro in Vetere or in Vetera (in the Old), in *campus fori* (grounds of the forum/market) or *campus nundinarum* (grounds of the market), shows that Campo kept its sacred and commercial functions in the Middle Ages (certainly since the 9th century AD).

4 *CIE* 10650; *ET* Vs 4.7; Maras 2009, 431, Vs co.7 (date: ca 300-250 BC).

5 *CIE* 10537*; *ET* Vs 0.6 ; Maras 2009, 427, Vs co.1 (date: ca 500 BC). Colonna 2006, 141. Colonna 2007.

6 *CIE* 10525; 10535; *ET* Vs 2.29; 2. 30; Maras 2009, 428, Vs co.2 and co.3 (date: ca 500 BC). Maras 2009, 111, 150-151

suggests that the god *apa* is a male generating force, occurring only in the context of *suri*.

7 Stevens 2009, 155, fig. 3, region 1, 2 and 3. Van der Meer 1987, 11, fig. 10. Maggiani 1982, 55, fig. 1a; 85, fig. 3. Cf. Martianus Capella (6th century AD), *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, 1.45 (Iupiter lives together with another god in the *regiones* 1, 2 and 3).

8 Plautus, *Amphitryo* 272.

9 The hypothetical orientation to west in Stopponi 2007, 499, fig. 30 is incorrect. See now Stopponi 2011, 23, fig. 17; 2009, 430, fig. 15. The altar was later converted, probably after 264 BC, into a *donarium*.

10 For the temple orientations and the *deorum sedes* see F. Prayon, *AC* 43 (1997) 1285-1296, fig. 1; Stevens 2009, 161-162.

11 *REE* 2011, 139. Stopponi 2011, 29, fig. 31; 2009, 436, fig. 29.

12 Stopponi 2011, 29-30, n. 53. Stopponi 2009, 436. For *apa* at Volterra see *REE* 55 (1987-1988 [1989]) 276-278 no 2 (dated by M. Bonamici to ca 275-250 BC; according to her *apa* would be a katachthonian god). Maras 2009, Vt co.1.

13 Maras 2009, 445, Vt co.2 (3rd century BC).

14 *ET* AH 3.3 (ca 300 BC).

15 Martianus Capella 1.50 (region 6: *Celeritas Solis filia*). In *REE* 65 (1991) 50 and *REE* 69 (2003) 26 *cavaθa* is called *seχ* (daughter). Dioscurides (*TLE* 823) interprets the Etruscan name *kauθam* as Latin *Solis oculus* (Eye of the sun).

16 *REE* 59 (1993 [1994]) 269-271 no 26 (4th/3rd centuries BC).

17 *ET* Co 4.1-4.5 (ca 400-350 BC).

18 Maras 2009, 303, OA do.6 (…*espial* : *atial* : *caθas*; alternative translation: …of mother Espi and of Caθa).

19 Pliny, *NH* 2.143-144.

20 *ET* Cr 4.12 (ca 450 BC); *REE* 56 (1989-1990 [1991]) 316, no 27 (ca 500-400 BC). Colonna 2006, 139-140 does not accept Maggiani's equation of Cav(a)tha with Greek Hekate.

21 *REE* 56 (1989-1989 [1991]) 318, no 30; *REE* 64 (1998 [2001]) 386, no 46; 394, no 60. Colonna 2007; 2006, 140; Maras 2009, 339, Py co.16 (ca 550-500 BC); 341, Py co.20 (5th century BC).

22 Maras 2009, 264, Cr co.2 (ca 550 BC); 268, Cr co.9.

23 A black gloss cup (ca 300 BC) from the northern necropolis (without precise context) at Pisa reads *apaś mi* (of *apa* I am). Apa refers to an underworld-god or to a mortal father since *apa* occurs in combination with a personal name in funerary inscriptions, cf. *REE* 64 (1998) no 3; Maras 2009, 332-333, Ps co.1.As for *apa* in combined with a personal name see *REE* 2011, 168.

24 Stopponi 2011, 36, fig. 46-48. Height: 83.7; width: 30.7; depth: 39.2 cm. *REE* 2011, 140.

25 Stopponi 2011, 37-42; Maggiani 2011, 147-148; Stopponi 2009, 441-449.

26 For Tluschva see Maggiani 2011. He suggests that *marvueθ* might be the name of a second deity.

27 Festus, p. 78 L; *TLE* 831.In Latin *fala* may mean height, wooden pillar, or wooden (siege) tower. *Phalai* in Greek means citadels, eminences.

28 *CIL* 11, 5281 (L. Falius L.f. Tinia…). See Stopponi 2011; 2009, 447; S. Sisani, *Athenaeum* 90 (2002), 483-505; R. Syme, *JRS* 57 (1967), 263.

29 *TLE* 887; G. Colonna, *StEtr* 48 (1980) 167. For *huzrnatre* (locative of *huzrnatra*) see *TLE* 131.

30 *ET* Vs 1.176; *CIE* 5076 (*tr(epie) : falaθres*) on a cylindrical conical *cippus* from Settecamini near Orvieto (context unknown).

31 Varro, *L.L.* 5.84; 7.45. Falacrinae (derived from Falacr-), birthplace of Vespasian, was a village near the border between Picenum and Umbria. The *flamen Falacer* was a minor priest, not related to Iupiter.

32 Van der Meer 1987, 11, fig. 10, outer region 10 (*tluscv*), inner regions 33 (*tlusc*) and 39/40 (*mar tlusc*); idem 70-72. Maggiani 2011, 138, fig. 1, outer region 12, inner regions 33, and 39/40; Stevens 2009, 155, fig. 3. *Tlus* is not akin to Gr. *Tlōs* as this city name derives from Lycian Tlawa (probably Hittite Dalawa).

33 Stevens 2009.

34 Stevens 2009, 157, fig. 7 shows the reconstruction of the three positions of the north, depending on the two solstice (north-east and south-east) and the equinox (east) positions of the sun.

35 Maggiani 2011. For the presumed chthonian character of Tluschva see Maggiani 1982, 68-70, fig. 2 (sector III) and J. MacIntosh Turfa and S. Gettys, *BABESCH* 84 (2009) 47. Contra: G. Capdeville, *RHR* 212-213 (1996) 293-294.

36 Maggiani 2011, 144, fig. 13 (the basin is no 1 in fig. 2; Maggiani presumes that apa might be hercle (Heracles); there is, however, no epigraphical evidence). Maras 2009, 265, Cr co.4.

37 J. MacIntosh Turfa, in De Grummond/Simon 2006, 106.

38 Colonna 2006, 141. Maras 2009, 247, Cm co.1; 255, cf. Co do.1. See also C. de Simone, *StEtr* 58 (1992 [1993]) 197-200.

39 Varro, *De lingua Latina* 5.46. *CIL* 6.804.

40 Prop. *El*. 4.2.3-4; *Tuscus ego <et> Tuscis orior nec paenitet inter proelia Volsinios deseruisse focos*. For text and translation see De Grummond/Simon 2006, 208-209.

41 Prop., *El*. 4.2.7-10. Welsh 2005, 35-85, fig. 2 (plan of the Vicus Tuscus). Cf. Ovid, *Met*. 14.623-771.

42 *Pace* Briquel 2003, 154, who compares Vertumnus with Ianus, god of the beginning of the year. Before the 2nd century BC, however, the Roman year started with March.

43 For the historicity of the first, archaic *signum Vortumni* and *vicus Tuscus* see G. Colonna, in Cristofani 1987, 59-60, fig. 1 and 68-70 (discussion).

44 *LTUR* V, 1999, s.v. Vortumnus, aedes (J. Aronen).

45 Varro, *L.L.* 5.46. For the possible meanings of the word princeps see Briquel 2003, 151-152.

46 For Arruns Veltymnus who received a prophecy from the Etruscan Vegoia see *Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser* (ed. K. Lachmann, I. Berlin 1848, 350-351). De Grummond/Simon 2006, 191-192.

47 G. Colonna, *AnnFaina* 2 (1985) 112, n. 48. The change from Etruscan *Vel**t**- to Latin Ve**rt**- is difficult to explain. Parallels are missing.

48 *TLE* 890.

49 Florence, MNA 77759. *CIE* III.1.10.411. Harari 2009 (with bibliography). De Grummond/Simon 2006, 29-30; Cristofani 1985a, 4-7, 14. It is uncertain whether [--(-)*uθunaitla* (*ET* Vs 4,5; Maras 2009, 429-430, Vs co.5; ca 450 BC) on a bronze candelabrum dedicated at **velsena* (*velzna*; *Volsinii veteres*) can be reconstructed as [*vel*]*uθunaitla* (genitive of **[vel]uθunaita*).

50 Inscriptions mentioning Ra(h)t(h)- are: *TLE* 44 (Veii), Maras 2009, 277, Cr do.7 (Caere), *REE* 56 (1989-1990 [1991]) 317, no 29 (Pyrgi), *StEtr* 42 (1974) 4 no 6; Maras 2009, 320, Pa co.2 (S. Polo d'Enza in Reggio Emilia). Cristofani 1987, 47 interprets Rathlth as a nominative and as a person of minor importance since Aplu never holds a laurel branch downward.

51 Cristofani 1987, 47; 1985a, 6.

52 Cristofani 1985a, 4-7; 14. If one compares, however, Avl Tarchunus for example with Velthur Partunus, Tarchunus might be a nominative, of course derived from Tarchun.

53 *De ostentis* (*prooemium*) 3. Cic., *De Div*. 2.23, like later Johannes Lydus (6th century AD), describes Tages *puerili specie sed senili prudentia*, in other words as *puer/senex* (baby/old man), born from a furrow.

[54] Roncalli 2010, 121, however, suggests that the staff marks where to make a furrow, i.e. the future boundary of a city (maybe Tarquinia). The famous Chalchas mirror from Vulci too hints to a tripartite cosmos: sky (Chalchas' wings), earth (his left foot rests on the upper stone) and underworld (his right foot on the lower stone).

[55] The female first name *tarchi* does exist. Harari (2009) associates *pava* with the root *pau* of Latin *paulus* (little, small (boy)). A mirror in Cambridge (dated to ca 300 BC; *CSE* Great Britain 2, 40-42 no 17 (R.V. Nicholls)) shows *tarch*[---], *priumne* (Priamos), *helaśntre* (Alexandros), and *menerva* (Athena/Minerva). It shows that the engraver situates *Tarchun or *Tarchies in the period of the Trojan war, like Johannes Lydus does in his *De ostentis* (*prooemium*) 3. Tarchon may have been known in Campo. A Latin inscription on a black gloss sherd from the 3rd century BC reads ?]*tarc*[? See *REE* 2011, 141; Stopponi 2007, fig. 53.

[56] Johannes Lydus, *De ostentis* (*prooemium*) 3 associates Tages with the chthonian Hermes (see Appendix).

[57] De Grummond, in De Grummond/Simon 2006, 29-30; Festus, *De significatu verborum* 359.14.

[58] Bracelets with three *bullae* are worn by gods and heroes. See Cristofani 1987, 47.

[59] Turms (Hermes) on mirrors frequently shows straps but always connected to shoes or sandals (e.g. *ES* 74).

[60] Van der Meer 1995, 140-142, fig. 66. Idem, *BABesch* 65 (1990) 74, fig. 74. Cristofani 1985b, 5, fig. 5 (Thethis would be the Etruscan interpretation of Greek goddess Themis, the personification of order).

[61] London, British Museum, GR 1873.8-20.109. *ES* V, 34. *CIE* 3.2.10.875; Van der Meer 1995, 89, fig. 36 (there is no inscription reading *urphe* on the stone under Umaele's foot). Cristofani 1985b, 4-5, fig. 6.

[62] G. Colonna, *AnnFaina* 2 (1985) 129-131.

[63] Cf. Servius ad Vergil, Aen. 4.166; Pliny, *NH* 2.138-140.

[64] L. Bonfante, *CSE* USA 3: New York, 28 no 4. Van der Meer 1995, 25, nos 17 and 18. Colonna 1985, 131, fig. 24.

[65] *REE* 2011, 137bis (p. 382).

[66] Stopponi 2007, 496, fig. 6; 2009, 426, fig. 4 show terracotta architectural reliefs dated to ca 600-550 BC; the earliest Attic vases (Stopponi 2007, 499, figs. 32-34; 2009, 428) date from ca 550-500 BC.

[67] Loom weights found near the other temple in Campo, under the San Pietro, may mention the goddesses Veia (*veiani = veia ni* (I (am) Veia)) and Peth(an)), interpreted by G. Colonna (*REE* 2011, 137bis) as underworld goddesses, comparable to Demeter and Kore unless the inscriptions reading *veiani* and *peθ*[- refer to female dedicants. The *Annali Faina* 19, containing the *convegno* acts *Il* Fanum Voltumnae *e i santuari comunitari dell'Italia Antica*, appeared in December 2012. G. Colonna (203-226) also holds that the gods of Campo della Fiora were katachthonian. He rejects Maggiani's identification of the *Tluschva* as being comparable with Charites since the former would be male gods.

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Water use and management in the Classical and Early Hellenistic silver industry of Thorikos and the Laurion

K. Van Liefferinge

Abstract

*Thorikos is located in the silver-rich Laurion region of southeast Attica, Greece. During the Classical and Early Hellenistic period, the metallurgical activities in the Laurion boomed and silver processing workshops, demanding large quantities of water, were spread over the entire area. This paper examines the role of water use and management in a selection of metallurgy workshops in the Thorikos area in order to enhance our understanding of the production of silver in the Thorikos deme.**

Introduction

Thorikos is located in the hinterland of Athens and more specifically in the Laurion, a region known for its silver mines in southeast Attica, Greece (*fig. 1*). Attracted by its strategic location on the two-peaked Velatouri-Hill and the natural harbours of Porto Mandri and Franco Limani, the site was occupied almost continuously from the late Neolithic until the Early Byzantine period, with a clear intensification during Classical times. The presence of silver resources was a determining factor during its entire history. This picture is mainly clear during the 4th century BC when silver processing workshops were scattered over the site.

The same trend is visible in the wider Laurion region. Generally, these workshops consisted of living quarters (including dormitories, bathrooms and kitchens) and a workshop area, in which a washery, cistern(s), storage rooms and a crushing and grinding area for the ore were incorporated. It should also be stressed, however, that the spread and internal organisation of the silver workshops differs geographically. The centre of the Laurion is characterized by hills, on which workshops are clustered together to harvest rainwater, accumulating in the valleys beds. In most cases, water was collected in extensive supply channels and subsequently diverted to cisterns, which could easily have capacities of 300 to even 1500m³.[1] They present us with a pressing water need for silver processing in an area with virtually no water sources. The Thorikos area, located in the north of the Laurion and next to the coast, is determined by two large plains (Adami and Potami) with gentle hills sloping towards it. In sharp contrast to the Laurion hills, the workshops seem to be more scattered and strangely enough, have small cisterns at their disposal.

In a previous study by the author, *Reconstructing the position of Thorikos in the Laurion (Attica, Greece) silver mining district through hydrological analyses*,[2] this issue has already been partly examined using the site of Thorikos (the Cistern no 1 and Washery no 1 workshops) and the Soureza Valley (Asklepiakon workshops) in the centre of the Laurion as case-studies. The results were particularly interesting. The hydrological conditions of an area proof to determine the employed water technologies. In general, workshops relied on rainwater harvesting to process silver ores but still, there is a sharp contrast between the two mentioned zones: Thorikos depends on non-concentrated runoff, which means that rain water does not accumulate in central streams when flowing downhill, whereas the centre of the Laurion had sizeable gullies flowing through its valley beds, which could be tapped. This implies a much lower water availability in Thorikos and, since water availability directly determines the amount of processed ores, also a potentially lower production output of the workshops. Together with the smaller cistern volumes, this strongly suggests that Thorikos could never be the same large scale ore processing area as the central Laurion valleys. Even though our understanding of Thorikos and its role in silver metallurgy has improved as a result of this analysis, this study only focused on the Thorikos workshops located on the Velatouri Hill and not on the numerous other workshops adjoining the Adami and Potami plains. No less

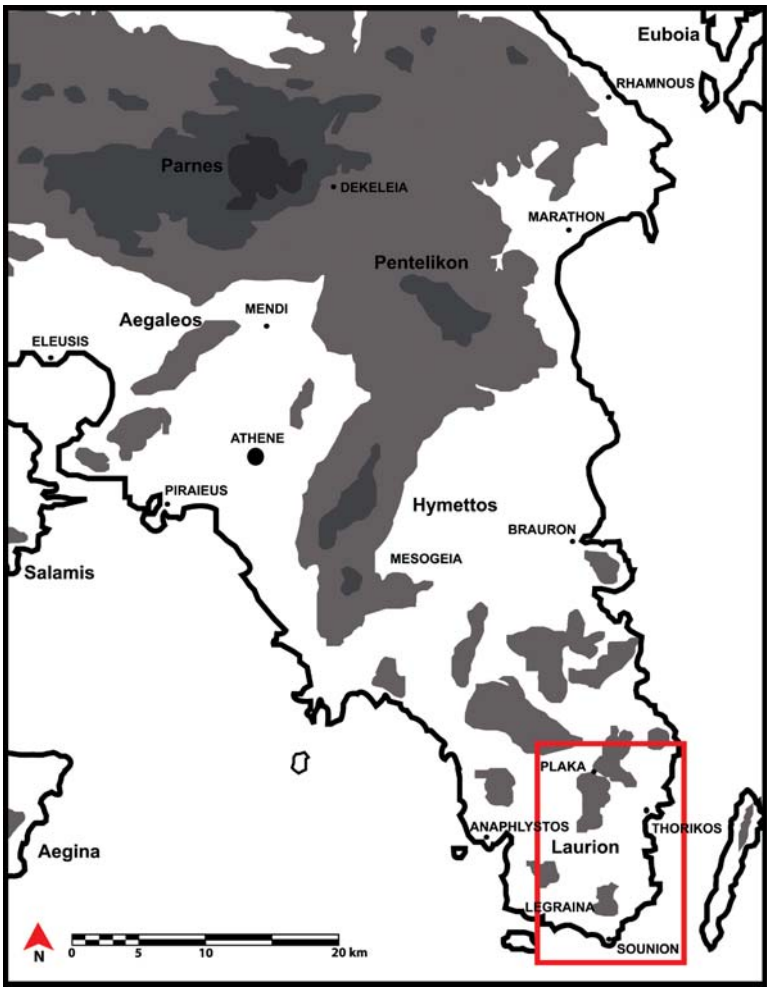

Fig. 1. Map of Attica and the Laurion (after Mussche 1998, fig. 1).

than thirteen workshops have been recorded in these surroundings.

This paper will investigate the role of water use and management in the Thorikos area. Firstly, the history of the Laurion area will be discussed in relation to silver metallurgy, in order to illuminate the importance of water for the area. Secondly, a selection of archaeological sites will be examined and accordingly interpreted from the angle of water supply. The hydrology toolbox of ArcGis 9.3 has been employed to complete the archaeological observations. Focus will be on Thorikos but also on three nearby sites (the *Skitzeri*, *Kavodokano* and *Zoridis* workshops) in order to create a clearer picture of the metallurgy industry in the Thorikos deme.

The History of the Laurion Industry and Silver Metallurgy

Geology and the basic principles of silver metallurgy

Before elaborating on the history of the Laurion, its geology and the core aspects of ore processing should be shortly explained. The Laurion, which is part of the geological Attic-Cycladic belt, is characterised by alternating layers of marbles and micaschists. In the contact zones of these layers - usually referred to as contact I, II, III- specific minerals developed, the primary ones being galena (PbS), sphalerite (ZnS) and several other minor sulphides, which could weather to form secondary ores, such as cerussite, smithonite and malachite.[3] Galena and/or cerussite are believed to be the most frequently employed ores to extract silver from.

An important issue in understanding the evolution of silver metallurgy is the richness of the ore, which can vary substantially and therefore directly influence the methods applied in metallurgy. When the amount of argentiferous lead in the ore exceeds 30%, silver processing is relatively simple, as it will only consist of two phases: firstly, the ores were exploited in the mines and secondly, they were brought to the furnaces, where the separation of silver and lead (cupellation) took place. If, however, the amount is less than 30%, it should be purified before smelting,[4] by doing so complicating the metallurgical process and the organisation of the industry as a whole. Ore purification took place in washeries (*fig. 2*), in which the heavy metal particles of the ore were concentrated. This activity demanded large quantities of water in an area with hardly any water sources. As a result, a careful and well-organised system of water management had to be developed. Thus, from the moment ore washing was introduced in the silver production process, water played an important role in the history of the Laurion.

Given the complexity of ore processing, it is reasonable to suggest that this phase was only introduced when the rich ore outcrops were largely exhausted.[5] When this event took place precisely, still remains problematic but some interesting suggestions can be put forward.

The history of the Laurion industry

One of the earliest evidences for the processing of lead and silver ores in the Aegean was recorded in the Laurion: fragments of litharge (lead oxide, PbO), which is a waste product of ore processing, were observed in the Laurion sites dated as early as the transition of the Final Neolithic (4200-3100 BC) to the Early Bronze Age I (3100-2650 BC).[6] Also, small mine galleries were recorded, digging in the upper metalliferous stratum or the so-called 'first contact'. It is not surprising that indications for early exploitation are found in this contact. This stratum is easily accessible, and does therefore not require sophisticated mining techniques, such as the digging of deep ventilation shafts as was done in Classical times and after. Adding to this, it contains rich outcrops, which are suitable for smelting without any purification.[7] After the Early Bronze Age, the evidence for metallurgical activities is more scarce and scattered but it is likely that silver production consisted of only two phases: the exploitation of the ores in the mines and the smelting in furnaces.[8] No single trace of ore washing dating to this phase has so far been discovered.

From the late Archaic Period onwards (540-480 BC), the demand for silver increased through the introduction of coinage, the Persian wars and the

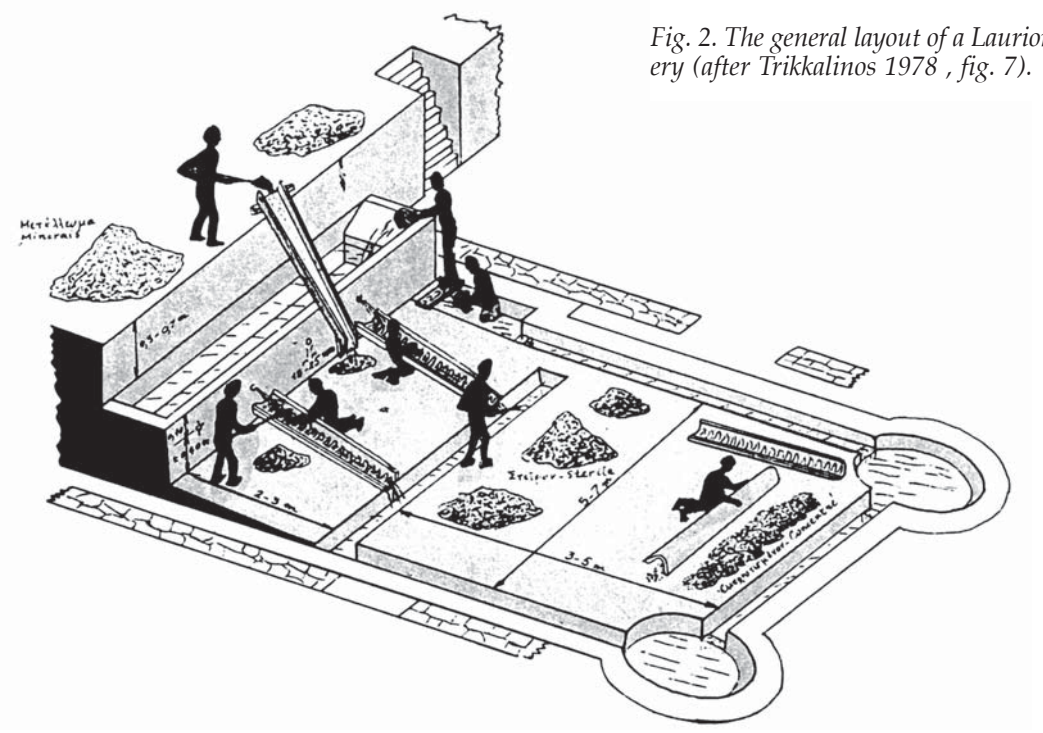

Fig. 2. The general layout of a Laurion ore washery (after Trikkalinos 1978 , fig. 7).

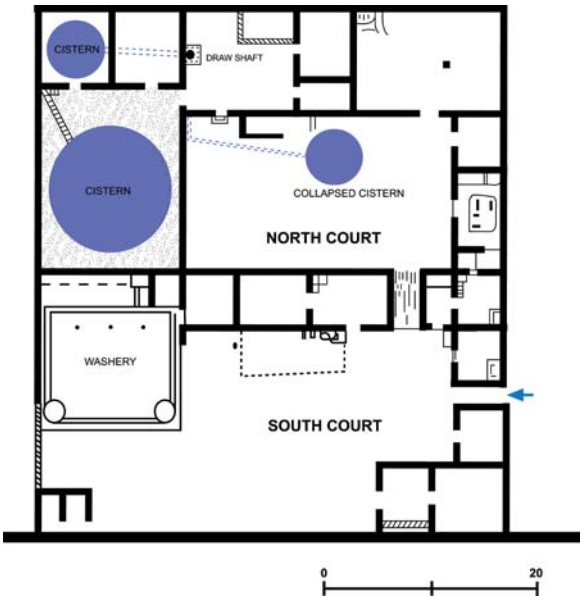

Fig. 3. Compound C in the Agrileza Valley (after Jones 1994, fig. 3).

active interference of Athens on the World stage. Consequently, the Laurion became of major strategic importance for the emerging Athenian polis, changing the nature of the industry altogether. Unsurprisingly, the majority of the archaeological remains and the first traces of ore washing date from this period onwards. However, the evidence is somewhat confusing. In this booming period, a distinction can be made between the nature of the Laurion industry during the 5th century BC on the one hand and the 4th on the other. Practically all the evidence for ore washing dates to the period after the political life of Kallikrates (373-366 BC), when activity in the mines resumed after a temporary dip, which was likely to have been caused by the aftermath of the Peloponnesian wars.[9] Ore processing workshops, owned by private entrepreneurs,[10] were spread over the area and followed a specific lay-out, a good example of which can be seen in figure 3, showing Complex C in Agrileza,[11] a valley adjacent to Soureza. In the 5th century BC, however, the situation was totally different. We have virtually no archaeological, lit-

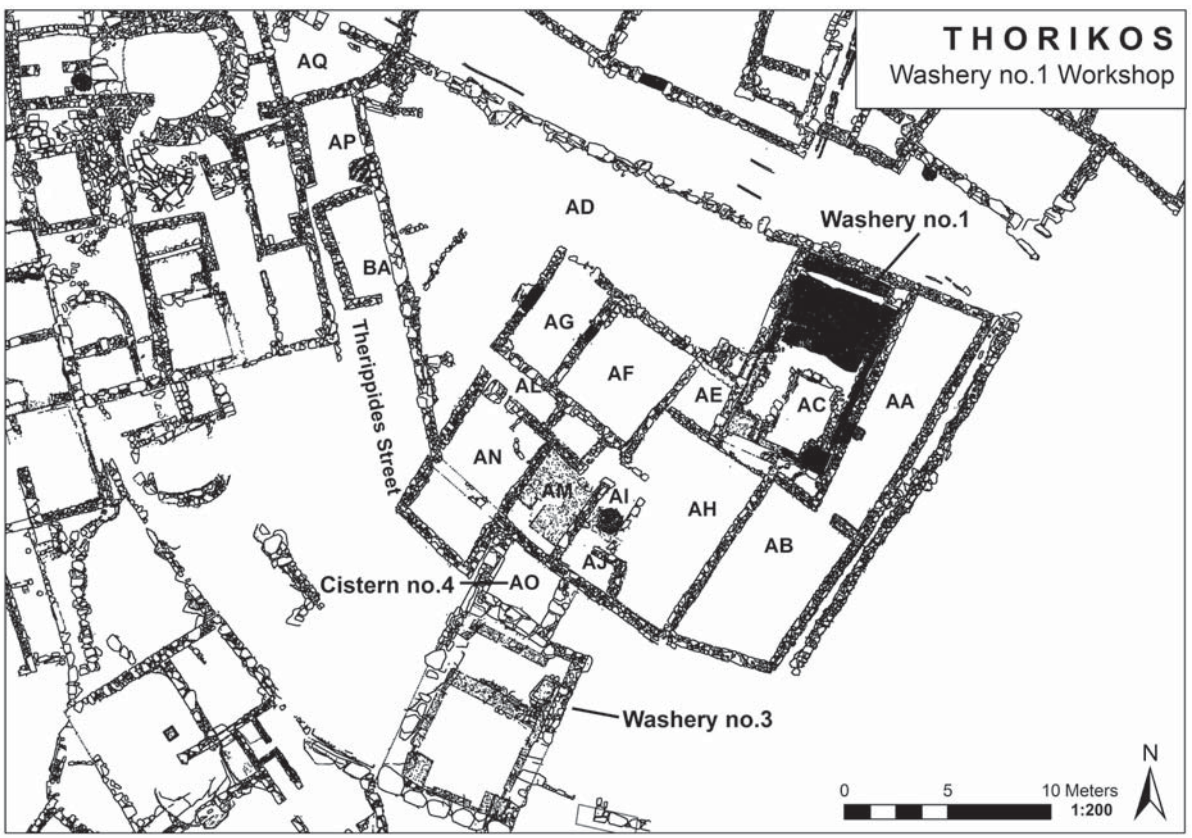

Fig. 4. Washery no 1 in the Industrial Quarter, Thorikos (map author).

erary or epigraphic evidence, which can be linked with ore washing, nor any other metallurgical activity.[12] This is surprising since this time is traditionally considered as an important period for coinage. In total, two ore washing workshops can be situated in this period. First of all, Washery no 1 in Thorikos should be mentioned (*fig. 4*). The workshop is dated to the last quarter of the 5th century BC and was only shortly in use during the outbreak of the Peloponnesian wars.[13] It had a particularly small cistern (17,7m^3) at its disposal, which is proven to be totally insufficient to guarantee a continuous operation.[14] A more ambiguous discovery are the Bertseko workshops (*fig. 5*). Next to the riverbed of the Bertseko valley, a series of ore washeries was carved out into the rock. Based on their shape and the used techniques, it can be surmised that this was still an experimental phase of ore washing. The washeries' settling tanks and channels were organised in a rather random and unfamiliar way, without any waterproof coating, and water supply relied on a small seasonal rivulet and wells dug next to the riverbed. Their dating is questionable because of the poor stratigraphical conditions but based on surface pottery finds, the excavator suggests a date as early as the late 6th or the beginning 5th century BC.[15]

Unfortunately, these finds are unable to create a clearer image of the Laurion industry during the 5th century BC. If the dating of the Bertseko workshops is correct, we are still confronted with a hiatus of almost a century. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that this gap can also be meaningful. The fact that ore washing is not represented in its 'familiar' form during the 5th century BC is not necessarily an indication for a temporary dip in mining nor of the non-occurrence of ore washing; it may simply point to a different work process. An important issue in interpreting the evolution of silver metallurgy is that researchers, as a result of the impressive amount of archaeological evidence, tend to define the Laurion industry by its 4th century appearance. For the time being, it can be said that the provisional dating of the Bertseko workshops coincides not accidentally with the increasing silver demand, as a result of the policies of Solon and particularly Peisistratos.[16] In an attempt to enlarge the silver output, experiments with poorer ores might have been conducted, using water from easily exploitable sources, such as rivulets. Settling tanks connected by channels could then simply be carved out into the rock next to the riverbed.

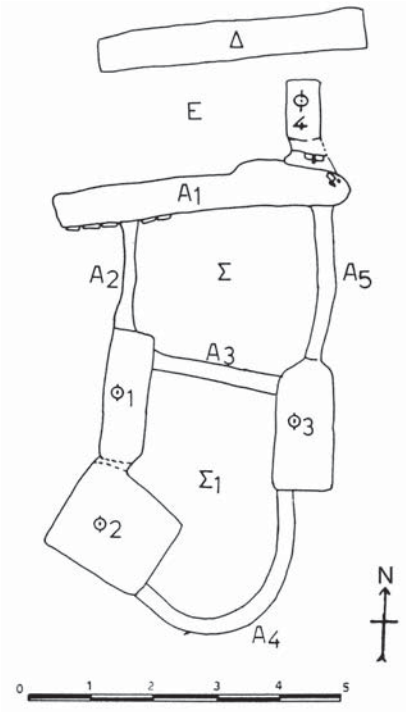

Fig. 5. A washery carved out into the rock, Bertseko Valley (after Kakavoyannis 2001, fig. 8).

By relying on small and undoubtedly seasonal streams, the introduction of ore washing appears to have largely missed its goal. The main breakthrough only came with the development of waterproof mortars. This allowed the creation of a permanent water stock, depending on catching and storing of rainwater in large reservoirs. Building these cisterns in favourable water catchment areas enabled a sufficient water stock and thus the continuous operation of the industry throughout the year.[17] According to the archaeological evidence, waterproof mortars were not, or at least hardly, known in the 5th century BC but became well-spread after the resumption of the mining activities in the 4th century BC.

After the Early Hellenistic period, mining seems to have ceased. As far as the archaeological evidence concerns, there is a complete absence of remains dating after the 1st century BC.[18] Strabo (10.1.9) and Pomponius Mela (2.3.46) further confirm this situation. A short revival was observed in the late antique period, but while there are indisputable indications in favour of renewed interest in the Laurion mines from the 5th until the 8th century AD,[19] the evidence is scattered and does not prove a well-organised, coherent and large-scale reopening of the mines.

Water Management in Thorikos

History and description of the site

The very first evidence of human presence in Thorikos dates back to the transition of the Final Neolithic to the Early Helladic period.[20] The Velatouri continues to be occupied afterwards, with a peak during the Classical and Early Hellenistic period. During the heyday of Thorikos, the core of the site is concentrated on the lower southern slopes of the hill, nowadays divided in two zones: the Theatre Zone and the so-called Industrial Quarter. The first signs of activity in these areas date to the 6th century BC, mainly in the form of pottery. Building activity only seems to become systematic during the following century and can be characterised as almost purely residential. The site seems to have been abandoned after the Peloponnesian wars and subsequently reoccupied in a significantly different form from 370 BC onwards.[21] The quality of the architecture and pottery dropped considerably and metallurgical installations, such as washeries, arose everywhere at the site.[22]

As mentioned earlier, the 'industrialisation' of Thorikos was not an isolated event but rather a wider trend visible in the entire Laurion and particularly in the valleys.

During the 4th century BC, the metallurgical features in Thorikos clustered together to form complexes (A-B-C) around central mine entrances (*fig. 6*).[23] Two observations can be made: either the older dwellings were reorganised and reused as ore washing workshops, or industrial features were constructed in the still unoccupied areas in the immediate vicinity of the Industrial Quarter and the Theatre Zone.

Complex A (*fig. 7*) is situated in and immediately above the Industrial Quarter and consists of five washeries (nos 1, 2, 3, 12, 13) and four cisterns (nos 1, 2, 3, 4). They seem to have been relying on Mine no 2.

- *Washery no 1* (see *fig. 4*) is a type I[24] washery, with a rectangular shape and a medium size of 5.3 x 10.3 m. As mentioned above, it has a

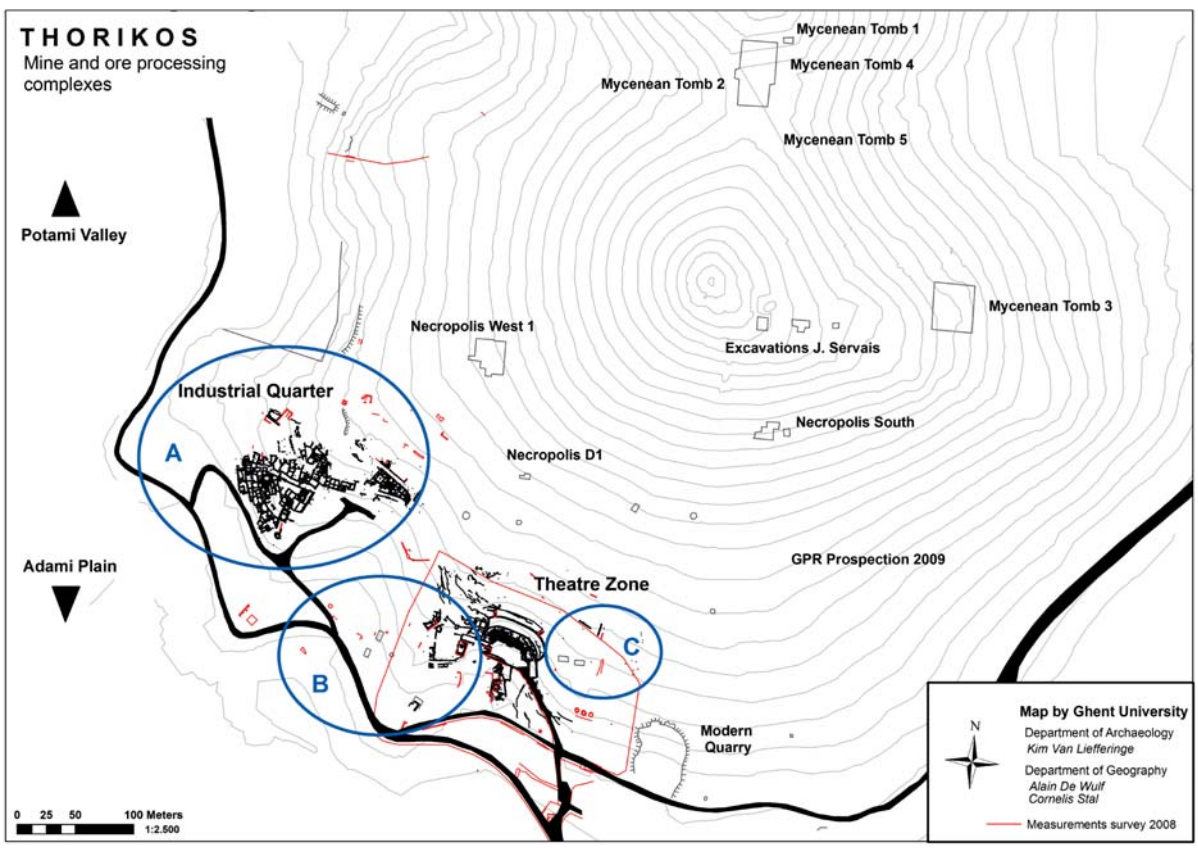

Fig. 6. The metallurgy complexes (A-B-C) in Thorikos (after Van Liefferinge et al. 2012, fig. 2).

remarkably small cistern of 17.7m³ at its disposal immediately south of the workshop, in the corner of rooms AM and the extension of AN. Its basin has a semi quadrangular shape (2.5/2.75 x 3 m; depth 2.24 m) and collected water from the roof of the workshop, which is uncommon for industrial cisterns. Given the occurrence of a large amount of ore in AA, this room can be interpreted as a storage area and AB, in which a crushing table and several mill fragments were recorded, as a crushing and grinding room. According to the pottery finds and the presence of a hearth, Room AI/AJ was defined as the kitchen of the workshop and AM, coated in waterproof mortar, as the bathroom. The workshop was incorporated in an older residential building, likely in the last quarter of the 5th century BC,[25] marking the switch of Thorikos from a residential to a pronounced industrial site.

- *Washery no 2* is located above House no 1, in a building of which only a small section has been excavated. Just as the other excavated washeries in Thorikos, it can be classified as type I. Based on the pottery finds, H. Mussche[26] suggests that the workshop was installed in a 5th century building in the course of the 4th century BC. Because of the limited excavation of the insula, the cistern of this workshop has not been localised yet.
- *The small washery no 3* (9 x 5 m) was constructed against the south wall of Washery no 1's cistern, indicating that it was depending on it for its water supply. Its construction date can be situated around the middle of the 4th century BC.[27]
- Not much information can be given on *Washery no 12*. It is located 20 m north of Mine no 2. Even though it has never been excavated, its overall plan does allow characterising it as a type I washery.
- *Washery no 13* has only recently been discovered[28] and was clearly supplied by Cistern no 1. Only one of its settling tanks, with measurements (width: 1.3 m) comparable to the other Thorikos washeries, is nowadays visible. The

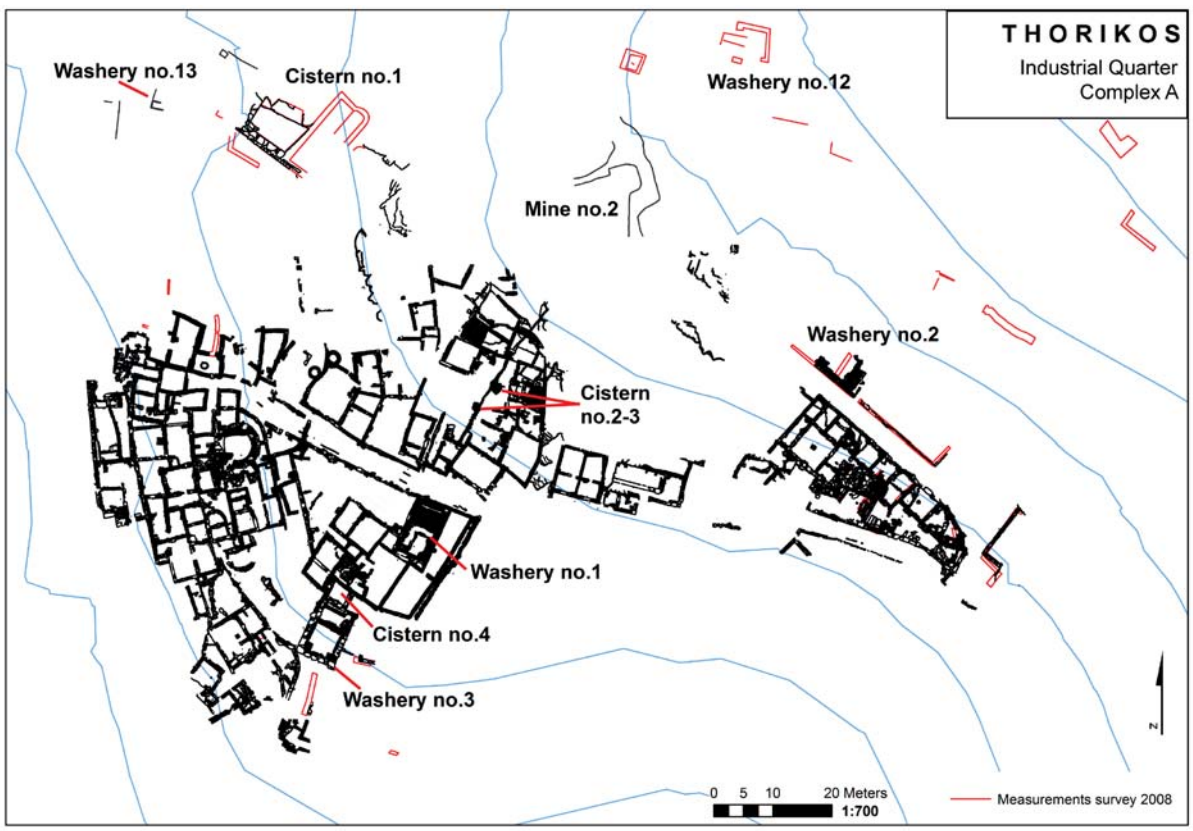

Fig. 7. Detail of complex A (map author).

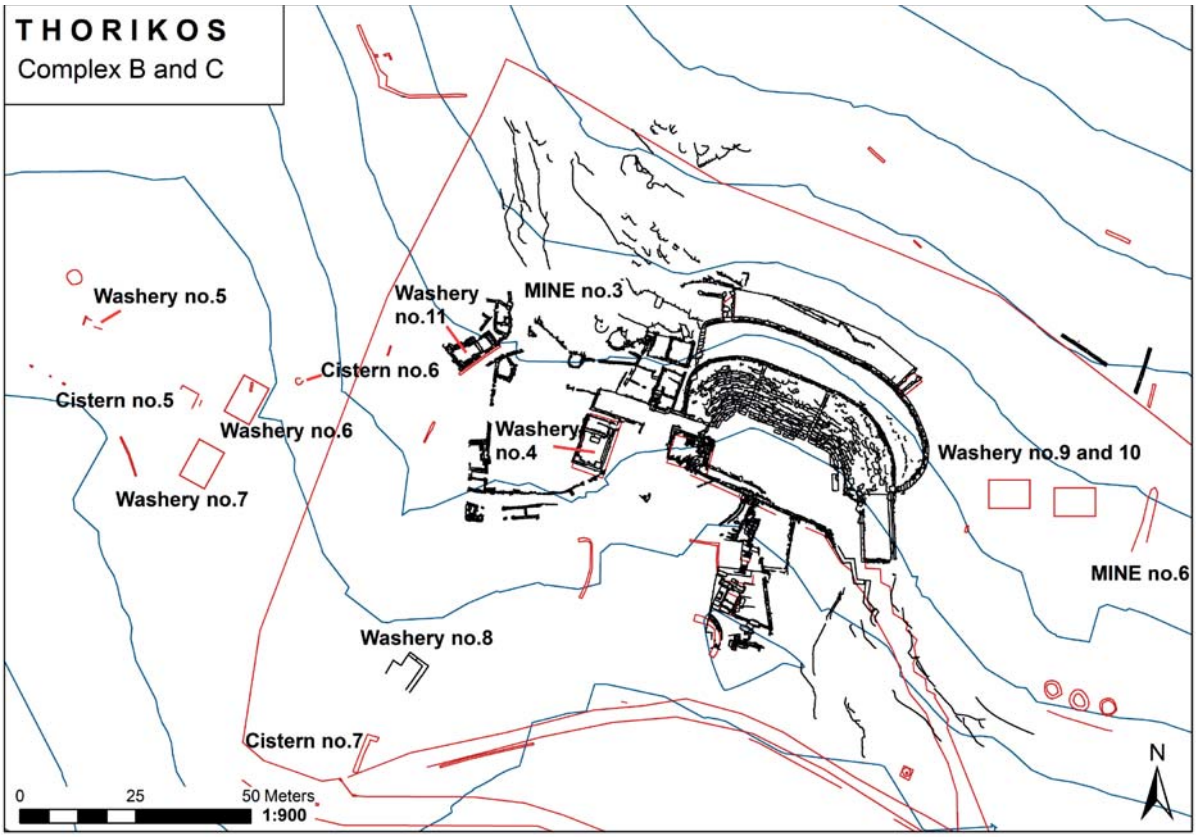

*Fig. 8. Detail of complexes B and C (map author).**Fig. 8. Detail of complexes B and C (map author).*

basin of the cistern has an irregular shape measuring 9 x 4.5 x 7.5 x 5.5 m and had a capacity of approximately 209 m³.[29] This large size is striking, but only in contrast to the other Thorikos cisterns. In comparison with the wider Laurion (see introduction), this volume is by no means exceptional. The cistern collected its water from surface runoff during rains.

Complex B (*fig. 8*), with Mine no 3 as focus point, is located in and directly west of the Theatre Zone and counts five washeries (nos 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11) and three cisterns (nos 5, 6, 7). Cistern no 6 is an underground, bottle-shaped, water reservoir for drinking water and/or other domestic usages. Cistern nos 5 and 7 are industrial cisterns of a modest rectangular size, both on average 4 x 6 m.[30] When applying the average depth of Laurion cisterns, which is 4.5-5.5 m, their volume should have been between 108-132 m³. Given their location, it can be surmised that no 7 was providing washery no 8 and cistern no 6 was probably responsible for the water supply of at least washery 6 and 7. The other two washeries, nos 4 and 11, do not give us any indications on their water supply. The zone, in which washery no 4 (11 m by 6.5 m; 4th century BC) is located, has unfortunately been disrupted by agricultural activities. As far as no 11 is concerned, the workshop has only partly been investigated. The washery is small and has a rather irregular shape (10.5 x a varying width of 3.75 to 6 m) given that it was fitted into an older house in the course of the 4th century BC.[31] It would not be surprising if its cistern, which had surely been a small structure, is located in the still unexcavated part of the workshop.

Complex C (see also *fig. 8*) is a problematic one because *La Compagnie Française des Mines du Laurion* badly damaged the zone in the 19th and 20th centuries. As a result, no reliable conclusions can be drawn of it. Two washeries (9, 10) have been recorded but their water supply remains undocumented.

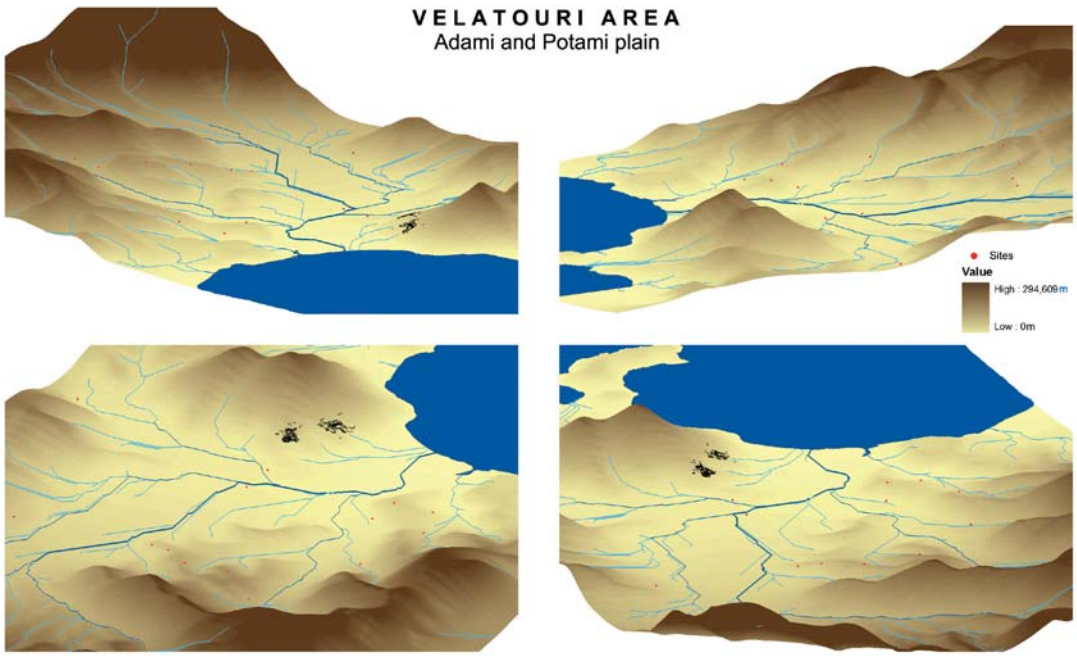

Fig. 9. 3D model of the Velatouri surroundings, based on the flow accumulation (map author).

Water management

When discussing water management strategies in Thorikos, two topics should be taken into consideration: water availability and water technologies.

Water availability

Running the hydrology toolbox of ArcGis 9.3[32] on a DEM[33] (*Digital Elavation Model*) of the Velatouri area clarifies several water-related issues (*fig. 9*).

The flow accumulation - a model that reconstructs the flow and accumulation of rainwater in a landscape - shows that Complex A is located in one of the most unsuited zones of the Velatouri Hill to collect rainwater. It was built on a hill crest, whereas it would be more advantageous to be raised in the neighbourhood of a gully through which a concentrated water flow is running during rains. However, it should also be stressed that within the context of Complex A, the location and size of Cistern no 1 is by no means random. First of all, it is located directly above the Industrial Quarter, which was the only rational option to catch a decent amount of water. Furthermore, the water catchment area was rocky, smooth and free of fractures, thus enabling maximum water recuperation.[34] It is also not surprising that Thorikos' largest cistern was located here: on a location where water is scarcer, a larger water stock is a necessity.

The function of Cistern no 4 is not so easily deduced (see also *fig. 4*). As mentioned above, the cistern is far too small (17.7m^3) to supply its washery (no 1), leaving only temporary use during wetter periods a valid option.[35] An additional problem arises when we include the zone located below the workshop, where another washery was constructed around the middle of the 4th century BC. This washery (no 3) used the cistern's south wall as a retaining wall, which proves that it depended on it for its water supply. Mussche suggests that washery no 1 could also have been in use during the 4th century BC[36] but considering the fact that the cistern was hardly coping in the provision of one washery, it is virtually impossible that both nos 1 and 3 were operating simultaneously. Given the intensity of the past excavations in this zone, it is also unlikely that other cisterns have been missed. Another issue that has to be tackled, is the cistern's small size. This can be explained by its location in the middle of the Industrial Quarter, which was a densely built up area. The cistern was constructed at a time when Therippides Street was still in use, allowing only for the construction of a small reservoir. Rooms AQ, AP, BA and washery no 3 were constructed in a later phase, through this shutting off the street completely.

In contrast, the location of Complex B, or at least a part of it, is more favourable. Cistern no 5 and washeries nos 5, 6 and 7 are constructed at a place where the hill forms a depression through which runoff could accumulate. To illustrate the difference with Complex A, it is appropriate to include the runoff values of the flow accumulation. For Cistern no 1 this is hardly 6 px, whereas for the zone where cistern no 5 tapped its water from, the values vary from 147 to even 261 px. This water concentration is significant and exceeds more than the amount required to fill a modest cistern as no 5. It is thus reasonable to expect this cistern to have been backed up by an additional reservoir, especially since this zone has never been subject to in-depth research. Unfortunately, too little information is available to present a more adequate analysis of cistern no 7 but given its size and its close vicinity to washery (no 8), it should have been able to supply it without too many problems.

Water technologies

The poorer quality and carelessness observed in the architecture and pottery after the 'residential' phase in Thorikos (Mussche 1998, 64) also seems to apply to water technologies.

- The Thorikos workshops all seem to have collected their water independently. This is opposed to many Laurion valleys, such as Soureza and Botsari, where workshops efficiently cooperated in their water management by constructing barrages, supply channels and/or consolidating the gullies. In Thorikos there is no evidence for this kind of organisation. Instead, cisterns had their own, not always favourably located, catchment area. Furthermore, the construction techniques used for metallurgical features were not particularly advanced. Several washeries were literally squeezed into older dwellings and their cisterns were installed in places where there was sufficient space left. Washery nos 1 and 11 illustrate this well. Cistern no 1 can be cited as a typical example of rather careless construction (*fig. 10*). Normally, cisterns are meticulously carved out into the rock on all sides; However, the rocky surface on the north side of cistern no 1 was left entirely unworked. Even though this zone probably functioned as a place for drawing the water out of the cistern when the water level in the basin was low, it shows a rather hasty construction.
- All the recorded Thorikos cisterns had substantially smaller volumes than elsewhere in the Laurion and for a still inexplicable reason they had no decantation tanks, which were

Fig. 10. Cistern no 1 (photo author).

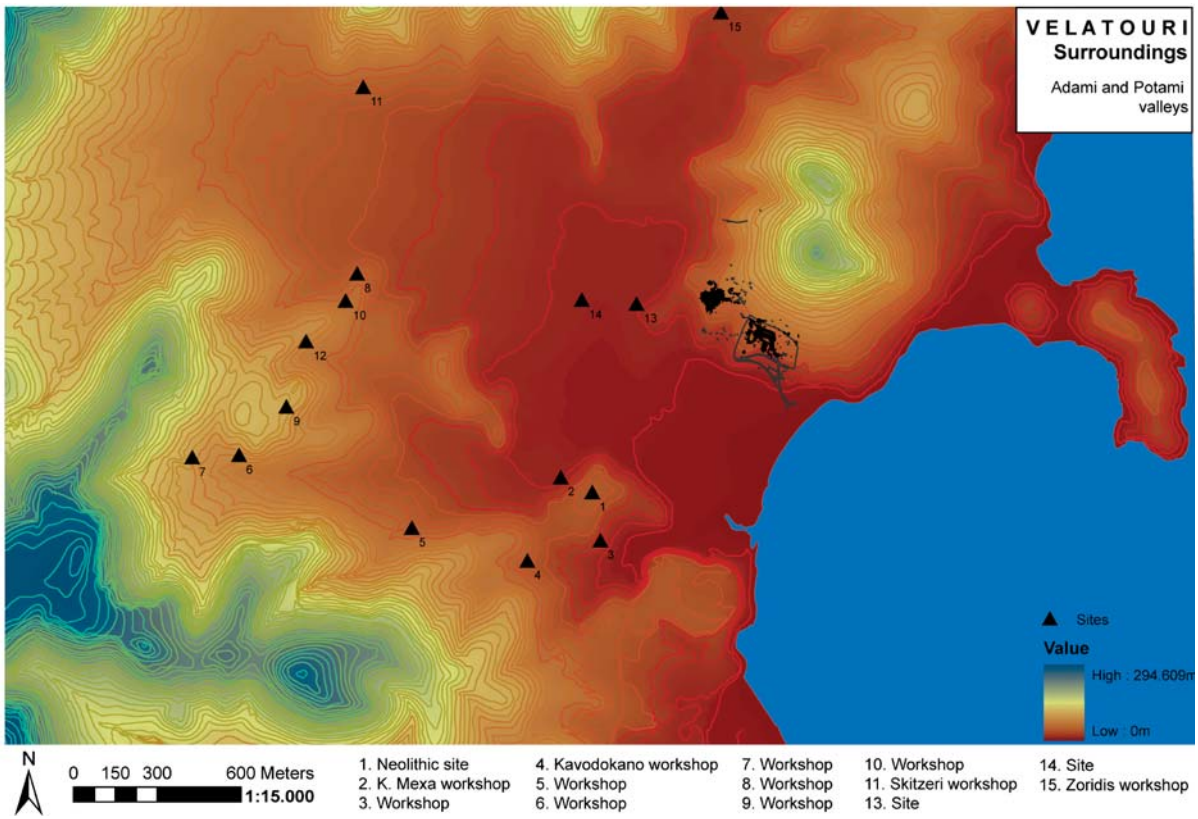

Fig. 11. Overview map of the archaeological sites in the Velatouri (map author).

commonly used to clear the often turbid surface runoff.

- A final observation should be made on hydraulic mortars. The waterproofing of workshop and living areas was not done as accurately as would be expected for an area where water was a crucial resource. This applies on the workshops as well as the residential houses. A clear example is the Washery no 1 workshop, of which only AM had been coated. Adding to this, the residential houses hardly show evidence for lined rooms. In sharp contrast, hydraulic mortars are almost overwhelmingly present in the houses/workshops examined in the surrounding sites of Thorikos and elsewhere in the Laurion (see below).

Water Management in the Surrounding Sites of Thorikos

Little is known about the sites surrounding the Velatouri Hill, and yet there are many of them. No less than 15 sites are recorded (*fig. 11*), 13 of which with workshops, but few are published. Nonetheless, they present a nice image of the impact of metallurgy on the everyday life in the Thorikos deme. Three will be included in this paper: the Skitzeri, Kavodokano and Zoridis workshops. All of them correspond to the typical image of ore processing workshops, in which living and working quarters are perfectly geared to one another. Given the fact that these workshops are only published in Greek, some attention will also be paid to their general layout.

The workshops

The *Skitzeri workshop* (*fig. 12*)[37] was built with great care, at a small distance of the road leading from Plaka to Palaiokamariza. Three large rectangular washeries (T, A and Y), storage and crushing rooms with accompanying living quarters were recorded. Washery T (12.8 x 7.5 m) is located in the northwest of the Skitzeri estate and was disturbed on the north part during late Roman times when a metallurgical furnace, employed to melt the Classical and Hellenistic slags, was installed. In a previous phase, a cistern was present on this

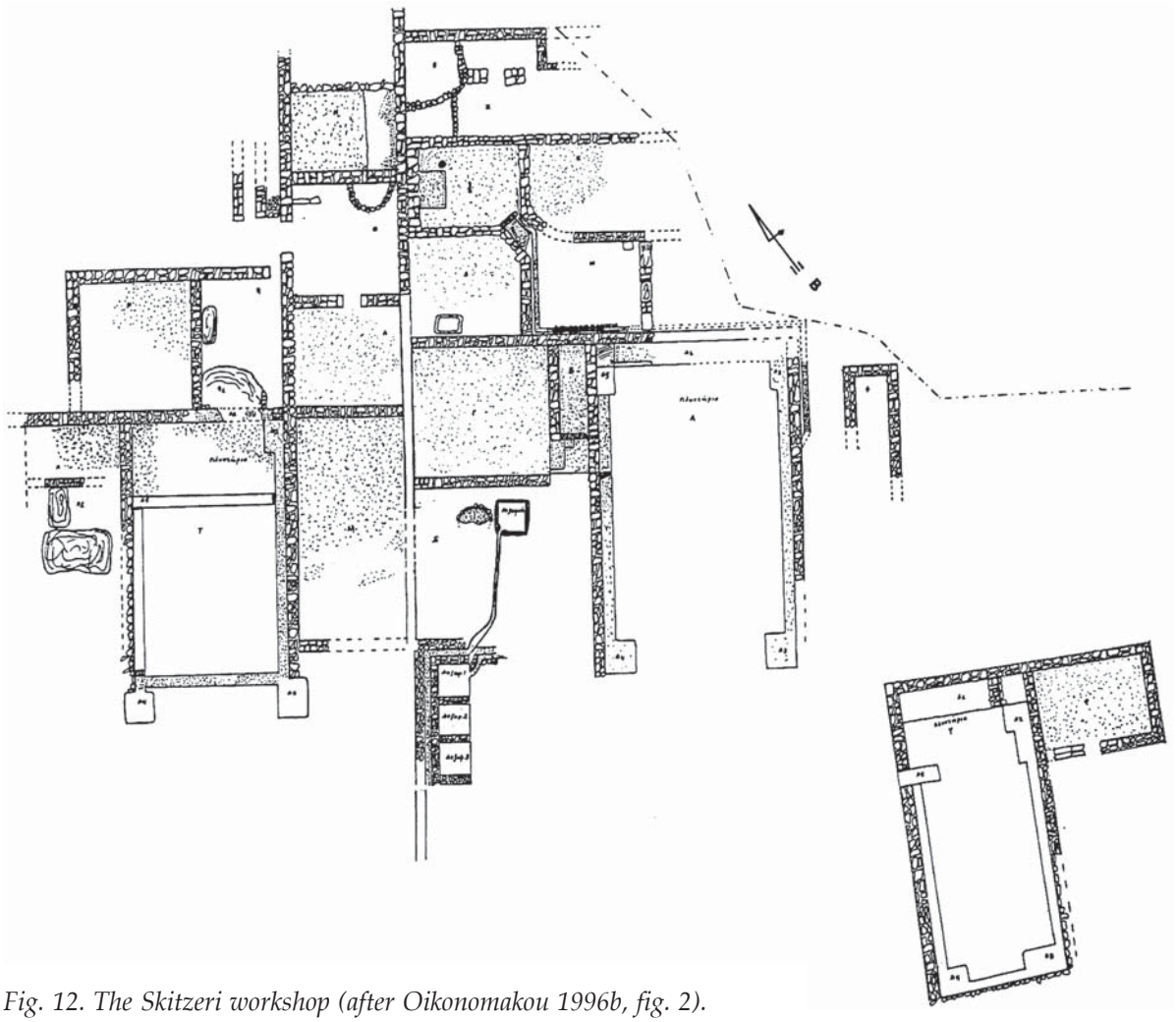

Fig. 12. The Skitzeri workshop (after Oikonomakou 1996b, fig. 2).

location but the Roman alterations limit further observations. Room D was used as crushing and storage area for the ore. On the east side, four more rooms (H, Θ, L, M) can be observed. H, L and M all had a plastered floor but their function is unknown. Θ, however, can with good accuracy be identified as a kitchen, as indicated by a large amount of cooking ware, a hearth and a small partition, which was most likely built for the storage small kitchen utensils.

Washery A, a large device in the centre of the complex, shows several special features. 'Room' G was entirely covered in hydraulic plaster and is suggested to be the supplying cistern (5.7 x 5.7 m). Directly north of the washery, a narrow conduit was installed, which crossed room N and ended in I. Both of these rooms were characterised by the excavators as bathrooms, because they were fully covered with hydraulic plaster and contained typical features, such as a quadrangular bath (1 x 1.58 m). It is clear that, as in the Asklepiakon in the Soureza Valley,[38] waste water of the bathroom was recycled to be used in the ore washery. Also covered in hydraulic plaster were rooms K and D, but their function is hard to interpret. In D, a rectangular shallow basin, pieces of grinding stones, iron tools, black-glazed ceramics and lamps were registered. Space Ξ was an outdoor courtyard, probably partly roofed. A small rectangular cistern (1.45 x 1.1 m, depth 1.1 m) was carved out into the rock and connected to three other small cisterns located more to the south, assuming that the central cistern was catching runoff water from the roof, which was subsequently distributed to the other cisterns.

Washery Y (13.10 x 6.25 m), 4 m away from A, had a different orientation, which suggests that it belonged to another, yet unknown complex. It

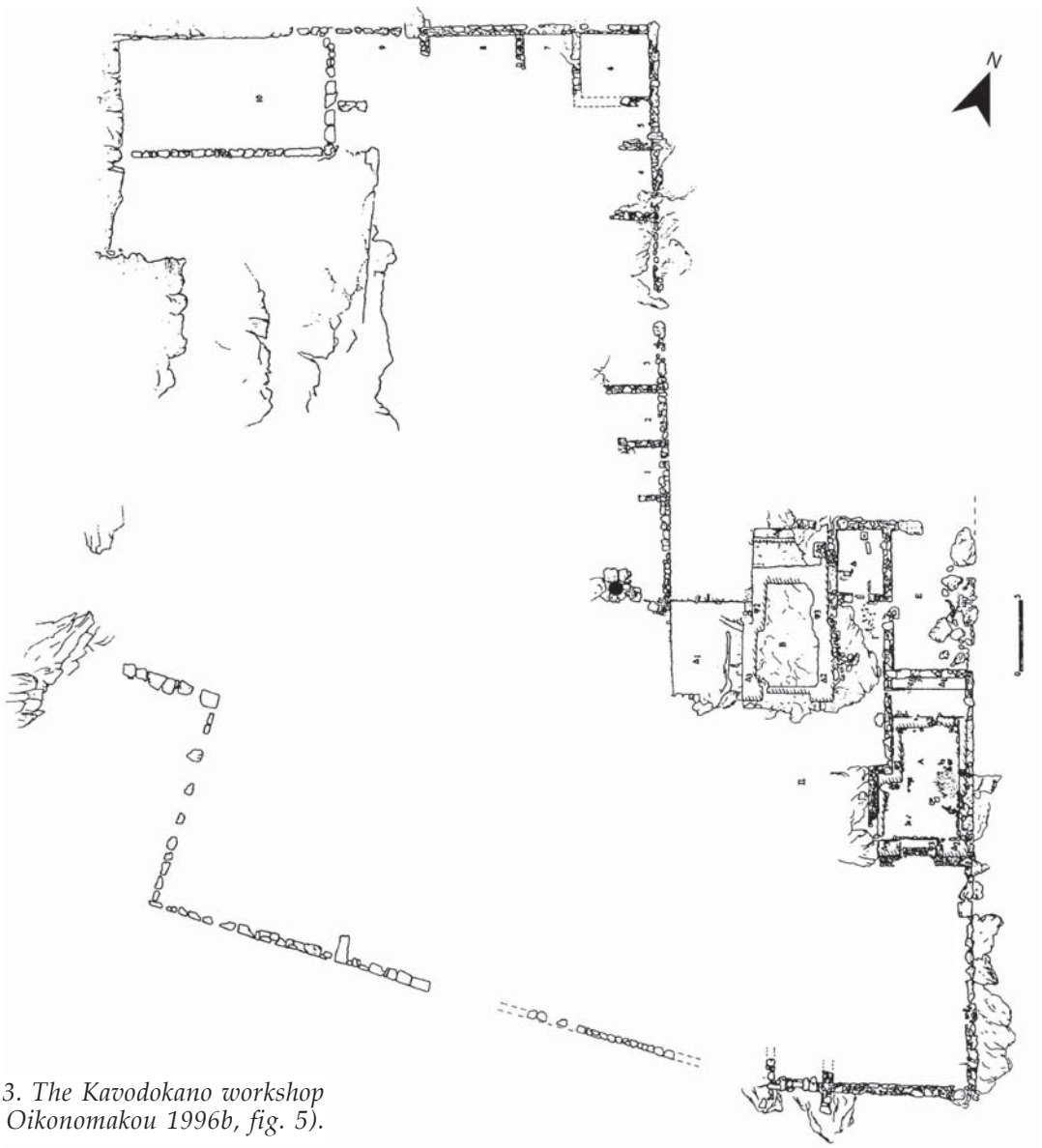

Fig. 13. The Kavodokano workshop (after Oikonomakou 1996b, fig. 5).

was nicely preserved and had one adjacent room (Ψ), covered in plaster and in all likeliness used for storage.

More to the south, another probably Roman, smelting furnace was found.

The Skitzeri workshop has been suggested to be the residence of the workshop owner and its employees. The material found in the workshop delivers clear-cut proof for its additional function as a living quarter. This is not only indicated by the presence of a kitchen and bathrooms but also by the discovery of a rich mix of pottery, from cooking ware to kantharoi, plates, bowls, skyphoi and lekanes. The initial construction of the workshop took place in the second half of the 4th century BC, possibly even towards the early 3rd century. It was used until the middle of the 3rd century BC, deserted and accordingly reoccupied in the Roman period on a smaller scale.

The *Kavodokano workshop* (*fig. 13*)[39] is extensive, well-preserved and a rock inscription attributes it to a man called Philokrates, who is also known from the poletai inscriptions.[40] Two different wings can be recognized. The residential area, occupying the largest part of the complex, is situated in the northern, southern and western part of the complex and contains a large courtyard, a hall and 10 surrounding rooms. Also, an underground cistern with a round shaft was carved out into the rock for domestic use. In the east, two

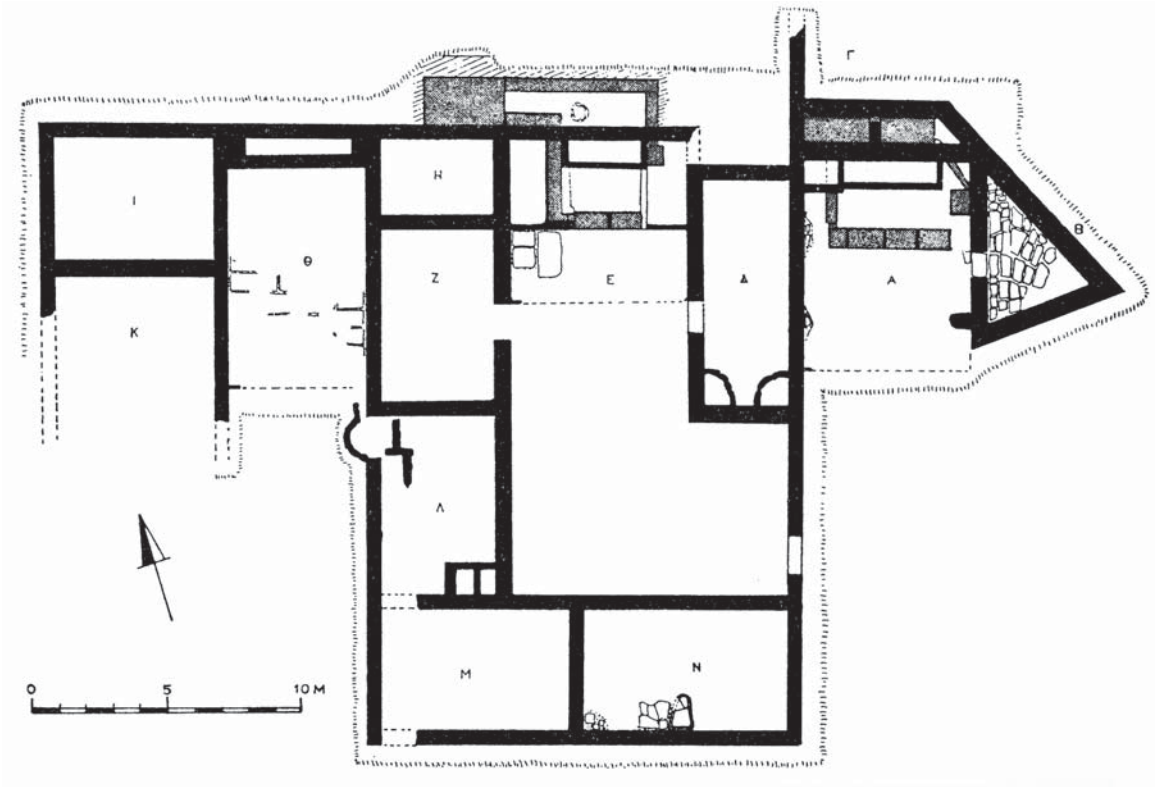

Fig. 14. The Zoridis workshop (after Zoridis 1980, fig. 2).

washeries (A and B) are situated and one rectangular cistern (Δ1, 6.5 x 5 m), divided into smaller sections by a low wall. As is common for Laurion cisterns, it was carved out into the rock and lined with hydraulic mortar. The report mentions that the cistern was supplied by a nearby well but unfortunately, no additional information has been given. Furthermore, there were rooms for crushing, grinding and storage (G, D, E). In room E, which had been an open space covered by a roof, fragments of mills were found.

Because of the lack of stratigraphy and finds, only a few things can be said about the chronology. The workshop was likely to have operated in the 4th and early 3rd centuries BC, with small scale activities during the late Roman period. The workshop was able to accommodate a considerable amount of people and it has been suggested that the courtyard and hall were also used for other transactions, such as the sale of workshop products and other goods.

About 1.5 km north of the road Athens-Laurio and northwest of the Velatouri hill, the well-preserved *Zoridis workshop* (*fig. 14*) was recorded, raised on a slightly downhill slope and containing two rectangular washeries of an uncommon shape.[41]

The water supply of Washery A, in the N part of the estate, was provided by two strikingly small cisterns (2.5 x 1 m; 2.05 x 1 m; depth: 1.4 m), installed in a narrow space immediately north of the washery's main reservoir. A conduit connected it to a basin close to the washery (0.94 x 0.7 m; depth: 1.04 m). These cisterns, in turn, were supplied from space Γ and the zone north of the complex, which are both coated in waterproof plaster. South of the washery, a paved drying table (A) was located with on the east, a well-preserved, waterproofed storage room (B) with a triangular shape. The washery used to be covered by a roof, as indicated by the presence of a monolite against the wall of room B.

A door with threshold gives access to a large court, where a similar but smaller washery (E) was included. In its northwest, outside the building, a small, rectangular cistern was raised (2.93 x 1.42 m; depth: 1.3 m), which again provided a little reservoir with water through a conduit. In the western extension of Room Z was the crushing and grinding area. In room Λ, a certain

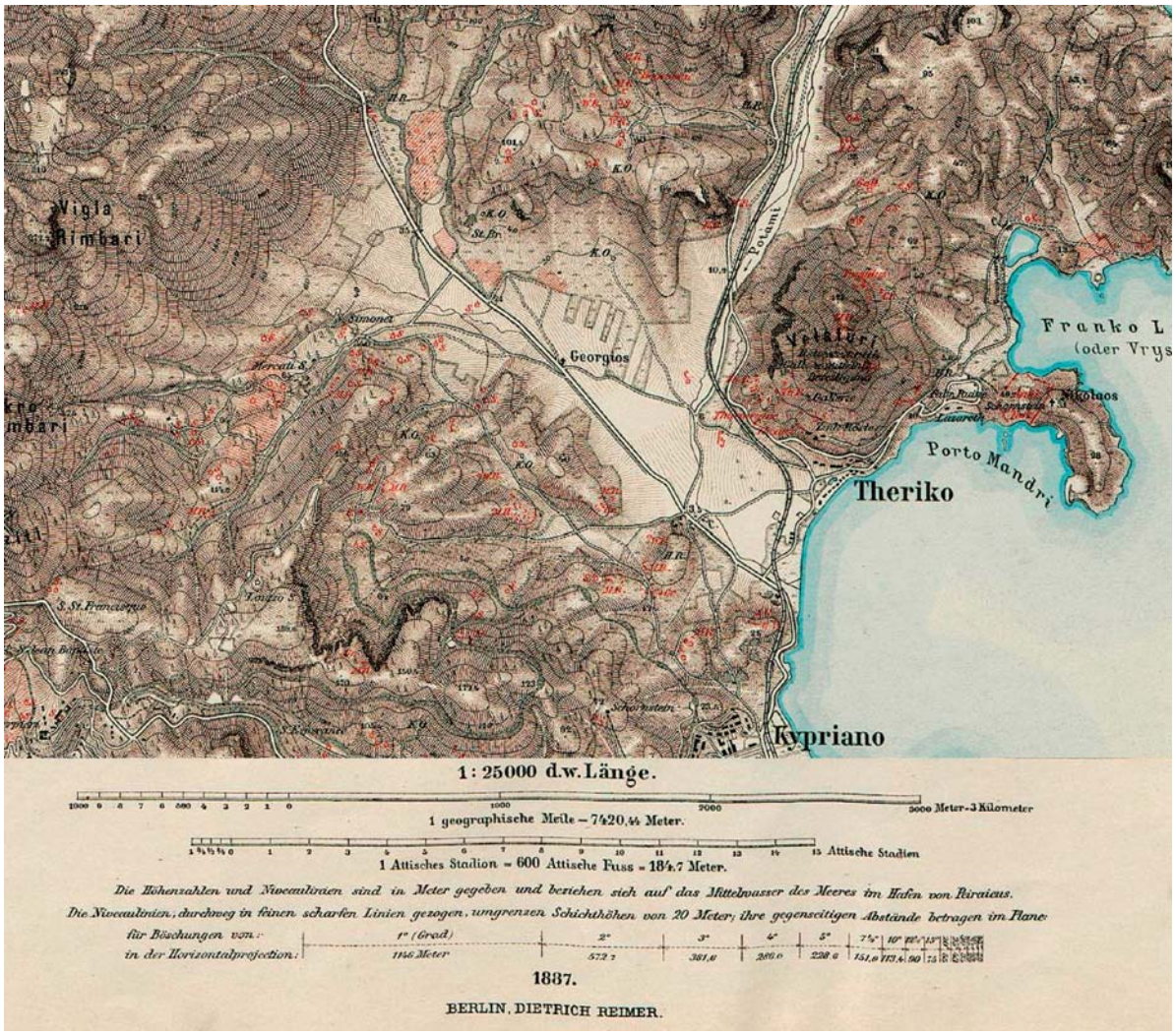

Fig. 15. Details of map XVI, showing the Velatouri surroundings (after Curtius and Kaupert 1889, map XVI).

amount of plyniths has been discovered. The paved room Θ is one of the largest rooms of the complex with in the north, an oblong cistern (4 x 0.75 m). The similarities with E and A lead to believe this could have also been a drying area. Room N, situated in the south end of the complex, is suggested to be a bathroom. Several rooms (such as H, I and K) were coated in hydraulic mortars; However, their exact function is difficult to deduce. The west side of the complex were living quarters.

The general chronology of the Skitzeri and Kavodokano workshops, is also applicable here: the workshop was inhabited in the 4th century BC and early 3rd century BC and knew a small-scale reoccupation in late Roman times.

Water Management

Considerable thought has been given to the structure of these workshops and the organisation of working and living areas, which are perfectly tuned to one another. Among others, this is illustrated by the presence of a drain linking the bathroom area to the washeries in order to recycle wastewater. Also, the workshops paid significant attention to waterproofing. Every single room, in which water was used, was carefully lined with hydraulic mortar, by doing so clarifying that the reduction of water loss was contemplated as highly important.

The most striking characteristic of the Adami and Potami area is the lack of large cisterns.[42] The

motives behind this trend are not so easily explained. The very few times an answer was formulated on this issue, the authors referred to the presence of 'πλούσια, μεγάλα ρέματα' or 'copious streams' flowing through the Adami and Potami plain, on which the washeries relied for their water supply.[43] The 19th century maps of J.A. Kaupert and E. Curtius (*fig. 15*),[44] on which an interesting image of the landscape and the then visible archaeological sites are presented, are mentioned as an argument in favour of this hypothesis. However, caution is in order here. Kaupert and Curtius do describe more favourable hydrological conditions in comparison to today but this does not mean that the situation in Classical times was necessarily the same.[45]

Only for the Zoridis workshops, its reliance on the Potami river seems to be a valid suggestion.[46] The complex was not only built immediately west of it but its cisterns also had extremely small capacities. Washery A depended on two cisterns, together only 7 m^3, and washery E was supplied by a 5.41 m^3 reservoir. Undoubtedly, this is a direct result of its near vicinity to running water. Nonetheless, as far as the Skitzeri and Kavodokano workshops are concerned this is not an appropriate argument as the complexes were built on a hill slope. Given the amount of water needed for ore washing, it is unlikely to have been transported this far uphill.[47]

In this context, the motives behind the construction of cisterns should also be taken into account. As can be seen in the centre of the Laurion and elsewhere in the Greek world, cisterns were almost exclusively constructed on places where rainwater was the only available water source. Additionally, they reduced a significant amount of time and effort otherwise wasted to transportation. A final remark is on the complexity of the construction techniques. To resist the water pressure, the basin had to be carved out into the rock and completed with masonry consisting of massive marble blocks. Subsequently, the inner walls of the basin had to be carefully waterproofed with mortar. One can safely state that, if people willingly chose not to raise their workshops next to rivulets but rather on the hill flanks, there must have been a well-considered reason for that.

It is imperative to include the ore washeries in this discussion. Most washeries in Thorikos and its surroundings are modest devices, regularly with a three to four nozzle capacity,[48] which is in contrast to the ones in the Laurion valleys, which even go up to 7 nozzles (Jones 1994, 318). This argument, together with the cistern size, leaves two options open: either people in the Adami and Potami area took the well-considered decision not to produce similar outputs as in the centre of the Laurion, or water availability limited the workshops in their production.

It is true that water formed a determining constraint on workshop output. The smaller the water stock, the lower the capacity of ore washeries and accordingly the amount of processed silver. As mentioned in the introduction, Thorikos depended on non-concentrated runoff, which limited the possibilities to create a cohesive water catchment system, on which workshops could rely. Adding to this, most washeries and cisterns were constructed on the hillcrests, which jeopardized their production output significantly. However, for the other workshops in the area of the Adami and Potami plains, the situation is slightly different. In the hills adjoining these plains, water did accumulate in larger streams, thus creating the possibility to catch and store a large amount of rainwater. In spite of this, the cistern and washery sizes are not extensive and a central water catchment system by cooperating workshop was not present. Perhaps a part of the answer can be found in the strategic location of the workshops: they border on one of the few places in the Laurion, where agriculture could be performed. Furthermore, the harbours were also within reach, creating a wider range of business possibilities. An argument in favour could be seen in the person of Philokrates, the presumable owner of both the Kavodokano and the adjacent 'Konstantinos Mexa' workshop, who is known to be involved in other affairs than silver processing, such as beekeeping.[49] Elaborating on this topic would lead beyond the aims of this article; nonetheless, it would certainly be worth investigating in order to get a clearer view on the nature of the silver industry in the Thorikos deme.

Conclusion

This study has presented an overview of water use and management in the Thorikos area during the late Classical and Early Hellenistic period. In doing so, it has been shown that Thorikos and the sites on the hills facing the Velatouri bear resemblance in multiple aspects, although some strong contrasts have also been noted.

The similarities mainly apply to the limited cistern volumes and the independency of the workshops in the organisation of their water supply, which means that they did not collaborate to

optimize water recuperation by constructing artificial supply channels or by consolidating natural gullies. Nonetheless, the level of water technology differs greatly. As opposed to the sites on the hills, Thorikos shows a less systematic use of waterproof mortars and an overall carelessness in the construction of cisterns and washeries. Furthermore, it is striking that so little attention was paid to selecting appropriate water catchment areas, resulting in an insufficiency disrupting continuous ore processing. Thus, the lack of quality visible in the architecture and pottery after the reoccupation of Thorikos in the 7th century BC seems to be part of a more general trend at the site.

All arguments lead to believe that the area of the Adami and Potami valleys had played a different and certainly minor role in terms of ore processing during the late Classical and Early Hellenistic period, potentially caused by its strategic position, which offered a wider range of business opportunities.

Notes

* The author would like to express her appreciation to Prof. Niko Verhoest (Hydrology department of Ghent University) and Prof. Demetris Koutsoyiannis (National Technical University of Athens) for their support on the technical and hydrological part of this study.

1 Kakavoyannis 2005, 226.

2 In a previous study, in-depth hydrological analyses were performed on the Industrial Quarter in Thorikos and the Asklepiakon workshops in the Soureza Valley. The results were submitted to *Journal of Archaeological Science* (*JAS*) and are referenced in text as 'Van Liefferinge et al. forthcoming'.

3 Marinos/Petrascheck 1956, 224-229; Rehren et al. 2002, 30.

4 Conophagos 1980, 127.

5 Krysko 1988, 88-90; Mussche 1998, 11-12; Kakavoyannis 2001, 365.

6 Kakavoyanni et al. 2008, 50. Besides the site of Koropi, see also Lambrika, Merenda Markopoulou, Velatouri Kerateas and Thorikos (Mine no.3 and excavation on top of the Velatouri hill) (Kakavoyanni et al. 2008, 45-51).

7 Conophagos 1980, 127.

8 Kakavoyannis 2001, 366.

9 Crosby 1950, 190.

10 See Crosby, 1950; Langdon 1994; Kakavoyannis 2005.

11 Detailed reports of the excavation in Agrileza: Jones 1985, 106-123; Jones 1994, 307-358.

12 Hopper 1961, 142-143.

13 Mussche 1967, 48-62; 1968, 97-104.

14 Van Liefferinge et al. forthcoming.

15 Kakavoyannis 1989, 82; 2001, 369.

16 Mussche 1998, 12-13.

17 Kakavoyannis 2001, 375.

18 Mussche 1998, 64-65.

19 Mussche 1998, 65; Docter/Van Liefferinge 2010, 58; Docter et al. 2012, 118-120.

20 Mussche 1998, 61.

21 Mortier 2012, 129-130.

22 Mussche 1998, 64.

23 Mussche 1998, 56.

24 Type I, also shown on figure 4, is the most common washery found in the Laurion. For more information on the typology of washeries see: Conophagos 1980, 224-252; Kakavoyannis 1989, 71-88.; 2005.

25 Mussche 1967, 48-62; 1968, 97-104.

26 Mussche 1998, 49.

27 Mussche 1998, 53-54.

28 Van Liefferinge et al. 2012, 57-74.

29 A sounding in the basin of Cistern no 1 (campaign by Ghent University in July-August 2012) established a depth of 4.9 m, measured from the highest point on the cistern walls.

30 Measurements taken on site.

31 Mussche 1998, 40.

32 License ArcGIS through 'Athena', Ghent University. Used software: ArcGis 10 > Spatial Analyst > Hydrology

33 DEM was derived from topographical maps 1:5000, purchased at the Hellenic Geographical Military Service, Athens.

34 Van Liefferinge et al. forthcoming.

35 Van Liefferinge et al. forthcoming.

36 Mussche 1998, 51.

37 Oikonomakou 1996b, 125-132.

38 Tsaimou 1988, 81-176.

39 Oikonomakou 1996a, 65; 1996b, 133-139.

40 Publications on the poletai inscriptions: Crosby 1950, 189-297; Langdon 1991, 57-143; Kakavoyannis 2005.

41 Zoridis 1980, 75-84.

42 Oikonomakou 1996b, 132.

43 Oikonomakou 1996b, 140.

44 Curtius/Kaupert 1889, map XIV.

45 Curtius/Kaupert 1889, 22, 26.

46 Zoridos 1980, 83.

47 According to a study C. Conophagos performed, an amount of 20 m^3/month was necessary to keep a 4-nozzle driven washery running (1980, 246-250).

48 C.G. Tsaimou states that the nozzles in the reservoir of the washery, which indicates the capacity of the device, are removed approximately 1.3 m from one another (Tsaimou 1988, 124).

49 Oikonomakou 1991, 68.

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Grundlagen der Chronologie spätrotfiguriger Vasen aus Athen

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Abstract

It is not easy to date late red-figure vases from Athens by relaying only on drawing styles. This review of the evidence for the chronological development of the vases will argue that rather the shape is of relevance than the painting of the pots. It is remarkable, how potters were very precisely repeating particular shape models. Individuality was only expressed by variations of the foot or the mouth of the vases. Yet, the whole appearance followed the common contemporary taste. Thus, the overall shapes of the pots are generally suited to create chronological rows. These rows can be connected with the linear development of the firmly dated Panathenaean amphoras, which provides a reliable frame of reference.
As the workshops have developed high and low shape variants (kraters), special forms (hydriae) and slightly differing variants for different sizes of the same shape (pelikai), the exact analysis of profile drawings is necessary to set up separate chronological rows for the variants to establish a reliable chronology.
*However, this article will also illustrate that we are able to identify the particular workshop by distinct decorative elements applied to their products, which might even allude to an awareness for branding.**

Die attisch rotfigurigen Vasen des späten 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr., die hier unter dem Terminus spätrotfigurig zusammengefasst werden, sind auch innerhalb der von John Davidson Beazley zusammengestellten Gruppen und Klassen schwer zu datieren,[1] da einige von ihm definierte Werkstätten (wie die Gruppe-G oder die Otčet-Gruppe) tradierte Dekorsysteme zum Teil über Jahrzehnte hinweg nahezu unverändert perpetuiert haben.[2] Karl Schefold, deren Malerzuweisungen Beazley zum größten Teil nicht übernahm, hatte bereits 1934 durch typologische und stilistische Reihen, den Vergleich des Figurenstils mit Votiv- und Urkundenreliefs und Panathenäischen Preisamphoren sowie durch Grabkontexte, die über Münzfunde datierbar sind, ein chronologisches Gerüst erarbeitet,[3] das im Detail schwer nachvollziehbar und partiell überholt ist, auch wenn seine Datierungen im Einzelnen häufig nach wie vor übernommen werden. Neuere Studien haben sich zwar, ausgehend von den datierten Panathenäischen Preisamphoren, um eine Verfestigung des chronologischen Rahmens bemüht, doch gelten die Vasen des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. weiterhin als schwer datierbar.[4] Gelegentlich wurde die Gleichzeitigkeit verschiedener Formen und Stile sogar programmatisch betont[5] oder die Möglichkeit einer stilistischen Reihung als Grundlage einer relativen Chronologie kategorisch abgelehnt, weil den Entwicklungsreihen das Vorverständnis einer vermeintlichen Stilentwicklung zugrunde liege, die man im Zirkelschluss bestätige.[6] Daher werden im Folgenden die Datierungsmöglichkeiten spätrotfiguriger Vasen aus Athen erneut diskutiert mit dem Ziel, Kriterien für eine gesicherte und nachvollziehbare Datierung dieser Gefäße zu etablieren.

Historische Daten und Außerstilistisch Datierte Kontexte

Zur Datierung der attisch rotfigurigen Vasen des späten 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. stehen einige wenige historische Fixdaten zur Verfügung:
404/403 v.Chr. stand Athen unter spartanischem Protektorat. Die gefallenen Spartaner des Jahres erhielten ein Staatsgrab, das im Kerameikos gefunden wurde[7] und sowohl lakonisch als auch attisch rotfigurige Keramik, vor allem Kantharoi mit durchgestoßenem Boden, enthielt. Es dürfte sich um spartanische Auftragsarbeiten dieses Jahres handeln. Die Kantharoi mit Kampf- und Jagdszenen sind ikonographisch wie stilistisch ungewöhnlich und bislang noch nicht publiziert.[8] Unter den anderen Fragmenten sind nur zwei relevant, die von der Vorderseite eines Glockenkraters stammen (*Abb. 1*).[9] Das eine zeigt Kopf und Oberkörper eines frontal stehenden Jünglings in gemustertem Chiton und Chlamys, den Petasos auf dem Rücken, und mit bekränztem Kopf im Profil. Sein erhobener linker Arm stützt sich auf einen Doppelspeer. Beazley vermutete die Darstellung eines Diosku-

Abb. 1. Fragmente eines Glockenkraters aus dem Lakedaimoniergrab (404/403 v.Chr.); Athen, Kerameikos Inv. 2195 und 11367.1 (Stroszeck 2008, 99 Abb. 1-2).

Abb. 2. Acro-Cup mit Darstellung der Sparte (Ende 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr.); Boston, Museum of Fine Arts Inv. 00.354 (Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

ren (vgl. *Abb. 4*),[10] es käme aber auch Iolaos oder Perithoos in Frage.[11] Das zweite Fragment (*Abb. 1*) gibt den behelmten Kopf der Athena wieder und kann dem Suessula-Maler zugeschrieben werden.[12] Eine Schale aus dem Umkreis des Jenaer Malers[13] mit der inschriftlich benannten Darstellung der

Nymphe Sparte (*Abb. 2*) dürfte aus historischen Gründen ebenfalls in diese Zeit gehören. Dafür spricht auch, dass eine formgleiche Schale derselben Werkstatt im Lakedaimoniergrab gefunden wurde.[14]

Fünf Choes in Boston[15] gelten als Beigaben zur Bestattung des Dexileos im Kerameikos von Athen, der nach Ausweis der Inschrift auf der Grabstele 394 v.Chr. in der Schlacht gegen Korinth fiel.[16] Die fünf Kännchen haben die gleiche Form und vertreten die selbe Stilstufe, sind also zeitgleich entstanden. Sie dürften als Set wahrscheinlich direkt für die Bestattung erworben worden sein und sind daher um 394 v.Chr. zu datieren.

Olynth, die Hauptstadt des chalkidischen Bundes, wurde im Jahre 349/348 v.Chr. von den Makedonen zerstört und blieb danach weitgehend unbesiedelt.[17] Die in Olynth gefundenen Münzen der 2. Jahrhunderthälfte konzentrieren sich auf das sog. Northwest Quarter, wo aber keine späte Keramik gefunden wurde.[18] Die Besiedlung kann auch hier nicht sehr intensiv gewesen sein. Die wenigen stilistisch nach 348 v.Chr zu datierenden Gefäße stellen Streufunde dar, die nicht der Zerstörungsschicht zuzurechnen sind.[19] Die in der Stadt und in den Gräbern ergrabenen Vasen dürften also vor oder um die Jahrhundertmitte gefertigt worden sein.[20]

Für die in den Gräbern von Alexandria gefundenen attisch rotfigurigen Vasen kann hingegen als *terminus post quem* der Deponierung die Gründung der Stadt 332/331 v.Chr. gelten. Da die antike Stadt vollständig modern überbaut ist, sind die Funde allerdings nicht sehr zahlreich, so dass sich Querschläger schwer ermitteln lassen, doch deckt sich bei den publizierten vier Hydrien und zwei Peliken, die in Form und Zeichenstil einer späten Entwicklungsstufe attisch rotfiguriger Keramik angehören, der außerstilistische Datierungsansatz mit dem stilistischen Befund.[21]

Weniger eindeutig ist der Bezug zu anderen historischen Ereignissen: Al Mina brannte 375 v.Chr. ab. Die dort gefundene attische Keramik wird in der Regel in die Zeit vor der Feuersbrunst datiert, doch ist dies beim aktuellen Kenntnisstand nicht zwingend.[22] Allgemein wird auch für die attischen Importe auf Zypern ein *terminus ante quem* angenommen, nämlich das Ende der Regierungszeit des Euagoras von Salamis 374/373 v.Chr.[23] Ob jedoch der Handel mit Keramik so stark von politischen Verhältnissen abhängig war, darf bezweifelt werden.

Ein an der Straßenkreuzung Odos Achilleos und Odos Plataion in Athen entdecktes Deposit enthielt neben Glanztonkeramik sowie rotfigurigen

Abb. 3. Glockenkrater des Amazonen-Malers, der mit Preisamphoren des Jahres 312/311 v.Chr. vergesellschaftet war; Athen, Magazin der 3. Ephorie Inv. A 3873 (Alexandri 1967, Taf. 73,2).

Krateren und Peliken auch Preisamphoren, die den Namen des Archon Polemon tragen (*Abb. 6h*). Dabei könnte es sich um eine komplette Ofenfüllung handeln.[24] Lässt sich diese Vermutung sichern, wären die dort gefundenen Peliken und Glockenkratere des Amazonen-Malers (*Abb. 3*) außerstilistisch datiert. Sie stellen zwar späte Produkte der langlebigen Werkstatt dar, jedoch nicht die Endstufe der Produktion, die daher etwa am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. gelegen haben dürfte.

Aus einem Grab des Zelenskij-Kurgans bei Phanagoreia stammt ein Goldstater Alexanders des Großen. In der Aufschüttung des Grabhügels fand man Fragmente einer panathenäischen Preisamphora des Jahrgangs 320/319 v.Chr. und einer rotfigurigen Amphora derselben Form.[25] Die Goldmünze ergibt hier einen *terminus post quem* für die Aufschüttung. Eine genauere Datierung kommt aber erst durch den Formvergleich zustande, weshalb Schefold zu Recht die Amphora ebenfalls in die Zeit um 320 v.Chr. datiert.[26] Denn grundsätzlich ist eine Datierung über mitgefundene Münzen in den meisten Fällen schwierig. Zum einen handelt es sich häufig um stark korrodierte Kupfermünzen, deren Typen nur noch

Abb. 4. Pelike mit Leda und den Dioskuren bei der Geburt Helenas aus dem Ei (um 410 v.Chr.); Neapel, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Inv. 151600 (De Caro 1994, 27).

schwer bestimmbar sind, und deren chronologische Abfolge ebenfalls ungesichert ist. Zum anderen lässt sich über diese nur ein grober Datierungsanhalt gewinnen, da die Laufzeit dieser Münzen in der Regel recht lang gewesen sein kann, und die Münze nur die Bestattung, nicht aber die beigegebene Keramik datiert. Ein ungefährer Näherungswert kommt durch die Münzfunde aber zustande,[27] weshalb bei der Analyse der Formentwicklung auf einige Kontexte mit Münzfunden hingewiesen werden wird.

Die Verbindung bestimmter Motive oder ikonographischer Details mit vermeintlich zeitgenössischen Vorstellungen, die uns durch erhaltene Dramen dokumentiert scheinen, ist ebenfalls schwierig. Ein Beispiel mag dies verdeutlichen: Eine Gruppe von attisch rotfigurigen Vasenbildern zeigt die Dioskuren als Sternbilder, indem über ihren Köpfen Sterne angegeben werden (*Abb. 4*).[28] Mehrere sind stilistisch ins letzte Viertel des 5. Jahrhunderts und an den Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. zu datieren.[29] Daher scheint es verlokkend, das Bildmotiv mit einem Chorlied aus der Tragödie *Helena* des Euripides in Verbindung zu bringen, die wohl 412/411 v.Chr. aufgeführt wurde.[30] Dort werden die Dioskuren als 'unter dem Wirbel heller Sterne siedelnde Himmelsbewohner' angerufen.[31] Es ist freilich nicht auszuschliessen, dass die Vasenmaler die Anregung für ihre Bilder durch die Theateraufführung erhalten haben könnten. Voraussetzung für eine direkte Verbindung in chronologischer Hinsicht wäre aber, dass die Vorstellung, die Dioskuren als Sternbilder zu verehren, erst zu dieser Zeit entstanden wäre, was nicht der Fall ist. Das Chorlied lehnt sich vielmehr inhaltlich eng an ältere Vorlagen an.[32] Chorlied und Vasenbilder spiegeln vielleicht eine im ausgehenden 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr. verstärkt diskutierte religiöse Vorstellung wieder, die für uns aber nicht näher zu fassen und ihre Dauer damit auch nicht zu datieren ist. Und auch die ikonographische Eigenheit dauert noch bis mindestens gegen die Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. an, wie ein Glockenkrater des Pourtalès-Malers in London zeigt.[33]

Aus den selben Gründen lässt sich auch die Darstellung einer stieropfernden Nike auf einer Bauchlekythos in Boston (*Abb. 5*)[34] nicht direkt mit einem historisch überlieferten Opfer für einen militärischen Erfolg verbinden, wie John J. Herrmann vorschlägt,[35] der die Darstellung mit der Seeschlacht der Athener bei Knidos 394 v.Chr. in Verbindung bringt. Zum Dank für den errungenen Sieg über die Spartaner errichtete der Stratege Konon im Anschluss der Aphrodite, die Herrmann rechts im Bild erkennt, einen Tempel im Piräus.[36] Selbst wenn hier keine Personifikation, sondern Aphrodite in Waffen als Adressatin des Opfers bezeichnet ist, ist die Verbindung mit der Seeschlacht vor Knidos nicht zwingend, da es im späteren 5. und im 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr. unzählige Anlässe für Siegesopfer gab, und es überhaupt fraglich ist, ob die Lekythos ein kollektives Opfer thematisiert, da sie aus einem Grab in Eretria und nicht aus einem Heiligtum stammt. Der Anlass ihres Erwerbs wird also eher auf einen individuellen Erfolg zurückgehen als auf das Dankesopfer des Konon. So sind die stieropfernden Niken auf anderen Vasen häufig in den Kontext von Fackelläufen eingebunden und bezeichnen Siege Einzelner oder einer kleinen Gruppe.[37] Aphrodite ist hier also eher als persönliche Schutzgöttin zu verstehen und nicht als die Göttin der Insel Knidos, womit die Verbindung zur Seeschlacht von 394 v.Chr. nicht mehr gegeben ist. Solange sich also der antike Verwendungszweck der Lekythos und damit der Anlass ihrer Herstellung und Verwendung nicht genauer rekonstruieren lässt, ist eine chro-

Abb. 5. Lekythos mit Darstellung einer Stier opfernden Nike zwischen einem Krieger und einer Frau mit Speer und Schild (um 380 v.Chr.); Boston, Museum of Fine Arts Inv. 98.884 (Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

nologisch enge Verbindung der Darstellungen mit historisch überlieferten Ereignissen fragwürdig.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich also festhalten, dass die genannten Fixpunkte nur sehr vage Datierungsmöglichkeiten bieten. Anders steht es jedoch mit den Panathenäischen Preisamphoren, auf die im Folgenden einzugehen ist.

Die Formentwicklung der Panathenäischen Preisamphoren

Seit dem Beginn des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. ist es üblich, auf die Vorderseiten der Preisamphoren, die in Athen alle vier Jahre an den Großen Panathenäen als Preise vergeben wurden, die Namen der Jahresarchonten zu schreiben.[38] Eine Liste aller Archontennamen des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. ist uns erhalten,[39] so dass diese Amphoren aufs Jahr genau datiert sind. Zudem stehen auf den Säulen der Vorderseitenbilder seit Beginn des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. Figuren, die in der jeweiligen Form den Jahrgang kennzeichnen.[40] Dadurch lassen sich auch Preisamphoren datieren, deren Archonteninschrift nicht erhalten ist. Die 44 fest datierten Gefäße und die Fragmente von mindestens 86 weiteren Preisamphoren,[41] verteilen sich auf 26 Jahrgänge und bilden somit die wichtigste Datierungsgrundlage für die attische Vasenproduktion des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.

Die Panathenäischen Preisamphoren ähneln mit ihren sehr bauchigen, nach unten spitz zulaufenden Gefäßkörpern und dem kurzen, engen Hals den zeitgleichen Transportamphoren, die sie um Elemente der Halsamphoren (Echinusfuß und -mündung, Halsring, Rundstabhenkel) erweitern (*Abb. 6-10*). Ihre Form bleibt über Jahrhunderte gleich, und es ändern sich abhängig vom Zeitgeschmack lediglich ihre Proportionen.[42] Auch die Dekoration ist seit ihrer Einführung in den sechziger Jahren des 6. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. kanonisch: Die eine Seite zeigt Athena Promachos zwischen zwei Säulen und der Beischrift τῶν Αθήνηθεν ἄθλων (von den Spielen in Athen) und die andere die Sportart, in der der Preisträger gesiegt hatte. Sowohl die Form als auch die Bemalung sind also ungewöhnlich traditionell, und auch nach der Erfindung der rotfigurigen Technik werden diese Gefäße stets schwarzfigurig bemalt. Diese Dekorationsart dauert noch bis ins 1. Jahrhundert v.Chr. an, also noch lange nach dem Ende der rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei in Athen.[43] Nicht nur die Technik, sondern auch die Darstellung der Athena auf der Vorderseite bleibt - wie auf den Münzbildern - traditionell und archaisierend,[44] während die Sportlerdarstellungen dem zeitgenössischen Malstil folgen. Dadurch ist es möglich, einige Preisamphoren bekannten, auch in der rotfigurigen Technik arbeitenden Vasenmalern zuzuschreiben,

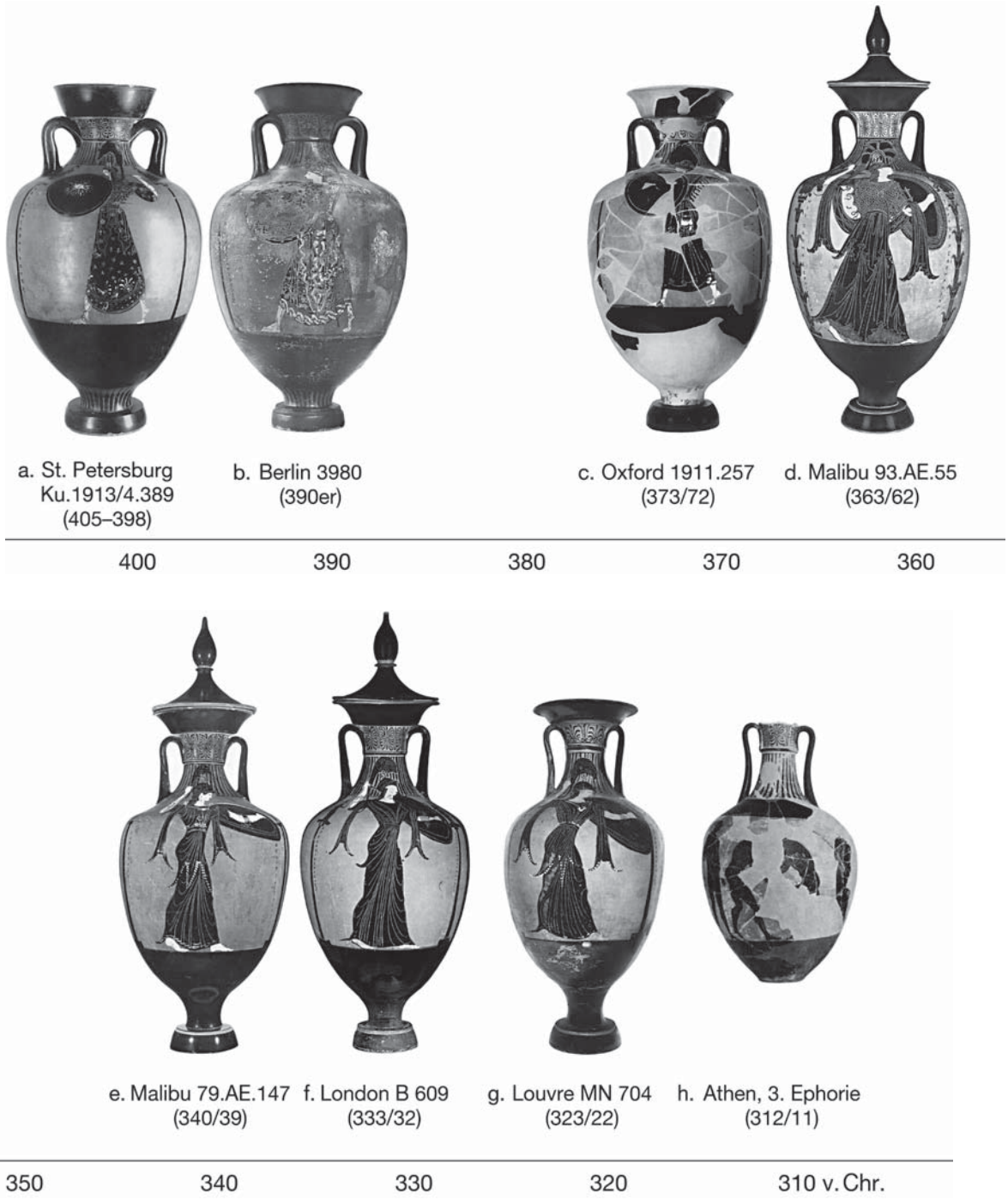


Abb. 6. Formentwicklung der Panathenäischen Preisamphoren im 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr. (Bentz 1998, Taf. 93b, 99a, 102a, 109a, 117b, 125a, 131a; Alexandri 1967, Taf. 73,1).

die sich so zeitlich ungefähr einordnen lassen.[45]

Mit den Panathenäischen Preisamphoren liegt also die chronologische Abfolge einer Formentwicklung vor, die keine archäologische Konstruktion darstellt, sondern auf einer historisch fest datierten Reihung basiert. Diese Reihe wurde an

acht intakten oder ohne verfälschende Ergänzungen zusammengesetzten Gefäßen nachvollzogen (*Abb. 6*). Im Folgenden gilt es, die von Schefold und Beazley grob skizzierte Entwicklungslinie noch einmal an diesen Beispielen zu beschreiben, um allgemeine Stiltendenzen herauszuarbeiten, die auch für andere Gefäßformen gültig sein könnten.

Im Vergleich zu den Preisamphoren des 5. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. ist um 400 v.Chr. die Krümmung an Fuß und Schulter einwärts angewachsen und die Konturlinie ist weniger gestreckt, wie die Amphoren der Kuban-Gruppe deutlich machen (*Abb. 6a*).[46] Diese haben eine gleichmäßig ovale oder die Schulter etwas stärker betonende Form. Die vor 390 v.Chr. anzusetzende Preisamphora Berlin 3980 (*Abb. 6b*)[47] unterscheidet sich davon durch einen gespannteren Unterkörper und eine breitere und vom Körper deutlicher abgesetzte Schulter, wodurch sich der Schwerpunkt des Gefäßes weiter nach unten verlagert. Hals und Henkel werden schlanker und sind weniger stark von der sich verbreiternden Mündung abgesetzt, die nun merklich nach außen schwingt. Der Fuß weist im oberen Teil zum ersten Mal eine umlaufende Rille auf, die für die Preisamphoren des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. typisch ist und hier noch relativ breit ausfällt.

Aus den achtziger und siebziger Jahren des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. sind bislang leider nur Fragmente bekannt.[48] Das vollständigste Exemplar des Jahrgangs 373/372 v.Chr. ist zwar stark ergänzt, überliefert aber den oberen Teil des Gefäßes zuverlässig (*Abb. 6c*).[49] Etwa in dieselbe Zeit ist auch die gut erhaltene Amphora ohne Archonteninschrift in Detroit zu setzen.[50] Bei beiden Gefäßen weist der Körper nun eine langovale Form auf, mit einer schmaleren und abgerundeten Schulter. Den nach wie vor breiten Hals rahmen dünnere Henkel, die die Schwere des 5. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. völlig überwunden haben. Die Preisamphoren des Jahres 367/366 v.Chr. setzen die beschriebenen Tendenzen fort.[51] Der eiförmige Körper verbreitert und festigt sich, wobei das Körperende zunehmend als Schaft gebildet wird. Zwischen 372/371 v.Chr. und 367/366 v.Chr. verschwinden auch die traditionellen Strahlen am Schaft und die Beischrift wird kionedon, das heißt die Buchstaben werden horizontal untereinander statt der Länge nach geschrieben.

Die Amphoren der späten sechziger Jahre[52] haben eine neue Eleganz: Ihre Schulter fällt stärker ab. Das nun konkav statt konvex geschwungene Schulterprofil geht direkt in die Mündung über; und während Hals und Lippe nun weniger stark voneinander abgesetzt sind, erhält der Fuß auf der Oberseite eine den Körper begrenzende Ritzlinie. Diese neue Stilstufe vertreten bereits die Preisamphoren des umfangreich überlieferten Jahrgangs 363/362 v.Chr.[53]

Eine Amphora in Malibu gehört nach Ausweis der originellen Niken auf Akanthussäulen ebenfalls dem Charikleides-Jahrgang 363/362 v.Chr. an (*Abb. 6d*).[54] Da anstelle der Archonteninschrift der Name des Töpfers Nikodemos erscheint, dürfte es sich um ein Wettbewerbsstück in der Ausschreibung für den folgenden Jahrgang handeln.[55] Zum ersten Mal wird hier Athena nach rechts gewendet gezeigt, wodurch von ihrem Schild nur die Innenseite zu sehen ist. Diese Darstellung wird nach 360/359 v.Chr. kanonisch. Die Gründe für diesen Motivwechsel sind ungeklärt.[56] Doch lassen sie sich mit einem auch in anderen Bildern zu beobachtendem Streben nach räumlicher Wirkung in Verbindung bringen.

Aus den fünfziger und frühen vierziger Jahren sind bislang nur kleinere Fragmente bekannt.[57] Von den sechs Preisamphoren aus der Zeit des Kallimedes (360/359 v.Chr.) unterscheiden sich die beiden 344/343 v.Chr. und die drei 340/339 v.Chr gefertigten Gefäße (*Abb. 6e*) nun in einer deutlichen Streckung und Verschlankerung der Proportionen.[58] Über dem Fuß erhebt sich ein stielförmiges Körperende, dem ein schlanker Hals mit langgezogenen Henkeln entspricht. Der Umriss ist insgesamt weicher und mit leichter Betonung der Schulter einheitlich geschwungen.

In den folgenden Jahrgängen[59] werden die Körper sowie Hals und Henkel noch schlanker, Stiel und Fuß länger und die Schulter zunehmend wieder prononciert abgesetzt, was an der Preisamphora London B 611 von 328/327 v.Chr. besonders deutlich wird.[60]

Diese Tendenz zur Verschlankerung setzt sich in den Preisamphoren vom Ende der zwanziger Jahre in gesteigerter Ausprägung fort (*Abb. 6g*).[61] Die Schulter fällt nun noch stärker ab und geht ohne deutliche Betonung in den eiförmigen Körper über, der in einem stark langgezogenen Stiel endet.

Die letzten (durch die Namensbeischrift des Archonten Polemon) datierten Preisamphoren des Jahres 312/311 v.Chr. sind bislang nur durch ein Foto einer Rückseite bekannt (*Abb. 6h*).[62] Das abgebildete Gefäß setzt die geschilderte Entwicklung zu immer schlankeren, langgezogenen Formen fort. Die Henkel sind nun auf Höhe der noch deutlicher betonten Halswulst eingezogen und leiten mit einem schwungvollen Ende ins gerundete Schulterprofil über. Die Preisamphoren des 3. und 2. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. tragen dann keine Archonteninschriften mehr.[63]

Zusammenfassend ist festzuhalten, dass sich die Formentwicklung der Preisamphoren konti-

nuierlich vollzieht: Die Proportionen der Gefäße werden zugunsten einer schlanker werdenden, gestreckteren Form verschoben, wobei der Körper vom Fuß in einem straffer werdenden Wandungsverlauf steil aufwächst und in einer stärkeren Rundung in die Schulter übergeht. Der Hals wird länger und endet in einer schmaleren, aber weiter ausladenden Mündung.[64] Aufgrund der günstigen Überlieferungslage umfangreicher dokumentierter Jahrgänge lässt sich jedoch der Übergang von einer zur nächsten Stilstufe besonders in der Zeit zwischen 367/366 und 363/362 v.Chr. sowie zwischen 328/327 und 323/322 v.Chr. zeitlich relativ eng eingrenzen.

Zeitstil, Werkstattstil und Individualstil

Wie tragfähig ist aber ein auf der Formentwicklung basierendes Chronologiegerüst? Töpfer sind wie alle Hersteller von Handwerksprodukten in Werkstatttraditionen eingebunden, die zum Teil sehr langlebig sein können. Zudem besteht grundsätzlich die Möglichkeit, dass individuelle Eigenarten und die persönliche Handschrift eines Töpfers unsere Vorstellung von der Formentwicklung verfälschen.

Die Forschungen in diesem Bereich sind nicht sehr ausgeprägt, und bislang ist es nicht gelungen, in gleichem Maße einzelne Töpfer zu bestimmen wie man Malerhände hat scheiden können.[65] Dies liegt aber nicht nur daran, dass sich die Forschung bisher nicht so intensiv mit der Frage beschäftigt hat, sondern vor allem daran, dass die Methode der Malerzuschreibung nicht auf die Töpfer übertragbar ist. Denn während sich der individuelle Stil eines Malers in vielen Details (wie zum Beispiel einer charakteristischen Gestaltung der Ohrläppchen oder des Schlüsselbeins, aber auch ganzer Figurentypen) verrät, der zudem an vielen Figuren ablesbar ist,[66] stehen zur Unterscheidung verschiedener Töpferhände weit weniger Informationen zur Verfügung. Typische Eigenheiten eines Töpfers sind bestenfalls beim Vergleich der Gefäßprofile an einigen wenigen Stellen (wie Fuß- und Lippenprofil) erkennbar.[67]

Wie stark prägte der Zeitgeschmack die Form der spätrotfigurigen Vasen und in welchem Umfang und an welchen Stellen flossen die Werkstatttradition und das individuelle Formempfinden des Töpfers in die Gestaltung mit ein? Dieser Frage soll an vier Beispielen nachgegangen werden, die in Hinblick auf Überlieferung und Publikationslage besonders gut dokumentiert sind.

Die Panathenäischen Preisamphoren der Jahre 363/362 und 360/359 v.Chr.

Für einen genauen Profilvergleich bieten sich neun weitgehend vollständig erhaltene Preisamphoren an, die 1969 und 1976 in Eretria gefunden worden sind.[68] Drei sind unter dem eponymen Archon Charikleides (363/362 v.Chr.) und sechs im Archontat des Kallimedes (360/359 v.Chr.) entstanden. In der Forschung herrscht weitgehende Einigkeit, dass die Preisamphoren eines Jahrgangs in derselben Werkstatt gefertigt wurden, die den Auftrag für die Produktion von etwa 1500 Preisamphoren in vier Jahren erhalten hatte.[69]

Die drei erhaltenen Gefäße des Jahres 363/362 v.Chr. sind von einem Vasenmaler, dem Pourtalès-Maler, bemalt worden.[70] Daher ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass alle drei Amphoren auch von demselben Töpfer verfertigt worden sind. Vergleicht man den Wandungsverlauf, indem man die Profilzeichnungen übereinanderlegt (*Abb. 7*),[71] so zeigt sich eine erstaunliche Gleichförmigkeit aller drei Gefäße. Angesichts der enormen Höhe von 70 cm

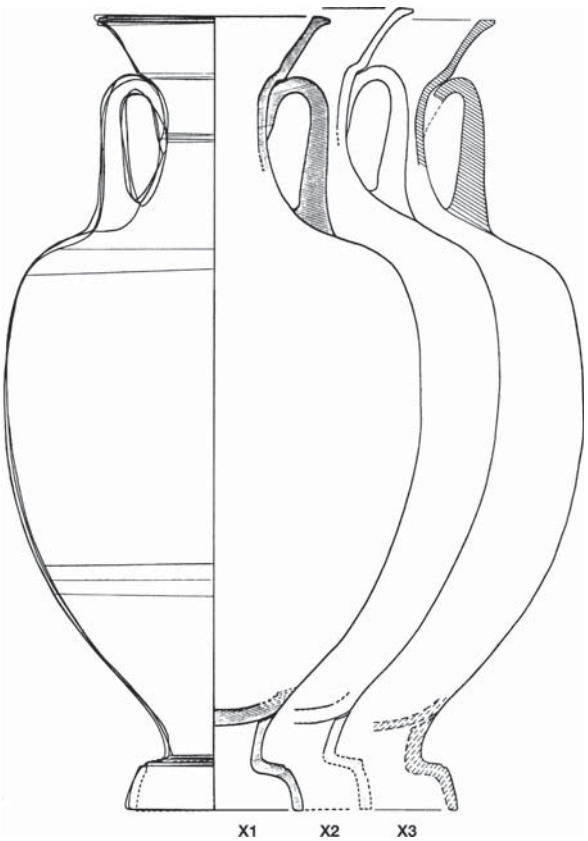


Abb. 7. Profilvergleich von drei Preisamphoren des Jahres 363/362 v.Chr. (rechts maßstabsgetreu).

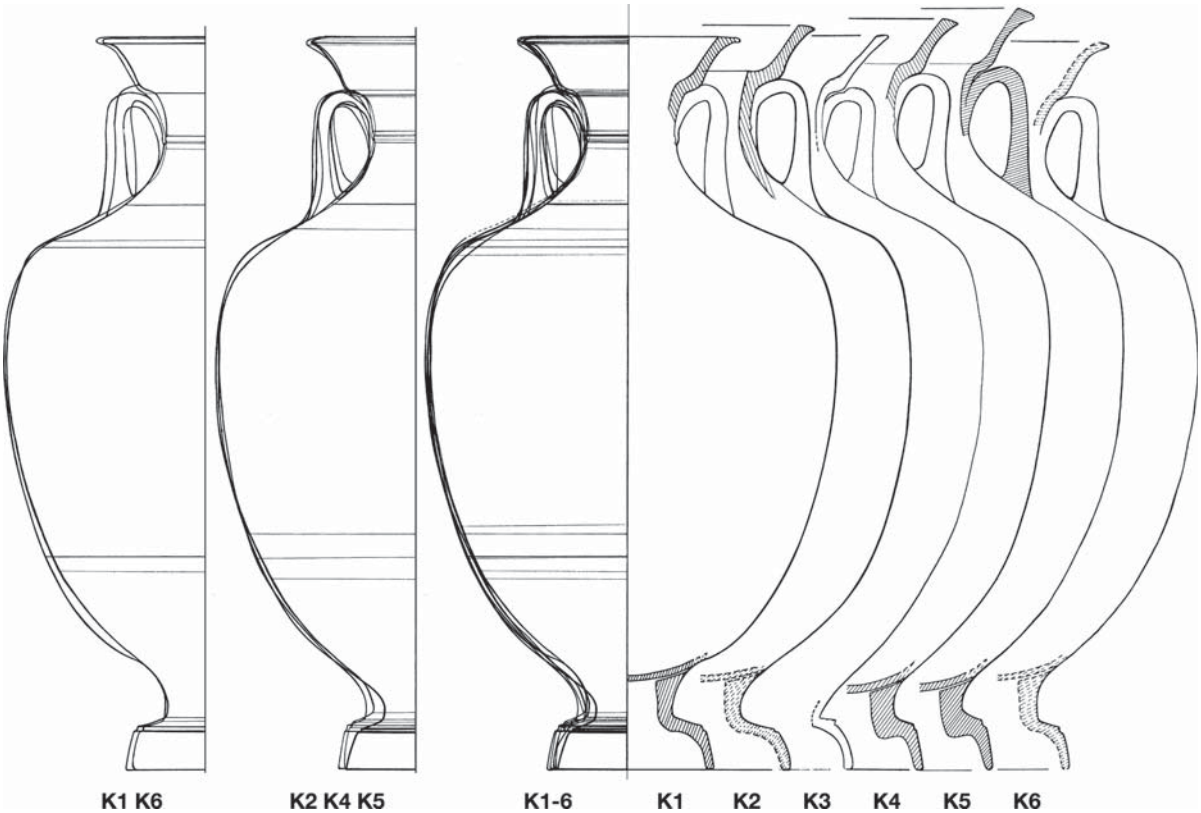


Abb. 8. Profilvergleich von Preisamphoren des Jahres 360/359 v.Chr. (rechts maßstabsgetreu).

ist die Genauigkeit, mit der die Amphoren getöpfert worden sind, bemerkenswert.[72] Kleinere Unterschiede sind nur in den separat angesetzten Henkeln zu erkennen, die aber in Form und Proportion kaum voneinander abweichen. Dieses hohe Maß an Präzision fällt besonders ins Auge, wenn man die Begrenzungslinien der Bildzonen vergleicht, die auf den drei Preisamphoren in ihrer Höhe um bis zu 3 cm voneinander abweichen. Der Pourtalès-Maler war in der Anbringung des Bildschmuckes also freier als der Töpfer in der Ausgestaltung der Gefäße. Das hat mehrere Ursachen. Zum einen war der Töpfer zur Maßgenauigkeit gezwungen, da das Volumen der Preisamphoren wahrscheinlich vom Demos festgelegt wurde.[73] Zum anderen hatte die Werkstatt durchschnittlich 500 Amphoren pro Jahr zu fertigen, was eine große Routine verständlich macht.[74]

Dasselbe gilt auch für die sechs Preisamphoren aus Eretria, die drei Jahre später unter dem Archon Kallikles hergestellt worden sind. Für diese für die Großen Panathenäen des Jahres 358 v.Chr. gefertigten Preisamphoren hatte der Demos einen neuen Auftrag erteilt, den diesmal eine andere Werkstatt, die des Marsyas-Malers erhalten hatte. Die sechs Preisamphoren **K1-6** weisen ebenfalls ein hohes Maß an Gleichförmigkeit auf (s. *Abb. 8*), und es stellt sich die Frage, ob ein oder mehrere Töpfer an der Herstellung beteiligt waren. Vergleicht man die Fuß- und Mündungsprofile, die sich voneinander leicht unterscheiden, so lassen sich drei Gruppen bilden: **K2**, **K4** und **K5** haben den gleichen kantigen Abschluss der Lippe, der sich sowohl von der ausgezogenen Lippe bei **K1** und **K6** als auch von der gradlinig hochgestellten Mündung von **K3** merklich unterscheidet. **K4** und **K5** weisen zudem denselben schweren Fuß mit einem sehr ähnlichen Profil auf, der sich wiederum von denen der Amphoren **K1** und **K6** deutlich absetzen lässt. Unterschiede lassen sich auch in der Gefäßhöhe bemerken: Während **K1**, **K3** und **K6** etwa die gleiche Höhe besitzen (71,6/71,8/71,2 cm), sind die Gefäße der ersten Gruppe mit 72,8 cm, 73,5 cm und 74,5 cm deutlich höher. Panos Valavanis identifiziert daher drei Töpferhände[75] und seine Unterscheidungen decken sich zudem mit seinen Malerzuweisungen: **K2**. **K4** und **K5** stammen vom Marsyas-Maler, **K1** und **K6**

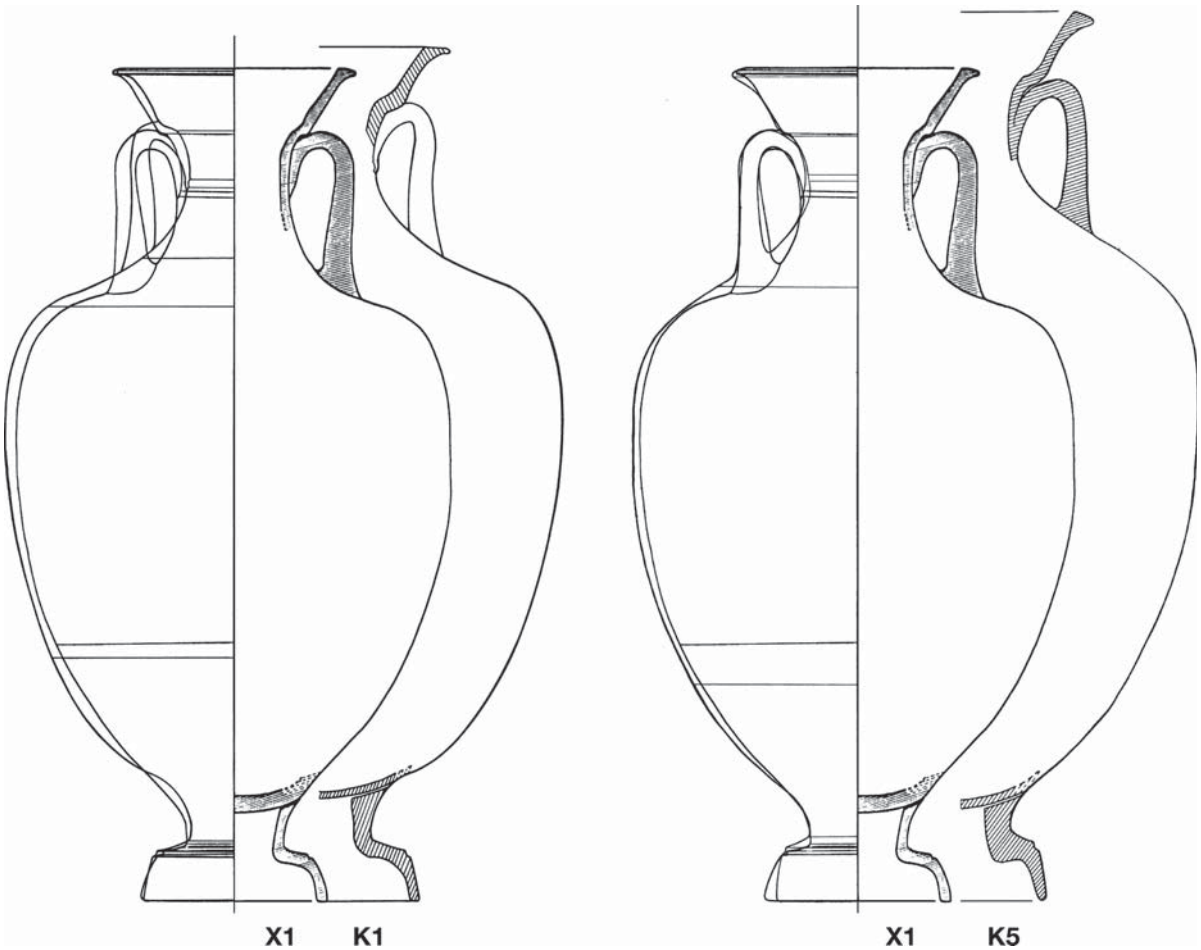


Abb. 9-10. Profilvergleich einer Preisamphora des Jahres 363/362 mit zwei Preisamphoren von 360/359 v. Chr. (jeweils rechts maßstabsgetreu).

wurden vom Maler von Athen 12592 dekoriert, und **K3** bemalte ein dritter Maler.[76] Diese Übereinstimmung braucht kein Zufall zu sein. Es ist sowohl denkbar, dass sich mehrere Werkstätten für diesen Großauftrag zusammengeschlossen hatten, als auch dass hier Töpfer und Maler identisch sind.[77] Falls die sechs Gefäße von drei verschiedenen Töpfern stammen, bekommt man einen guten Eindruck von dem Spektrum der individuellen Möglichkeiten.[78] Und die waren offensichtlich nicht groß, denn bezeichnenderweise hinterlassen die individuellen Handgriffe im Schnitt durchs Profil deutlichere Spuren als im Gefäßumriss. Das äußere Erscheinungsbild der Preisamphoren war also innerhalb einer Werkstatt und eines Jahrgangs recht ähnlich. Die deutlichsten Unterschiede bestehen zwischen den Preisamphoren **K1** und **K5**. Im Vergleich weist **K5** eine gestrecktere Konturlinie auf, und bei **K1** sind die Schulter und der Bauchansatz deutlicher vom Hals bzw. Fuß abgesetzt. **K5**, die Preisamphora des Marsyas-Malers, ist also im Bemühen um eine gestrecktere Form etwas fortschrittlicher, während **K1** an einer traditionelleren Form festhält. Daraus resultiert auch der Höhenunterschied von immerhin 3 cm.

Legt man die Profilzeichnungen von den Amphoren **X1** und **K1** übereinander (*Abb. 9*), zwischen denen nur ein zeitlicher Abstand von drei Jahren besteht, so fallen die Unterschiede sehr viel deutlicher aus. Die Ursache für die Abweichungen sind jedoch nicht nur in den Eigenarten verschiedener Töpfer und Werkstätten zu suchen, sondern auch in der unterschiedlichen Füllmenge von durchschnittlich 31,4 gegenüber 39,6 Litern.[79] Der Grund für diese Differenz liegt wahrscheinlich in den vom Demos je nach Wirtschaftskraft unterschiedlich angesetzten Preismengen. Anders

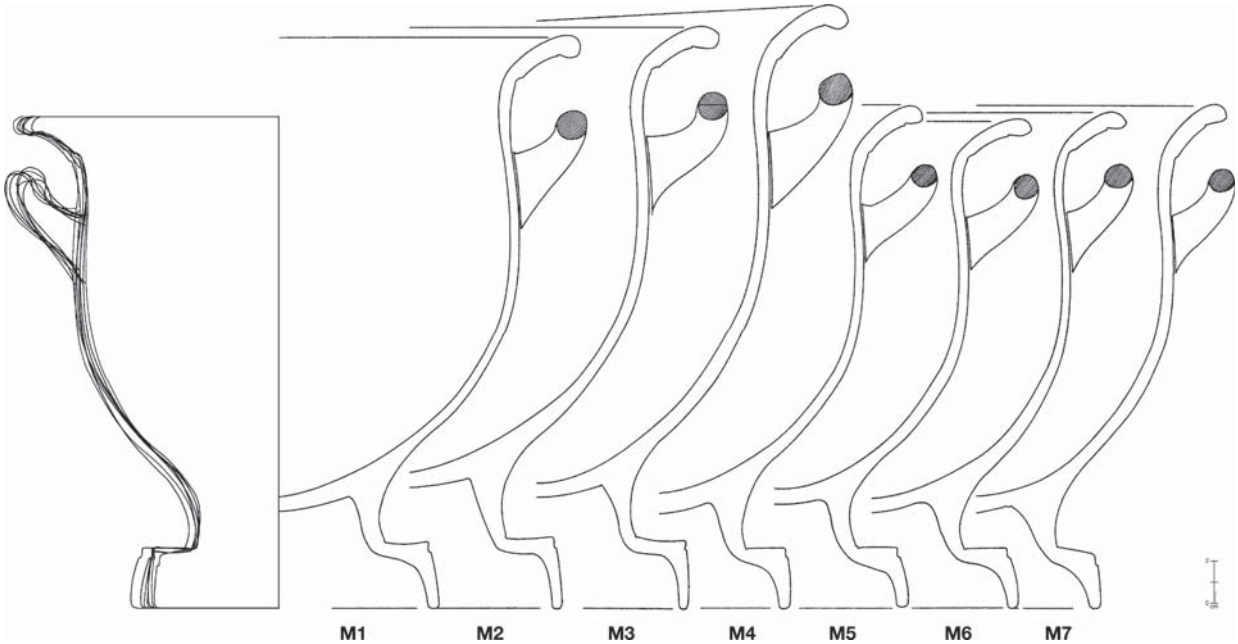


Abb. 11. Profilvergleich einiger Glockenkratere aus der Werkstatt des Meleager-Malers (rechts im Maßstab 1:5).

als im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr. kommen diese Unregelmäßigkeiten nämlich seit dem Peloponnesischen Krieg und seinen verheerenden Folgen für die athenische Landwirtschaft häufiger vor.[80] Die schlankere und damit fortschrittlichere Form ist vielleicht aus dem Bemühen zu erklären, den Inhalt fast unmerklich um 20% zu reduzieren. Signifikante Abweichungen sind vor allem im Hals- und Schulterbereich festzustellen, doch weicht die Höhe von **X1** nur um 1,7 cm (2,4 % der Gesamthöhe) und der Umfang in der Gefäßmitte um 6 cm (7,6 % des Gesamtumfangs) von **K1** ab. Die geringere Füllmenge sollte also kaum ins Auge fallen. Die deutlich höhere Preisamphora **K5** hingegen folgt im Umriss stärker der Amphora **X1** (*Abb. 10*). Man könnte daraus ableiten, dass sich der Töpfer von **K1** von der Höhe und der Töpfer von **K5** von der Form der kleineren Amphoren der vorausgegangenen Panathenäen anregen ließ. Insgesamt sind aber die Schwankungen im Gefäßumriss der drei Preisamphoren wiederum nicht sehr groß.

Die Glockenkratere der führenden attischen Werkstätten im ersten Viertel des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.

Anders als die durch das festgelegte Volumen normierten Preisamphoren könnten Gefäße des privateren Gebrauchs, wie zum Beispiel Kratere, dem Töpfer größere Freiheiten in der Formgestaltung geboten haben. Wie groß waren aber die persönlichen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten und wie stark das Interesse einzelner Töpfer an individuellen Lösungen?

Die Produktion rotfiguriger Glockenkratere zu Beginn des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. lässt sich durch die Arbeiten von Francesca Curti und Kleopatra Kathariou sehr gut überblicken.[81] Zwei Werkstätten sind in dieser Zeit führend: die des Meleager-Malers und die der sogenannten Plainer Group.[82] Dank der publizierten Profilzeichnungen von Kleopatra Kathariou[83] besteht die Möglichkeit, 23 in etwa zeitgleiche Glockenkratere im Detail miteinander zu vergleichen. Die sieben Glockenkratere aus der Werkstatt des Meleager-Malers (*Abb. 11*) weisen eine sehr ähnliche Gestaltung des Fußes und der Mündung auf. Bei den drei 37,5 bis 39 cm hohen Exemplaren ist lediglich der gleichermaßen rechtwinklig gebildete Fuß entsprechend höher als bei den Krateren von 32 bis 33 cm Höhe, die einen kompakteren und stabileren Fuß aufweisen.[84] Im äußeren Erscheinungsbild wirken beide Formen wie eine dicke Scheibe, in die der Stiel senkrecht angesetzt ist.[85] Eine tongrundige Kehlung setzt den scheibenförmigen Standring oben von der horizontalen Fußplatte ab. Der Gefäßkörper schwingt in einer gleichmässigen Kurvung nach oben und ist im Übergang zur Mündung leicht eingezogen. Eine tongrundige Kehlung konturiert jeweils den Übergang vom

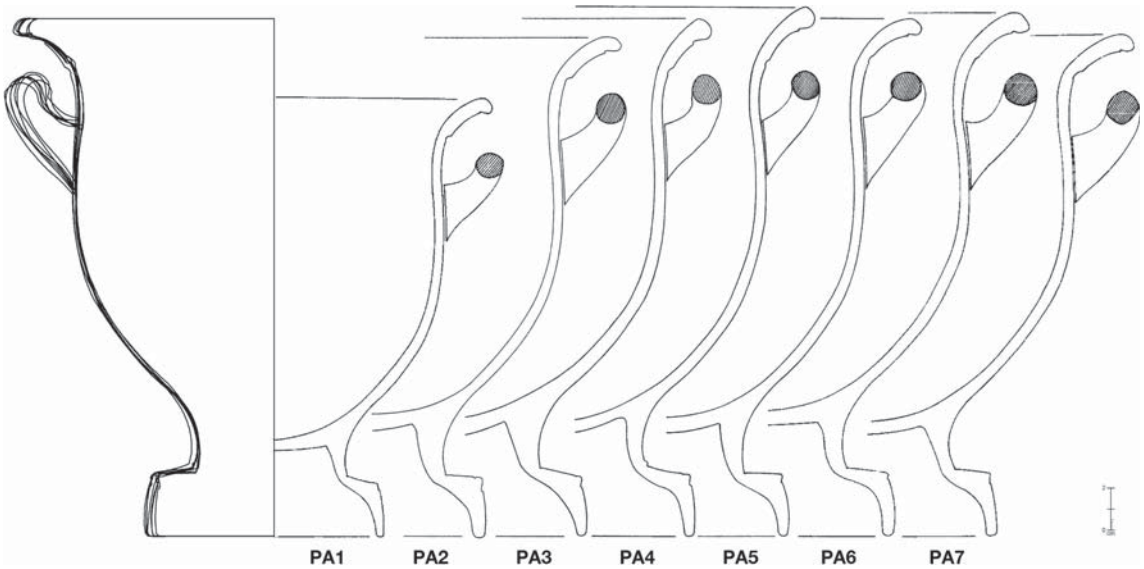


Abb. 12. Profilvergleich einiger Glockenkratere aus der Werkstatt der Plainer Group, Töpfer A (rechts im Maßstab 1:5).

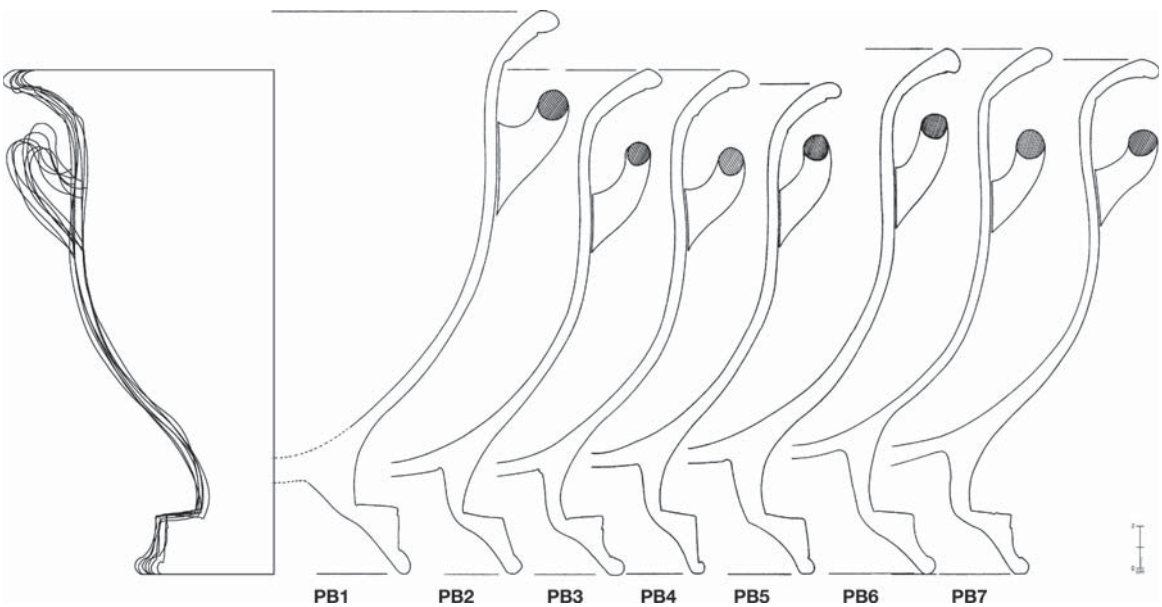


Abb. 13. Profilvergleich einiger Glockenkratere aus der Werkstatt der Plainer Group, Töpfer B (rechts im Maßstab 1:5).

Körper zur Mündung und von dort zur Lippe, die gleichmäßig abgerundet geformt ist. Die sieben hier besprochenen Glockenkratere des Meleager-Malers dürften wegen der ganz ähnlichen Profillinien von einer Hand getöpfert worden sein.[86] Unterschiede zeigen sich lediglich im Gefäßumfang und zwar gleichermaßen im Fuß-, Stiel- und Mündungsbereich. In Hinblick auf die an den Preisamphoren beobachtete Tendenz zur Verschlankerung der Gefäße lassen sich die Unterschiede am besten als chronologische Entwicklung interpretieren, wobei die Tendenz besteht,

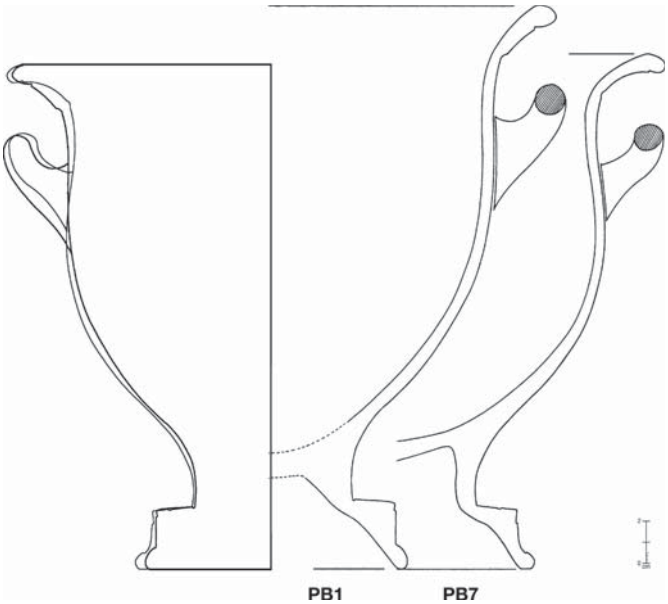


Abb. 14. Profilvergleich zweier Glockenkratere aus der Werkstatt der Plainer Group, Töpfer B (rechts im Maßstab 1:5).

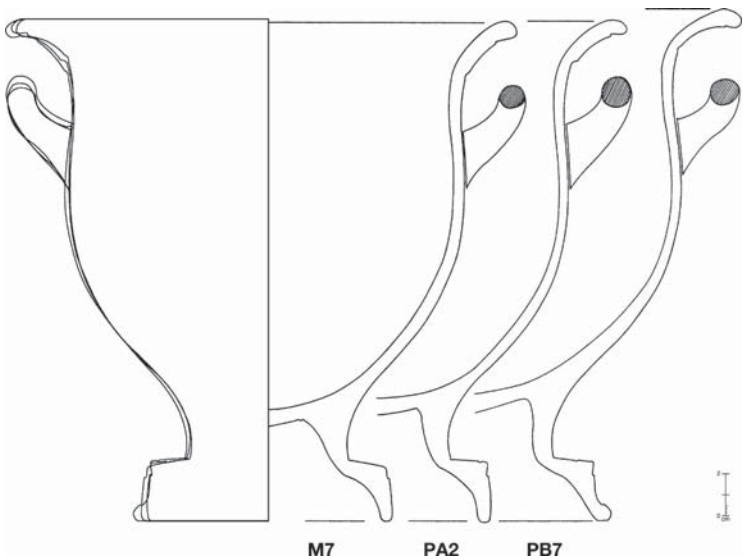


Abb. 15. Profilvergleich der Glockenkratere des Töpfers A aus der Werkstatt des Meleager-Malers und der Töpfer A und B aus der Werkstatt der Plainer Group (rechts im Maßstab 1:5).

den Körper etwa ab der unteren Bildfeldbegrenzung bauchiger werden zu lassen. Die hier abgebildete Reihe (*Abb. 11*) wäre dann als relativchronologische Abfolge zu verstehen, mit dem ältesten Krater links und dem jüngsten rechts.[87]

In der Plainer Group unterscheidet Kleopatra Kathariou zwei Haupttöpfer,[88] wobei unklar ist, ob diese in derselben oder in zwei verschiedenen Werkstätten tätig waren. Für die Tätigkeit beider Töpfer in einer Werkstatt könnte sprechen, dass der Erbach-Maler, einer der bedeutendsten Vertreter der Plainer Group, Gefäße beider Töpfer bemalt hat.[89] Diese lassen sich über die Fußprofile leicht von einander absetzen. Der Töpfer A bildet wie der Meleager-Töpfer einen geraden Fuß mit einfacher Kehlung, während Töpfer B den Standring unten in einer abgesetzten Wulst enden lässt.

Legt man Profilzeichnungen von Glockenkrateren des Töpfers A übereinander (*Abb. 12*), so zeigen sich deutliche Übereinstimmungen. Die Kratere weisen abgesehen von den angesetzten Henkeln eine so gleichförmige Konturlinie auf, dass nicht nur die Zuweisung aller Gefäße an denselben Töpfer gerechtfertigt ist, sondern auch kein deutlicher zeitlicher Abstand zwischen den Gefäßen zu liegen scheint.[90]

Die Glockenkratere des Töpfers B (*Abb. 13*)[91] zeigen hingegen eine größere Variationsbreite. Es

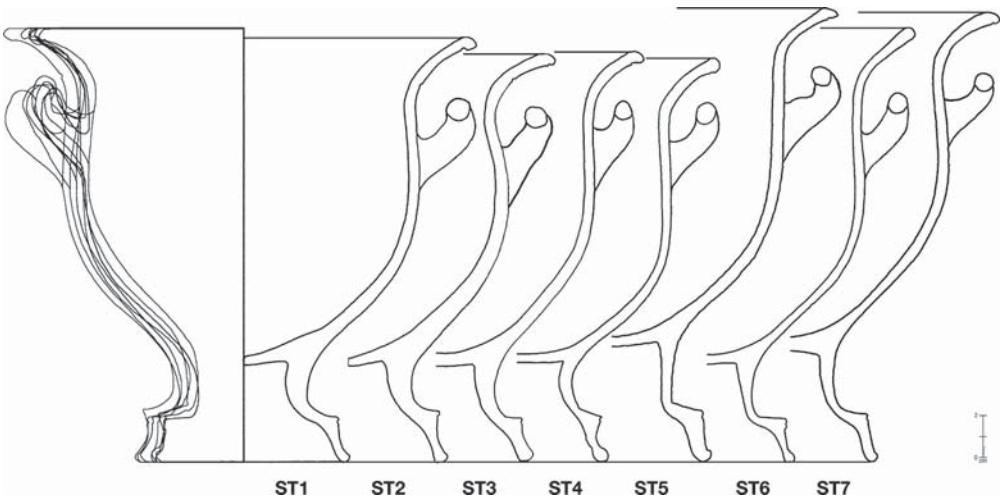


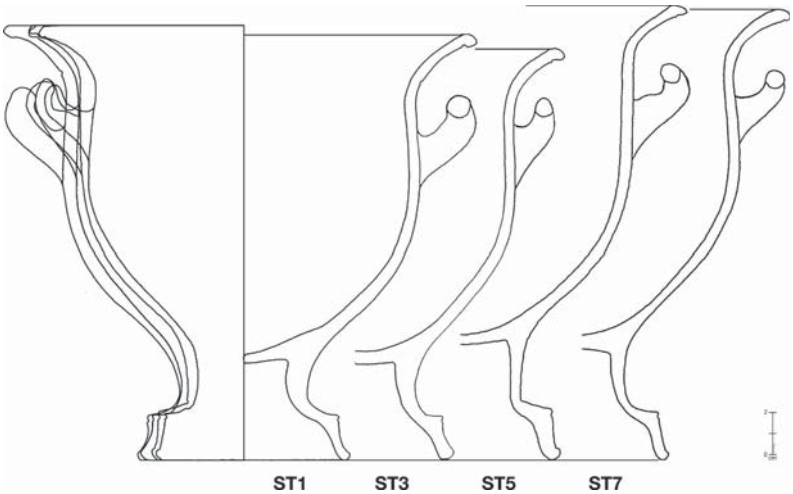
Abb. 16. Profilvergleich einiger Glockenkratere des Schwarzer-Thyrsos-Malers (rechts im Maßstab 1:5).

gibt sowohl Gefäße, bei denen die Gefäßkontur in einer gestraffteren Linie vom Stiel in den Körper übergeht (**PB1**-**PB4**), als auch bauchigere Gefäße, die in der Henkelzone stärker eingezogen sind (**PB5**-**PB7**). Dies wird bei einem Vergleich der Profillinien von **PB1** und **PB7** deutlich (*Abb. 14*). Hier scheinen also zwei Varianten vorzuliegen, wobei nicht zu entscheiden ist, in welchem chronologischen Verhältnis die hohe und die bauchige Formvariante zueinander stehen.[92] Denn in Ermangelung einer stringenten Abfolge der Gefäße im Sinne einer Formentwicklung muss man mit der chronologischen Reihung vorsichtig sein. Überblickt man die Gesamtentwicklung der Kratere, so stellt der 'Trommelfuß' von Töpfer B gegenüber der unprofilierten Scheibenform die fortschrittlichere Fußgestaltung dar.[93] Doch darf man dies nicht zum Datierungskriterium machen, denn der Wandungsverlauf der Gefäße unserer drei Töpfer weist nur geringe Unterschiede auf (*Abb. 15*). Es ist daher anzunehmen, dass beide Fußformen parallel nebeneinander Verwendung fanden.

Insgesamt fassen wir aber auch bei den Glockenkrateren kaum individuelle Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten. Lediglich in charakteristischen Handgriffen bei der Fuß- und Mündungsformung lassen sich einzelne Töpferhände unterscheiden. Dafür spricht auch die werkstattübergreifende Gleichförmigkeit zeitgleicher Kratere, die im Profilvergleich jeweils eines Kraters der drei untersuchten Töpfer anschaulich zum Ausdruck kommt (*Abb. 15*). Die geringe Bandbreite zeitgleicher Produktion ist auch an Glockenkrateren abzulesen, die gemeinsam als Set einer Bestattung beigegeben wurden.[94] Die Existenz zweier Formvarianten kommt aber noch deutlicher bei Glockenkrateren aus Werkstätten zu Ausdruck, die über einen längeren Zeitraum hindurch tätig waren, wie im Folgenden gezeigt werden wird.

Die Glockenkratere des Schwarzer-Thyrsos-Malers

Als drittes Beispiel sollen kurz die Glockenkratere einer äußerst produktiven Werkstatt im zweiten Viertels des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. ins Auge gefasst werden. Der Schwarzer-Thyrsos-Maler, benannt nach seiner eigentümlichen Darstellung des mit Wein- oder Efeulaub bekrönten Stabes, den Dionysos und seine Begleiter als Attribut bei sich tragen, arbeitete in einer Werkstatt, die über viele Jahre Glockenkratere mittlerer Größe und Qualität herstellte, die sie unter anderem auch nach Olynth lieferte.[95] Eine größere Zahl seiner Produkte wurde in Spanien gefunden, woher die sieben Glockenkratere stammen, die auf Abbildung 16 in Profilzeichnungen exemplarisch zusammengestellt sind.[96] Sie zeigen eine große Variationsbreite. Trennt man aber die hohen von den eher bauchigen Krateren, so wird eine Entwicklungsreihe erkennbar (*Abb. 17-18*). Die Proportionen werden zunehmend nach oben verschoben. Zwischen Fuß und Körper entsteht ein immer längerer Stiel. Überhaupt wird das Gefäß insgesamt deutlich schlanker mit einem schmaleren Fuß und Stiel sowie einem gestreckteren und relativ kleinen Körper. Die Fuß- und Mündungsprofile erfahren in ihrer Gestaltung und Proportionierung hingegen kaum Veränderungen, was



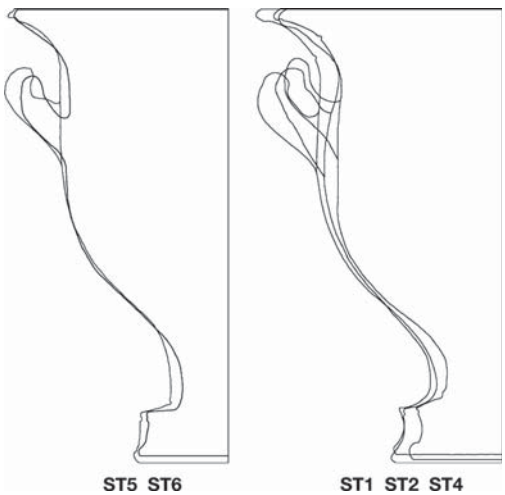


Abb. 17-18. Profilvergleich einiger Glockenkratere des Schwarzer-Thyrsos-Malers (rechts im Maßstab 1:5).

vielleicht auf eine lang andauernde Werkstatttradition hindeuten könnte. Nimmt man für die Aktivität des Malers etwa dreißig Jahre an, so liegen zwischen den Krateren **ST1**, **ST3**, **ST5** und **ST7** jeweils circa zehn Jahre. Dabei muss man den Beginn der Produktion wohl etwa zehn Jahre von den jüngsten Glockenkrateren der Meleager-Werkstatt absetzen (*Abb. 19*).

Ein bei El Sec vor der Küste Mallorcas gesunkenes Handelsschiff[97] enthielt neben etwa 500 Handelsamphoren, Mühlsteinen und Bronzegefäßen auch attische Glanzton- und rotfigurige Keramik. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass die in Athen produzierten Gefäße zeitgleich entstanden

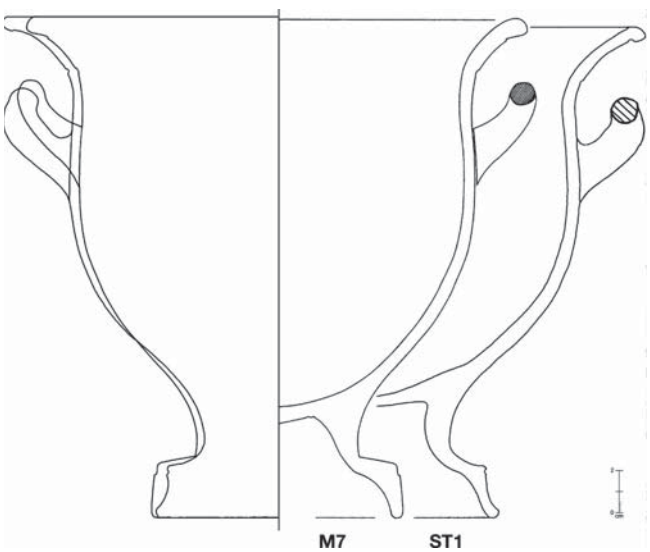


Abb. 19. Profilvergleich eines Glockenkraters aus der Werkstatt des Meleager-Malers mit einem frühen Exemplar des Schwarzer-Thyrsos-Malers (rechts im Maßstab 1:5).

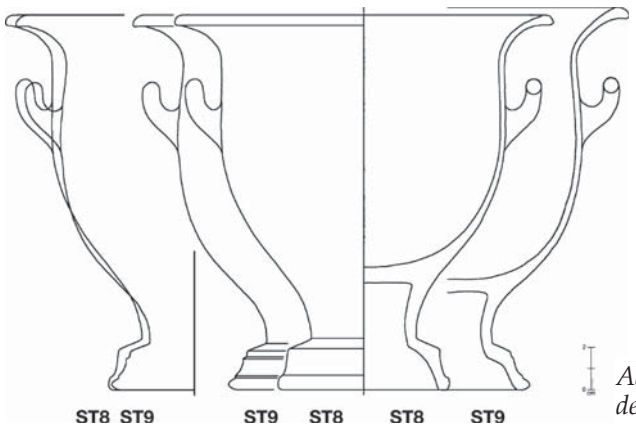


*Abb. 20. Profilvergleich der Kratere **ST8** und **ST9** aus dem Schiffswrack von El Sec (rechts im Maßstab 1:5).*

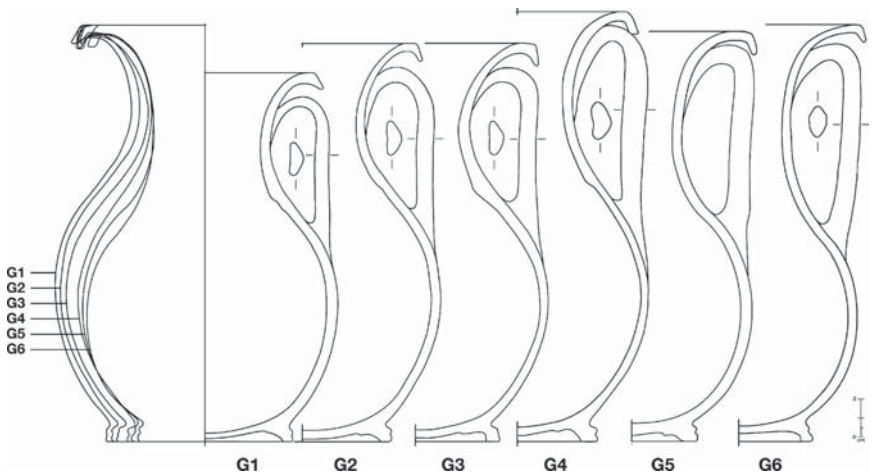


Abb. 21. Profilvergleich kleinformatiger Peliken der Gruppe-G (rechts im Maßstab 1:4).

und gemeinsam verhandelt worden sind. Dabei handelt es sich um Glockenkratere des Schwarzer-Thyrsos-Malers, fußlose Schalen der Gruppe um Wien 116, Skyphoi derselben Werkstatt sowie Palmetten- und Netzlekythoi.[98] Leider sind die publizierten Profilzeichnungen der ohnehin zerscherbten und an der Oberfläche stark angegriffenen Kratere, die hier in Abbildung 20 wiederabgedruckt werden, nicht ganz zuverlässig, und auch die ausgeschnittenen Fotos erlauben keinen sicheren Formvergleich.[99] Doch scheint auch hier wie beim Töpfer B der Plainer Group (*Abb. 14*) eine hohe neben einer bauchigen Formvariante derselben Zeit und Werkstatt nachweisbar.[100]

Die zeitgleiche Produktion einer breiteren und einer höheren Formvariante hatte nicht nur ästhetische, sondern vor allem praktische Gründe, da sich die Glockenkratere so gut ineinander stapeln ließen, was zum einen Vorteile beim Brand der Gefäße mit sich brachte. So wurde bei manchen Krateren unregelmäßige Brandspuren am Glanzton der Innenseiten beobachtet, die auf das Stapeln im Ofen zurückzuführen sind.[101] Zum anderen lassen sich Glockenkratere beider Varianten auch beim Verpacken für den Transport gut ineinander stapeln. Eine derartige Praxis legen die auf der Unterseite einiger Kratere angebrachten Handelsgraffiti nahe, die sich auf den Inhalt einer ganzen Transportkiste beziehen.[102]

Die Peliken der Gruppe-G

Da wir mit den Peliken der Gruppe-G eine große Zahl an Gefäßen einer langlebigen Werkstatt besitzen, soll an ihnen noch einmal die Frage der Formgenauigkeit und die Möglichkeiten einer chronologischen Reihung an der vor allem für die zweite Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. bedeutendsten Gefäßform diskutiert werden. Die zahlreichen Peliken der Gruppe-G folgen einer Stan-

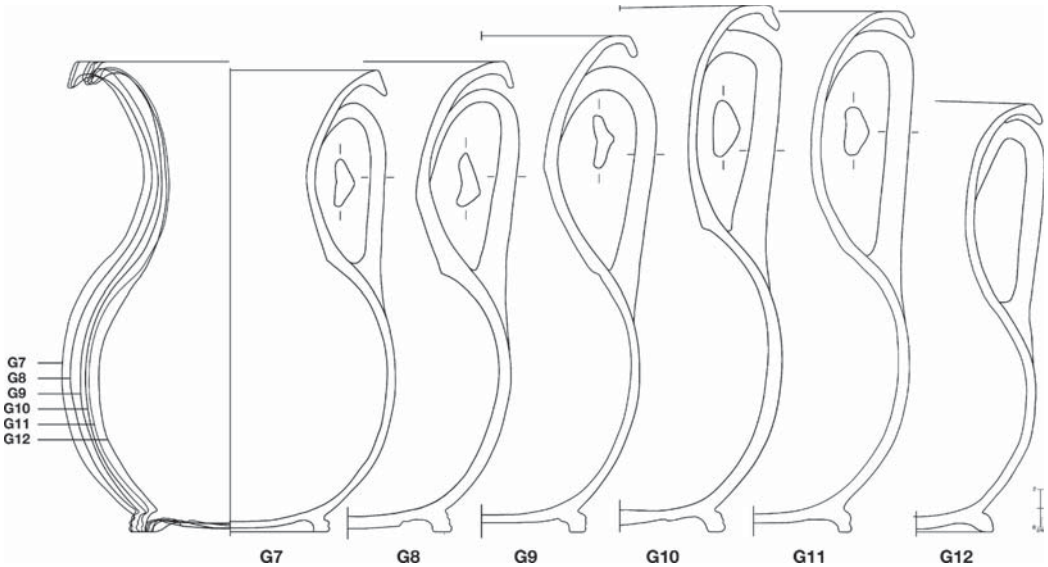


Abb. 22. Profilvergleich mittelformatiger Peliken der Gruppe-G (rechts im Maßstab 1:4).

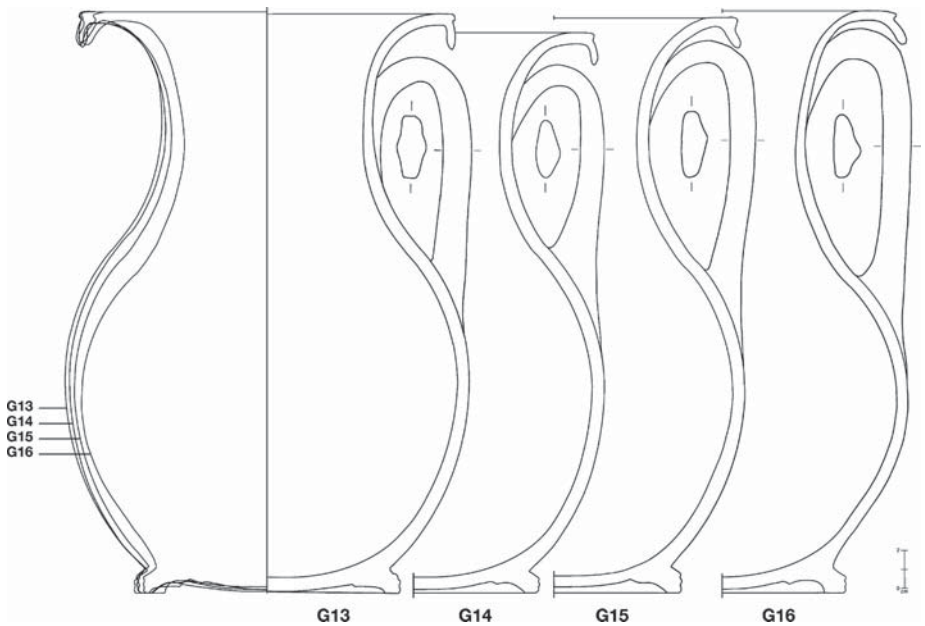


Abb. 23. Profilvergleich großformatiger Peliken der Gruppe-G (rechts im Maßstab 1:4).

dardform,[103] die je nach Gefäßgröße leicht variiert. Die kleinformatigen Peliken (*Abb. 21, 24* oben) rangieren in ihrer Höhe von etwa 20 bis zuletzt 23 cm.[104] Die Gesamterscheinung der handlichen Gefäße kann man ausgewogen nennen. In allen Details weisen sie harmonisch aufeinander bezogene Proportionen und in ihren Rundungen aufeinander abgestimmte Kurven auf. Dies wird besonders im Vergleich zu den Peliken vom Beginn des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. deutlich, wo Fuß, Körper, Hals und Mündung separate Bestandteile des Gefäßes darstellen.[105] Der runde Körper ist im Schnitt leicht oval geformt. In einem gleichmäßig geschwungenen Verlauf geht er gerundet in den Hals und ebenso ausgewogen in die Mündung über. Der niedrige, streng zylindrische Fußring trägt in der Mitte eine vertiefte Rille und hat nur leicht abgerundete Ecken. Erst bei der spätesten

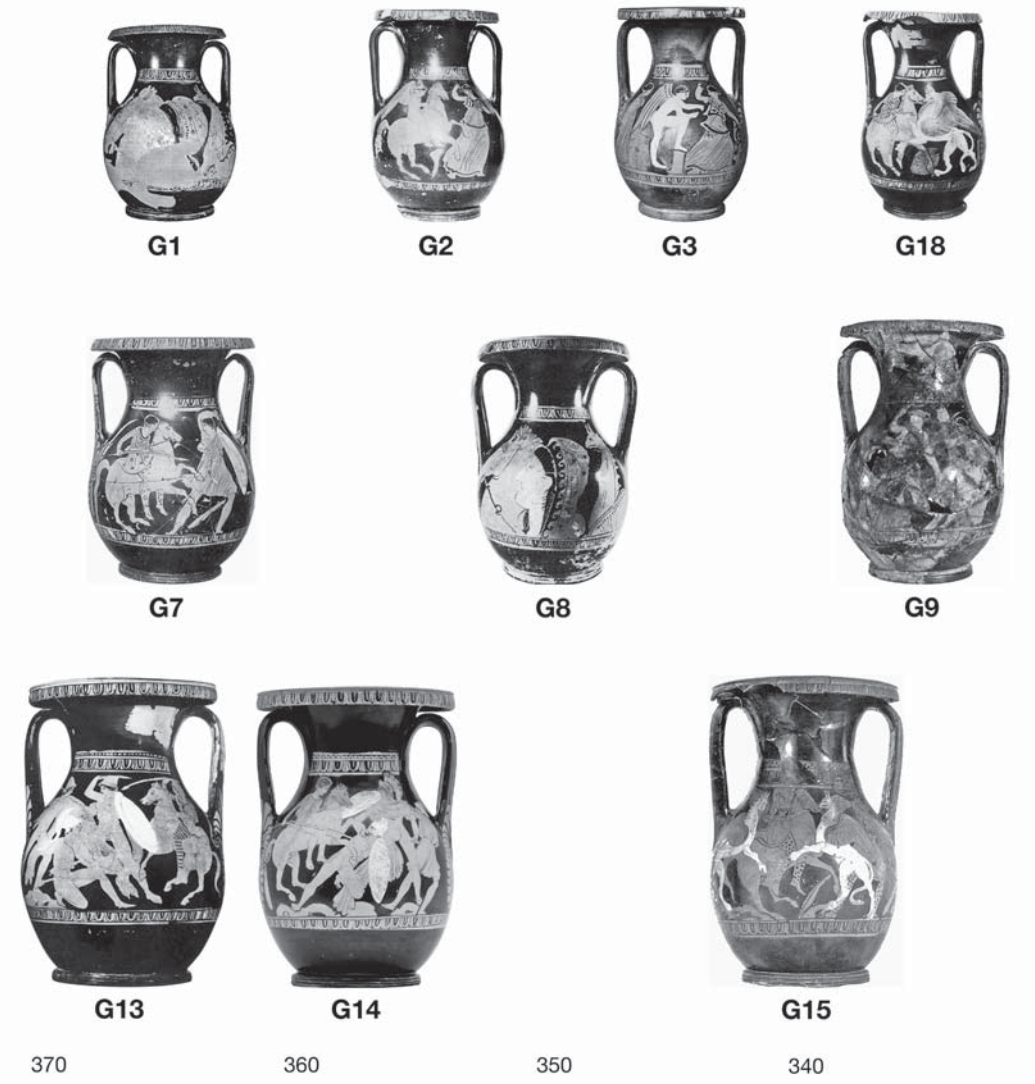


Abb. 24a. Formentwicklung attisch rotfiguriger Peliken der Gruppe-G im Kleinformat, Mittelformat und Großformat (Seite A, Maßstab 1:6).

Pelike **G6** ist der Fuß getreppt. Bei allen ist der Fuß ist in einer kleinen Rundung vom Körper abgesetzt. Der gleichmäßig eingezogene Hals endet kelchförmig in einer gerundeten Mündung mit abgeflachtem Mündungsrand und schräg abgestellter Lippe. Die Henkel sind im Schnitt bohnenförmig bis abgeflacht dreieckig und nehmen sowohl in der Form als auch in ihrem Ansatz am Körper den Körperschwung auf.

Im Verlauf verbreitert sich bei den kleinen Peliken der Gruppe-G die Mündung, und der Abstand zwischen Lippe und Henkeln wird zunehmend kleiner, bis die Mündung ganz auf den Henkeln aufliegt. Bei der spätesten Pelike **G6** überragt dann die Mündung die Henkel dachartig. Der Schwerpunkt des Gefäßes wandert nach unten, wie am Vergleich der Profillinien gut zu erkennen ist, wodurch Hals und Henkel der Peliken zunehmend länger werden. Diesen Tendenzen folgend entsteht im letzten Viertel des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. mit **G5** und vor allem **G6** eine kugelige Flasche mit langem Hals und breit abgeflachter Mündung, die man als Weiterentwicklung der spätklassischen Form ansehen könnte.[106]

Peliken mittlerer Größe (*Abb. 22, 24* Mitte), deren Höhe von durchschnittlich 25 cm bis zu 28

Abb. 24b. Formentwicklung attisch rotfiguriger Peliken der Gruppe-G im Kleinformat, Mittelformat und Großformat (Seite A, Maßstab 1:6).

cm am Ende ihrer Entwicklung reicht, weisen einen bikonischen Hals und ein gespannteres Körperprofil auf. Die Henkel beschreiben im Schnitt ein langgezogenes Dreieck mit abgerundeten Ecken. Der Fuß besitzt häufiger zwei umlaufende Rillen, wodurch er gelegentlich leicht abgetreppt geformt ist. Bei einer Höhe von 30 bis 32 cm haben die größeren Peliken (*Abb. 23, 24* unten) im Umriss ein gestreckteres Profil als das trichterförmige Mittelformat und eine horizontal flach ausgezogene Mündung.[107] Vom Klein- und Mittelformat unterscheidet sich zudem das Randprofil der Lippe, die erst in der zweiten Jahrhunderthälfte schräg abgeknickt ist, durch eine Rille im oberen Drittel. Die breiten Henkel sind im Schnitt längsoval mit einer deutlichen Ausbuchtung an der Außenseite. Die Entwicklung der mittelgroßen und großen Gefäße verläuft ebenfalls von bauchigen zu immer schlankeren Gefäßen mit langem Hals und vorkragender Lippe, die sich wie ein Dach über die Henkel legt. Die hier veranschaulichte allgemeine Formentwicklung gilt aber in stärkerem Maße für die unambitionierte Standardware, die für Moden offener ist, als für exzeptionelle Spitzenstücke.

Setzt man eine gleichmäßige Entwicklung vor-

aus, so entsprechen die Abstände zwischen den Profillinien in Abbildung 21 bis 23 auch entsprechenden Zeitabschnitten. Die darauf basierende, letztlich geringe formale Bandbreite in etwa zeitgleicher Gefäße lässt sich auch an den paarweise als Set ins Grab gegebenen Peliken ablesen.[108] Für die Anbindung der Reihen an Jahreszahlen stehen einige Fixpunkte zur Verfügung: In Kertsch fand man in einer Bestattung an der Bulganakskaja Ulica[109] neben einer Pelike[110] eine frühe bosporanische Bronzemünze, die eine Datierung der Pelike in die sechziger Jahre stützt. In demselben Zeitraum wurde daher wohl auch die formgleiche Pelike **G7** getöpfert. Auch die in Olynth gefundenen Peliken gehören mehrheitlich in das zweite Jahrhundertviertel.[111] Durch einen Formvergleich lässt sich **G14** um 360 v. Chr. datieren, während **G15** bereits etwas fortschrittlicher als die jüngsten Peliken aus Olynth erscheint.[112] Im mittleren Format steht **G8** den spätesten Olynther Stücken nahe.[113] Für letztere ist folglich eine Datierung um die Jahrhundertmitte wahrscheinlich. Die Pelike Chania Π 5399 aus Kisamos[114] dürfte um 330/320 v.Chr. entstanden sein. Ein mitgefundener Obol aus Polyrrhenia, der aus historischen Gründen ins Jahrzehnt 330-320 v.Chr. datiert wird, bildet einen *terminus post quem* für die Bestattung.[115] Die formgleiche Pelike **G10** gehört daher ebenfalls in die 320er Jahre. Etwas früher ist die Pelike **G4** aus Vergina anzusetzen, die sich in einem Grab mit einer Bronzemünze Philipps II. von 336 v.Chr. befand.[116] Viele Peliken der Gruppe-G wurden in den Gräbern Pantikapaions gefunden, von denen einige durch Münzfunde chronologisch grob eingeordnet werden können.[117] Auch wenn sowohl die Reihe der bosporanischen Prägungen als auch ihre Laufzeit im Einzelnen umstritten ist, liefern diese Kontexte zumindest Belege für die Beigabe attisch rotfiguriger Peliken noch im letzten Jahrhundertviertel, aber nicht mehr darüber hinaus.[118]

Unter Berücksichtigung der genannten chronologisch fixierbaren Peliken ergibt sich daher folgende Reihung:

	370	360	350	340	330	320	310 v.Chr.
klein	**G1**	**G2**	**G3**		**G4**	**G5**	**G6**
mittel	**G7**		**G8**	**G9**	**G10**	**G11**	**G12**
groß	**G13**	**G14**		**G15**		**G16**	**G17**

Die Gruppe-G erweist sich damit als eine Werkstatt von ungewöhnlich langer Lebensdauer, was auch eine Erklärung für die große Zahl an Gefäßen bietet, die man der Gruppe zuschreiben kann. Die ersten Peliken der Gruppe-G dürften im Jahrzehnt 370-360 v.Chr. getöpfert worden sein. Zwei Peliken aus Spina gehören zu den frühesten Gefäßen der Werkstatt und sind vielleicht noch etwas älter als die hier in Profilzeichnungen vorgelegten Peliken.[119] Nach 320 v.Chr. wurde noch eine große Zahl an Gefäßen hergestellt, so dass für das Ende der Werkstatt wie für die rotfigurige Gefäßproduktion Athens überhaupt das letzte Jahrzehnt des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. am wahrscheinlichsten ist.[120]

Die Peliken anderer Werkstätten

Der Formenreihe in Abbildung 21 bis 23 lassen sich auch die Peliken anderer Werkstätten leicht zuordnen.[121] So erweist sich zum Beispiel eine Pelike des Malers von München 2365 in Malibu (*Abb. 27*),[122] reiht man sie in das Schema Abbildung 23 ein, als etwa 20 Jahre älter als **G13**. Denn ihr Bauch hat bei vergleichbarer Kurvung einen entsprechend größeren Durchmesser. Lediglich Mündung und Hals sind noch relativ schlank. Dadurch wirkt der Körper etwas kugeliger, eine Entwicklung, die bei den Peliken der Jahrhundertwende ihren Ausgang nimmt. Im Gegensatz zu diesen war man hier aber bemüht, den Fuß nicht als separaten Standring erscheinen zu lassen, sondern ihn in eine organische Gefäßkontur einzubeziehen, indem man den Körper auf dem verbreiterten Fuß ruhen lässt. Dies führt im ersten Viertel des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. zu zwei Varianten: während einige Gefäße die kugelig bauchige Form nur leicht abmildern und den Körper wie einen Sack auf einen Fußring mit geringem Durchmesser aufsetzen,[123] setzt bei anderen Peliken der Zeit der Körper recht abrupt an der Standplatte an und erhebt sich in einer gestrafften Konturlinie, die an ein Fass erinnert.[124]

Um 370/360 v.Chr. münden beide Varianten in die dann kanonische Form mit ausgeglichener Konturlinie, die Fuß, Körper und Hals in einem einheitlichen Schwung ineinander übergehen lässt. Dies lässt der Vergleich in etwa zeitgleicher Gefäße aus verschiedenen Werkstätten deutlich werden (*Abb. 28*). Unterschiede zwischen den Werkstätten zeigen sich lediglich in der individuelleren Ausgestaltung von Fuß, Henkel und Lippe. So können die Henkel verschieden dick oder breit sein, die Füße unterschiedlich hoch aufragen, und die Lippe mal kantig, mal breit oder

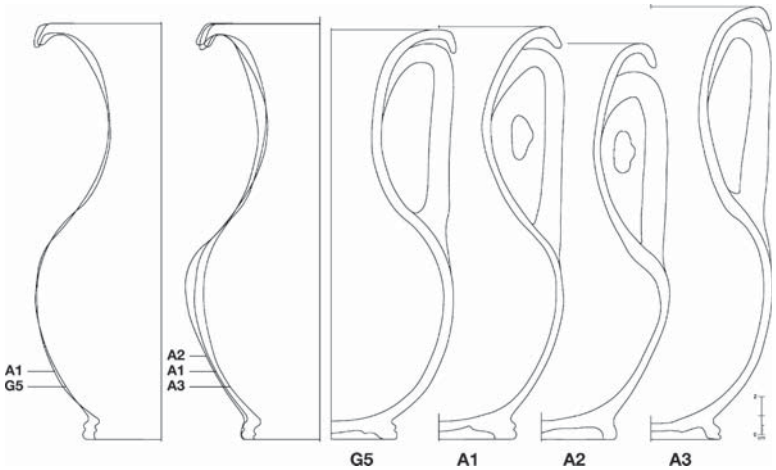


Abb. 25. Profilvergleich kleinformatiger Peliken der Amazonen-Werkstatt (rechts im Maßstab 1:4).

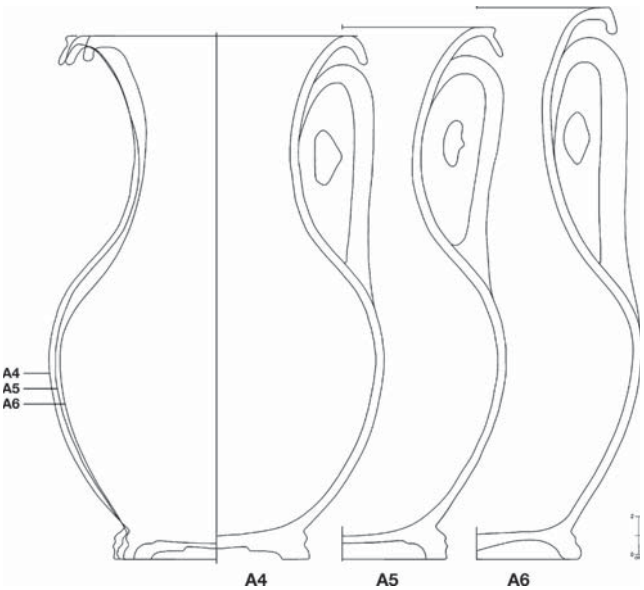


Abb. 26. Profilvergleich mittelformatiger Peliken der Amazonen-Werkstatt (rechts im Maßstab 1:4).

wie beim Schwarzer Thyrsos Maler (**ST10**) schmal und herabhängend gebildet sein. Diese im Detail recht unterschiedliche Gestaltung verleiht den Gefäßen ein sehr eigenes, deutlich unterscheidbares Äußeres, wodurch sich die Werkstätten merklich voneinander absetzen konnten. Bezeichnenderweise ist aber der Körperschwung werkstattübergreifend vom allgemeinen Formempfinden der Zeit abhängig, trotz der erkennbaren Versuche einzelner Werkstätten, sich mit unverwechselbaren Produkten auf dem Markt zu behaupten.

In der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. ist neben der Gruppe-G und der Töpfer im Umfeld des Marsyas-Malers die Werkstatt des Amazonen-Malers der bedeutendste Produzent rotfiguriger Peliken. Auch unter diesen lassen sich mehrere Formate unterscheiden. Am häufigsten sind kleine, etwa 22–24 cm hohe Peliken, dann mittelgroße Exemplare mit einer Höhe von ca. 28 cm und einige übergroße Prachtpeliken.[125] Diese folgen ebenfalls einer gradlinigen Entwicklung, die sich wiederum durch Vergleich der Profilzeichnungen gut nachvollziehen lässt (*Abb. 25-26*).

Im 3. Jahrhundert v.Chr. übernahm die neu entwickelte Form der West-Slope-Amphora die Funktionen der Pelike.[126] Die spätesten Peliken des Amazonen-Malers[127] lassen sich (wie einige frühhellenistische Amphoren und Kannen) als Bindeglied zwischen den gerundeten Körpern der Peliken und den gestauchten Kleinamphoren mit abgesetzter Schulter verstehen. Sie bilden die späteste Gruppe rotfigurig dekorierter Keramik aus Athen und dürften wohl ans Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. zu datieren sein.[128] In der Werk-

statt des Amazonen-Malers hatte man zuvor eine gestreckte Sonderform auf den Markt gebracht, die sich von den Peliken der Gruppe-G durch ihren rautenförmigen Körper unterscheidet (z.B. **A2** und **A6**).[129] Sie gehört sicher ins letzte Viertel des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr., wobei jedoch unklar ist, ob sie gleichzeitig mit der kugeligen Standardform produziert worden ist oder auf diese folgt. Da sich jedoch die Sonderform als frühhellenistische Weiterentwicklung der spätklassischen Standardform der Werkstatt verstehen lässt,[130] die einen ebenfalls recht schlanken Körper mit flachen Konturen aufweist (*Abb. 26*), ist es wahrscheinlich, dass in der Werkstatt des Amazonen-Malers die eine Form auf die andere folgte. Die spätesten Peliken der Gruppe-G werden indes zunehmend bauchiger mit einem kugelförmigem Körper. Setzt man **G5** zeitgleich mit **A1** an (*Abb. 25*), so ist damit der Zeitpunkt definiert, ab dem für beide Werkstätten getrennte Entwicklungslinien verfolgt werden müssen. Und wahrscheinlich endete die Produktion beider Werkstätten in etwa zur selben Zeit, wohl noch vor dem Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. Dasselbe gilt auch für Peliken aus anderen Werkstätten des letzten Jahrhundertdrittels (*Abb. 29*). Ihre ungefähre Datierung ergibt sich aus dem Vergleich mit den in etwa formatgleichen Peliken der Gruppe-G, wobei besonders am Körperschwung im Übergang vom Bauch zum Hals deutlich wird, dass jene zeitlich zwischen **G15** und **G16** (auf *Abb. 29* fett hervorgehoben) anzusetzen sind. Wiederum sind bei einem ähnlichen Körperschwung sehr verschiedene Gestaltungsformen erkennbar, die womöglich in absichtlicher Abgrenzung von den anderen Werkstätten den besonderen Charakter der jeweiligen Produkte betonen sollten.

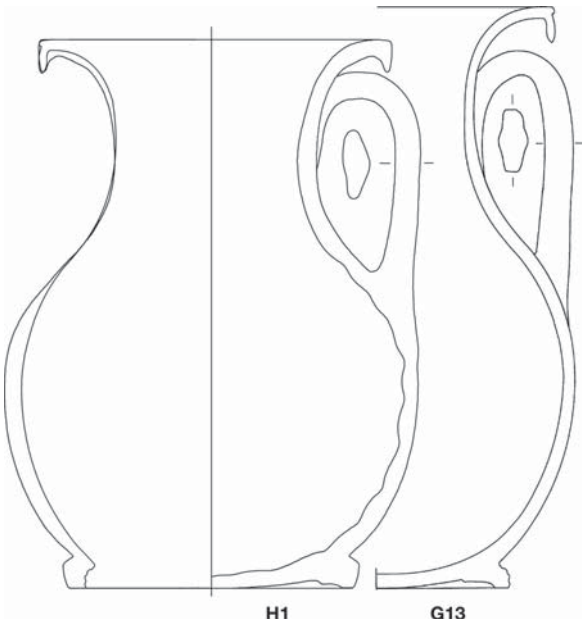


Abb. 27. Profilvergleich einer Pelike vom Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. mit einer frühen Pelike der Gruppe-G (rechts im Maßstab 1:4).

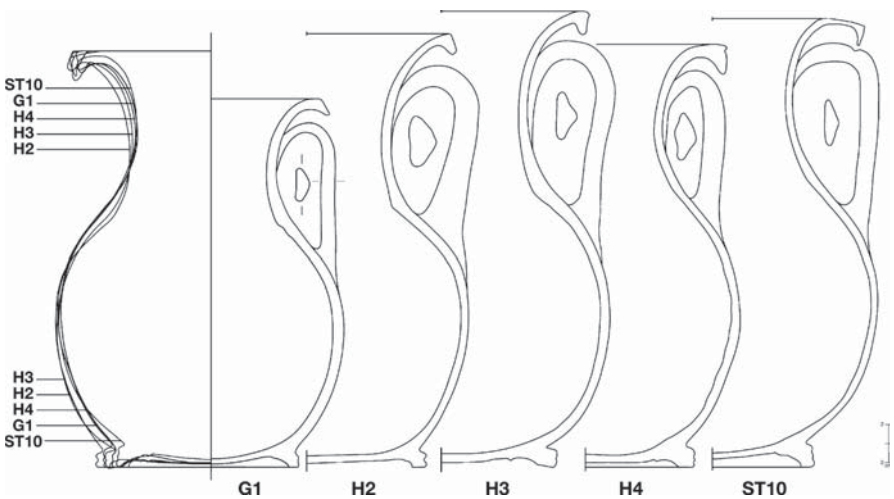


Abb. 28. Profilvergleich einer frühen Pelike der Gruppe-G mit Peliken anderer Werkstätten der Zeit um 380–360 v.Chr. (rechts im Maßstab 1:4).

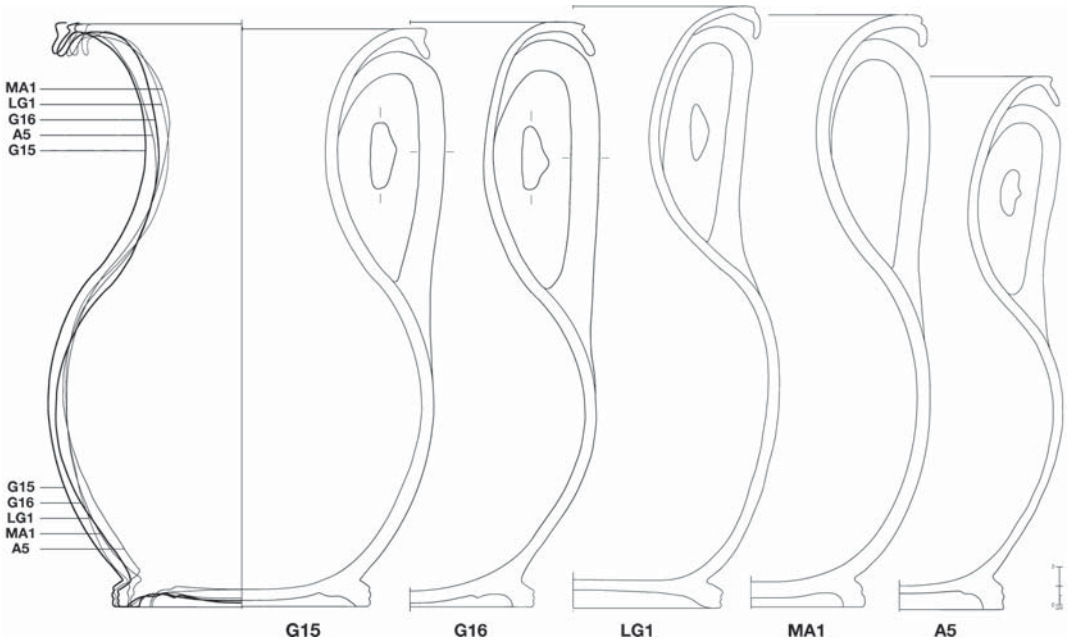


Abb. 29. Profilvergleich von Peliken verschiedener Werkstätten (rechts im Maßstab 1:4).

Zeitstil, Werkstattstil und Individualstil

Durch den Vergleich der Profilzeichnungen wurde zum einen bei gleichzeitigen Gefäßen wie den Preisamphoren des Jahres 363/362 v.Chr. (*Abb. 7*) oder den Glockenkrateren des Töpfers A der Plainer Group (*Abb. 12*) ein hohes Maß an Gleichförmigkeit und Präzision deutlich. Lediglich bei den separat angesetzten Henkeln waren größere Schwankungen erkennbar. Bedeutendere Unterschiede sind daher eher als Ergebnis einer zeitlichen Entwicklung denn als schöpferische Bandbreite einzelner Töpfer zu interpretieren. Die Möglichkeiten individueller Gestaltung erwiesen sich als äußerst gering. Ungefähr gleichzeitige Glockenkratere verschiedener Töpfer und Werkstätten (*Abb. 15*) zeigten lediglich bei den Mündungs- und Fußprofilen Variationen, waren ansonsten aber im Gefäßumriß sehr ähnlich. Ein ausgeprägter persönlicher Stil ist überdies aber auch nicht zu erwarten. Denn einerseits sind in Athen klassischer Zeit die verschiedenen Gefäßtypen bis ins Detail festgelegt und werden in dieser Form über Jahrzehnte hergestellt. Besonders auffällig wird diese Einheitlichkeit im Vergleich mit Gefäßtypen aus unteritalischen Werkstätten.[131] Andererseits ist innerhalb der Werkstätten ein besonderes Interesse an Normierung der Detailformen festzustellen, die vielleicht den Produkten einer Werkstatt eine höhere Erkennbarkeit verleihen und dem Markenartikel somit als Ausdruck einer bestimmten Qualität einen besseren Absatz ermöglichen sollten. Die Zugehörigkeit zu einer bestimmten Werkstatt wurde auch durch eine charakteristische Ornamentierung vor allem im Bereich unterhalb der Henkel verdeutlicht, weshalb die Werkstattzuweisungen auf Basis der Henkelornamente einen gewissen Erfolg versprechen.[132]

Daraus folgt, dass die Gefäßform nicht das Ergebnis einer individuell freien Schöpfung darstellt, sondern gegebenen Formen verpflichtet ist und sich damit grundsätzlich zur chronologischen Reihenbildung eignet. An den Glockenkrateren einer lange tätigen Werkstatt (*Abb. 16-18*) ließ sich zudem verdeutlichen, wie stark einerseits die Werkstätten an traditionellen Einzelformen der Fuß- und Mündungsgestaltung festhielten, die Gesamterscheinung des Gefäßes jedoch ständig am Zeitgeschmack ausrichteten. Durch die lineare Entwicklungsreihe der fest datierten Preisamphoren ist zudem ein tragfähiges Gerüst gegeben, an das sich die Entwicklungsreihen anderer Gefäßformen anschließen lassen.[133]

Diese Methode sei im Folgenden exemplarisch an der Formentwicklung der Hydrien vorgeführt.

Die Formentwicklung der Hydrien

Die Entwicklung der Hydria lässt sich für das 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr. an einer dichten Reihe gut

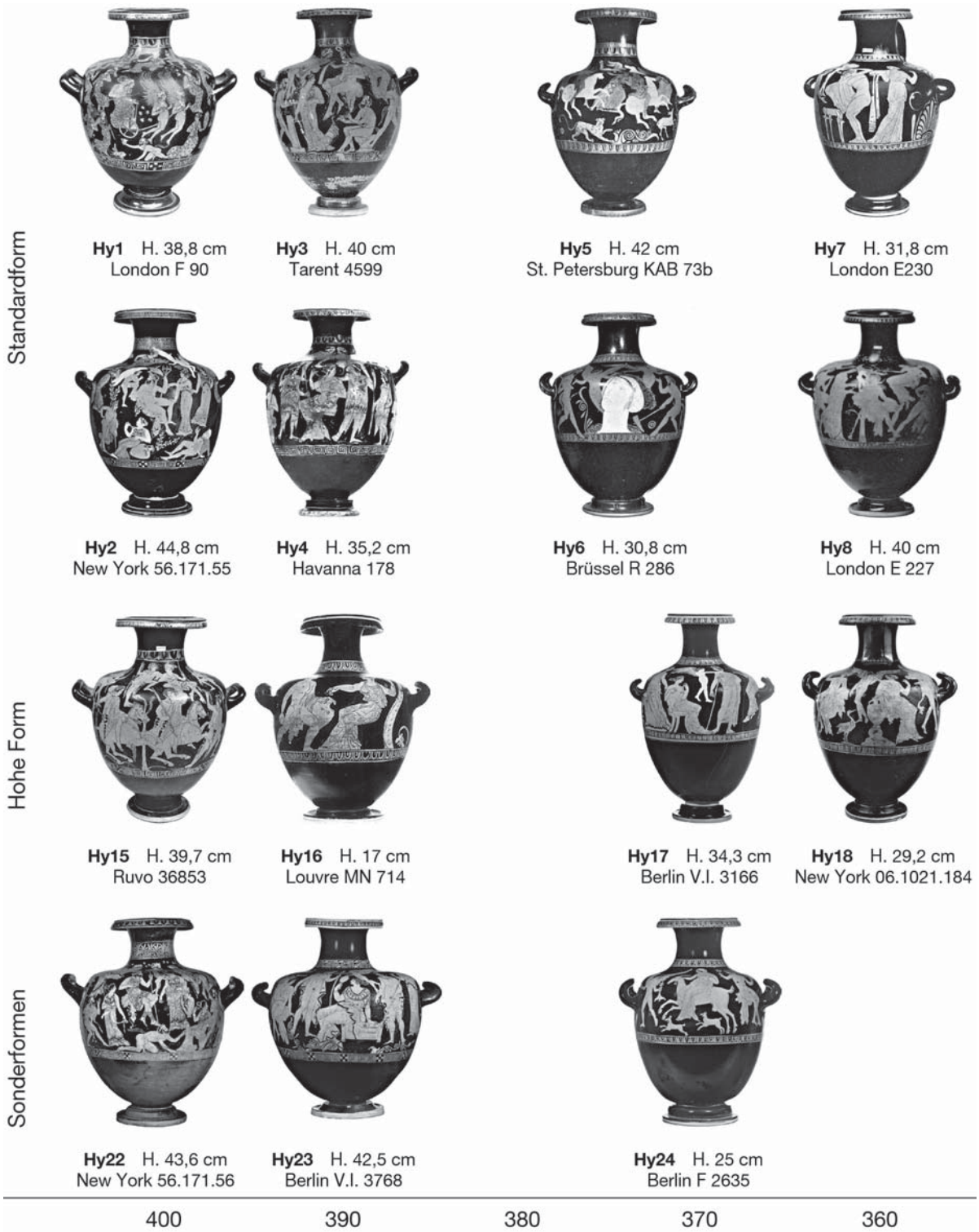


Abb. 30a. Formentwicklung attisch rotfiguriger Hydrien im 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr.

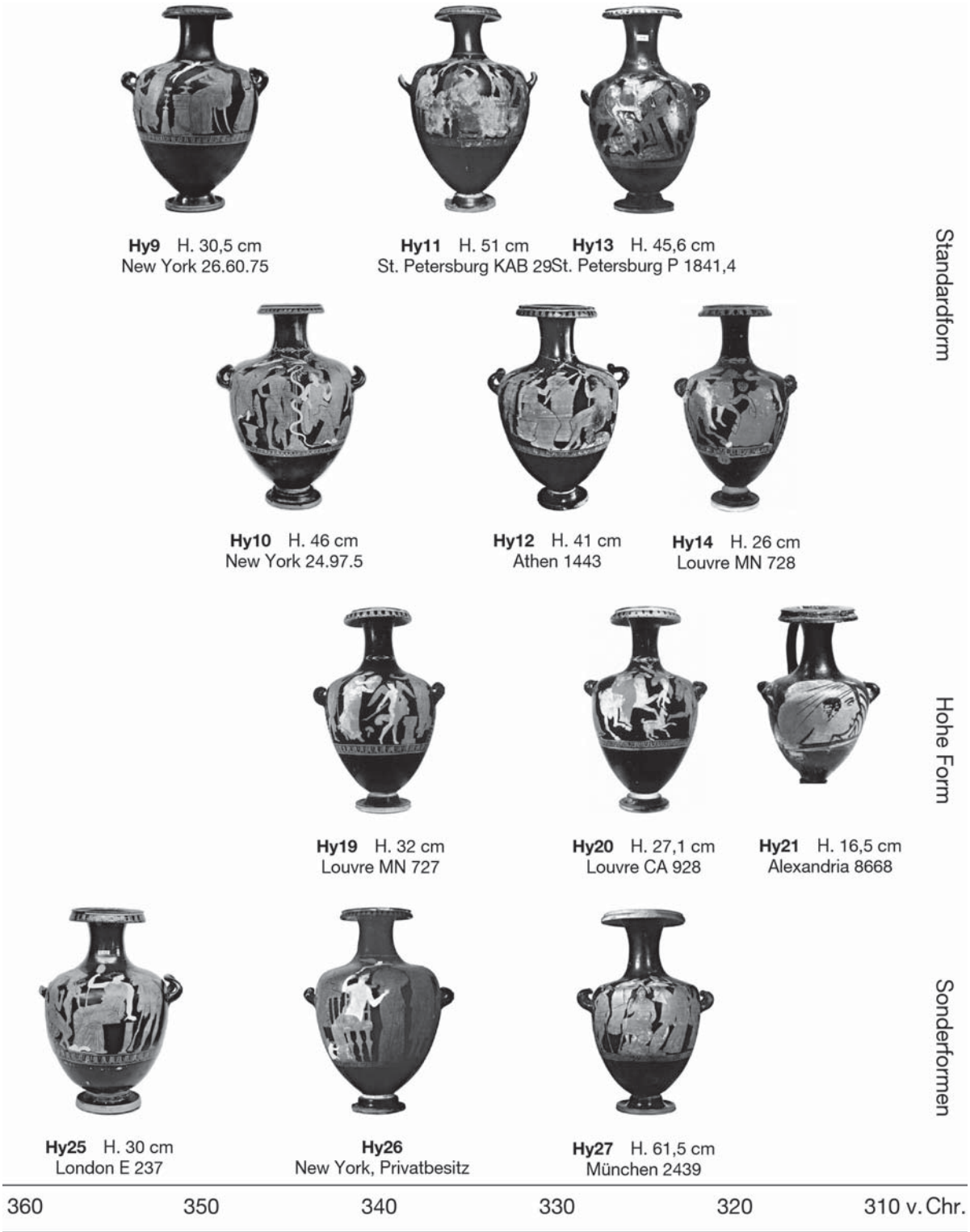


Abb. 30b. Formentwicklung attisch rotfiguriger Hydrien im 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr.

erhaltener Exemplare verfolgen (*Abb. 30*), die in ähnlicher Weise bereits Karl Schefold zusammengestellt hat,[134] und in sieben Stilphasen unterteilen. Diese lassen sich gut mit der Formentwicklung der Preisamphoren parallelisieren. Außerdem existiert mit der Gründung Alexandrias 332/331 v.Chr. ein zusätzlicher Fixpunkt, der für die in den dortigen Nekropolen von Schatbi und Hadra gefundenen Hydrien einen *terminus post quem* darstellt. Insgesamt ist an den Hydrien die Entwicklungslinie noch deutlicher abzulesen als an der standardisierten Form der Preisamphora.

Das Wassergefäß mit seinen beiden Querhenkeln zum Tragen und einem Vertikalhenkel zum Ausgießen ist im späteren 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr. nur noch in Form der Kalpis vertreten, deren Kontur vom Fuß zur Mündung in einer fortlaufenden Kurve verläuft.[135] Ihre Schulter ist relativ flach und die seitlichen Henkel biegen sich leicht gewellt nach oben. Der Vertikalhenkel erhebt sich von der Schulter mit einem leichten Schwung etwa bis zur Mündung und biegt dann in einer großen Kurve nach unten um, wo er am Hals angesetzt ist.[136]

Wie bei den Glockenkrateren, wo bauchige und hohe Formvarianten parallel nebeneinander existieren, kommen auch bei den Hydrien neben der Standardform gelegentlich gestauchte Gefäße und Sonderformen vor. Deshalb darf zur Datierung das Verhältnis Höhe zu Breite nicht zum wichtigsten Kriterium gemacht werden. Vielmehr ist der Grad der Gespanntheit des Gefäßprofils am Übergang von Fuß zu Körper, beim Anschwellen des Körpers, die Gestaltung der Schulter und die Gestrecktheit des Halses relevant.[137]

Auch bei den Hydrien dürfen wir eine lineare Entwicklung erwarten. Aus methodischen Gründen soll hier aber die Entwicklung in Stufen oder Stilphasen untergliedert werden, um so die Formreihe an bestimmten Wendepunkten der Entwicklung mit der Reihe der Preisamphoren verknüpfen und chronologisch fixieren zu können.

Einige Grabkontexte enthalten zwei oder mehr Gefäße der selben Form, die etwa zeitgleich entstanden sein dürften. Dieser Schluss ist zwar nicht zwingend, denn bei einem der Gefäße könnte es sich auch um ein älteres 'Erbstück' aus dem Besitz des Verstorbenen handeln. Doch scheinen die stilistischen Unterschiede bei den im Folgenden aufgeführten Stücken nicht groß genug, um einen zeitlichen Abstand zwischen den gemeinsam gefundenen Gefäßen zu konstatieren. Eine Zusammenstellung dieser Befunde könnte helfen, das Spektrum gleichzeitiger Formdetails wie z.B. verschiedener Fuß- und Mündungsprofile zu verdeutlichen. Die Korrelation in einem Grab vergesellschafteter Gefäße verschiedener Form ist außerdem hilfreich, um die auf stilistischer Grundlage ermittelte Formentwicklung der einzelnen Gefäßformen miteinander verknüpfen zu können. Die Reihen der Oinochoai, Lekythoi, Pyxiden, Lekaniden, Skyphoi und Kylikes lassen sich so durch vergesellschaftete Hydrien, Peliken oder Kratere an die chronologisch besser abgesicherten Reihen anbinden.[138]

Meidias und Kadmos-Maler

Die Hydrien des Meidias sind wohl in der Zeit zwischen 425 und 400 v.Chr. entstanden. Dafür spricht, dass Vasen des Reichen Stils in den 426/425 v.Chr. umgebetteten Gräbern auf der Insel Rheneia fehlen.[139]

Die frühen Hydrien in Florenz[140] unterscheiden sich in Form und Bemalung deutlich von der Leukippiden-Hydria in London.[141] Letztere weist einen engeren Hals und etwas flachere Schultern auf. Ihre Henkel sind dünner und stärker gebogen. Der Schwerpunkt des Körpers liegt weiter unten, wobei dieser in einem deutlichen Stiel endet. Die Figuren sind in zwei Bildfeldern angeordnet und ihre Gewänder sind nicht mehr in dichter paralleler Schraffur gebildet, sondern häufig aus einer Vielzahl kleinerer stark gekurvter Falten. Dieser Faltenstil findet seine Parallele in den Gewändern der Nikeballustrade, weshalb die Leukippiden-Hydria in die Jahre 410 bis 400 v.Chr. datiert werden sollte. Zwischen beiden ist die namengebende Hydria des Kadmos-Malers anzusetzen.[142]

Viele kleinere Hydrien des letzten Jahrhundertviertels stehen noch in klassischer Formtradition. Die schweren Formen zum Beispiel der Hydrien aus der Werkstatt des Schuwalow-Malers und des Frauenbad-Malers, die von Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter zwischen 430 und 420 datiert werden,[143] finden sich noch bei den etwas schlankeren Gefäßen des Camarina-Malers, des Malers von Ferrara T 28[144] und dann auch des Stier-Malers.[145]

Stilphase A (um 400 v.Chr.)

Die an der Wende zum 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr. entstandenen Hydrien stehen noch in der Tradition des Meidias und zeichnen sich daher durch eine eher kugelige Körperform aus, die nun aber gleichmäßiger gespannt ist. Von ihren Vorgängern unterscheiden sie sich durch einen deutlicher vom Fuß abgesetzten Unterkörper und eine stärker nach oben eingezogene Schulter, wodurch die Henkel stärker vom Körper abzustehen scheinen. Große auf mehreren Ebenen verteilte Figuren bevölkern

nun nahezu den gesamten Gefäßkörper bis hoch zum Hals.

Die Werkstattanalysen von Francesca Curti und Kleopatra Kathariou ergaben unabhängig voneinander für unsere Stilphase A einen Zeitansatz um 400 v.Chr.[146] Und die kleine Hydria aus dem sog. Grab der polychromen Vasen in Sennoi bei Phanagoreia[147] war mit einer Chus vergesellschaftet,[148] die auf der Stilstufe der außerstilistisch datierten Dexileos-Kannen steht.[149]

Stilphase B (um 390 v.Chr.)

Die für Stilphase A beschriebenen Tendenzen setzen die Hydrien der Stilphase B fort.[150] Der Schwerpunkt des Gefäßes wandert noch weiter nach unten. Der Gefäßkörper ist nun aber noch schlanker und ersetzt damit die kugelige Form des 5. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. endgültig durch einen im Querschnitt ovalen Körper. Dieser Entwicklung entspricht der langgezogene, stärker nach oben ausschwingende Hals und bei manchen Exemplaren auch der höhere Fuß mit seinem breiteren Torus. Die Figuren sind nun noch größer und weniger ineinander verschachtelt. Dieser Stilphase gehört auch die Hydria **Hy4** der Werkstatt des Meleager-Malers an. Sie muss mit Kathariou in die Zeit um 390 v.Chr. datiert werden.[151]

Stilphase C (etwa 380 bis 370/360 v.Chr.)

Von den spätesten reifklassischen Formen lässt sich eine neue Gefäßgestaltung klar absetzen, die Ober- und Unterkörper in ein neues Gleichgewicht setzt.

Die Schulter wird dabei schmaler, zu Hals und Körper gerundet und weniger betont. Diese Geschlossenheit des Gefäßkörpers wird auch dadurch erreicht, dass der Unterkörper vom Fuß deutlicher abgesetzt nicht mehr so steil ansteigt, sondern bisweilen im Gleichgewicht zur Schulter geradezu sackartig breit in Richtung Fuß lastet, was durch ein ungewohnt hoch endendes Bildfeld noch verstärkt wird.[152] Diesem Schwung entspricht ein breit geschwungenes Fußprofil. Die Henkel werden dünner und stärker eingezogen. Damit korrespondiert häufig ein schräg abgestelltes, tiefer unterschnittenes Lippenprofil, das zur Mündung hin nur eine kleine Kehlung aufweist.

Dasselbe Formverständnis ist auch an den Panathenäischen Preisamphoren der 70er und 60er Jahre zu erkennen. Die beschriebene Kompaktheit des Gefäßkörpers ist bei der Oxforder Amphora des Jahrgangs 373/372 v.Chr. mit ihrer schwachen Krümmung der Körpermitte bereits verwirklicht und im Jahrgang 367/366 v.Chr. voll umgesetzt. Preisamphoren der 80er und frühen 70er Jahre sind leider nicht gesichert, so dass der Beginn unserer Stilstufe vage bleibt.[153] Die nächste Stilstufe nehmen bereits die Amphoren des Jahres 363/362 v.Chr. ein, so dass wir die neue Form wohl etwa zwischen 380 und 365, ihren Höhepunkt um 370 v.Chr. ansetzen können.[154]

Stilphase D (370/360-350 v.Chr.)

In der Stilphase D ist der Unterkörper der Hydrien gestreckter, erhebt sich in einer deutlichen Spannung vom Fuß und verbreitert sich in einer flachen Kurve zur Körpermitte.[155] Entsprechend wird nun das Bildfeld nach unten vergrößert. Das Ornamentband als oberer Abschluss wird immer häufiger aufgegeben und besteht nach der Jahrhundertmitte nur noch aus eine Punktreihe oder einem dünnen Zweig. Die Schulter kann noch wie in Stilphase C gerundet oder schon stärker abgesetzt gebildet sein. Die seitlichen Henkel sind jetzt immer stark eingezogen.

Die zeitliche Abgrenzung zur Stilphase C wurde oben bereits begründet. Es sei noch erwähnt, dass die in Olynth gefundenen Hydrien den Stilphasen C und D angehören.[156]

Stilphase E (um 350/340 v.Chr.)

Die Körperform der Hydrien der fünften Stilphase nähert sich im Querschnitt einem Dreieck, weil die Schulter nun flacher und breiter angelegt ist und sich der Unterkörper in einer verstärkten Streckung deutlich vom Fuß erhebt, der häufiger mit einer tongrundigen Kehlung abgesetzt ist.[157] Die hohen Gefäße weisen nun bereits einen sehr schmalen, langen Hals unter einer breiten Mündung mit tief heruntergezogener Lippe auf; eine Tendenz, die für die zweite Jahrhunderthälfte zunehmend typisch wird. Hier wird die seit dem reichen Stil übliche Vorstellung, die einzelnen Elemente als florale Naturformen aufzufassen, besonders deutlich umgesetzt. Die seitlichen Henkel ähneln wuchernden Rankenstengeln und die Lippe gleicht einem aufgeblühten Blumenkelch, was durch das blätterartige Zungenmuster noch verstärkt wird.

Die zeitliche Stellung dieser Stilphase kann nur aus ihrer Position zwischen Stilphase D und F definiert werden, da Preisamphoren der Zeit fehlen.

Stilphase F (340-330/320 v.Chr.)

Die Hydrien der Stilphase F setzen die Tendenzen zu schlanken Gefäßen mit spitzem Unterkörper fort, und der Körper gleicht nun stärker einem auf die Spitze gestellten Ei, wobei die Schulter noch deutlich vom Körper abgesetzt wird.[158] Der langgezogene Hals strebt in einem noch deutlicheren Schwung von der Schulter zur weit ausladenden Mündung.

Zu dieser Stilphase gehört auch die Münchener Hydria **Hy27** aus Alexandria, die aus einem Grab der erst 332/331 v.Chr. gegründeten Stadt stammt. Sie stellt stilistisch eine der ältesten Hydrien aus Alexandria dar.[159] Die ovoide Form mit abgesetzter Schulter findet ihre Entsprechung in den Preisamphoren der Jahre 333/332 und 328/327 v. Chr. Die Eiform der Preisamphora Louvre MN 704 (*Abb. 6g*) des Jahres 323/322 v.Chr. steht indes bereits auf der Stufe unserer Stilphase G.

Stilphase G (330/320-310 v.Chr.)

Die spätesten attisch rotfigurigen Hydrien entsprechen in ihrer Eiform ohne betont abgesetzte Schulter sowohl den Glanzton-Hydrien aus der Nekropole von Alexandria Schatbi als auch den letzten datierten Preisamphoren von 323/322 und 312/311 v.Chr.[160] Daneben existieren noch Miniaturhydrien auf sehr hohem Fuß (**Hy21**), die sich vielleicht als prononcierte Nachfolger der Stilphase F verstehen lassen und wohl ebenfalls ins letzte Jahrhundertviertel gehören dürften. Die Produktion attisch rotfiguriger Hydrien endet etwa um 320/310 v. Chr. Zu den jüngsten vollständig erhaltenen Stücken zählen neben den kleinformatigen Gefäßen des Malers von Bonn 835 (z.B. **Hy21**)[161] die späten Hydrien der Gruppe-G (z.B. **Hy14**)[162] sowie eine Hydria des Filottrano-Malers aus Alexandria und die polychrome Hydria des Amazonen-Malers aus Amphipolis.[163]

Die Analyse der formalen Entwicklung hat gezeigt, dass sich für die in hohen Stückzahlen überlieferten Gefäße ohne größere Schwierigkeiten Entwicklungsreihen bilden lassen. Eine chronologische Fixierung der einzelnen Entwicklungsstufen ist jedoch nur bei den Preisamphoren und mit ihnen gut vergleichbaren Gefäßformen wie der Hydria zweifelsfrei möglich. Für die Entwicklungsreihen der Kratere und Peliken stehen mit der Zerstörung von Olynth 348 v.Chr. und dem Werkstattfund an der Odos Achilleos in Athen (*Abb. 3*) weitere wichtige Fixpunkte zur Verfügung.

Für die anderen Gefäßformen muss man mit einer Unschärfe von etwa fünf bis zehn Jahren plus oder minus rechnen. Daher hat die Forschung häufig versucht, über den Malstil zu Datierungen zu gelangen, mit zum Teil sehr konträren Ergebnissen.

MALSTIL UND ZEITGESCHMACK

Karl Schefolds Beobachtungen zur Bewegungsweise und Proportionierung der Figuren behalten bis heute im Großen und Ganzen Gültigkeit, auch wenn man die Möglichkeiten, über den Gewandstil datieren zu können, mittlerweile skeptisch beurteilen wird, und daher auch die Bedeutung der Urkundenreliefs für derartige v.a. gattungsübergreifende Vergleiche reduziert wird. Die Anbindung dieser Reihen an absolute Daten wird man modifizieren müssen. Schefold hatte die Schaffenszeit des Jenaer Malers, von dem er vor allem Fragmente kannte, an den Übergang zwischen Reichem Stil und sog. Kertscher Stil gesetzt und in die 370er Jahre datiert.[164] Mittlerweile sind intensive Studien seiner und gleichzeitiger Werkstätten (vor allem des Meleager-Malers) erfolgt, die über Stilvergleiche (zum Beispiel mit der Sparte-Schale *Abb. 2*) aber auch durch Fundkontexte in Spina einen früheren Ansatz wahrscheinlich machen.[165] Daher gehört auch der 'Schlichte Stil' des Jenaer Malers an den Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. Für den 'frühen Kertscher Stil' bedeutet dies eine Frühdatierung in die Zeit etwa zwischen 380 und 360 v.Chr. In dieser Zeit sind aber auch die genannten Werkstätten zum Teil noch aktiv, weshalb man keine deutliche zeitliche Grenze zwischen Beazleys 'Plain Style' und Schefolds 'Kertscher Stil' ziehen darf.[166] Bezeichnenderweise wies Beazley die Berliner Hydria, die Schefold seinem frühkertscher Hippolytos-Malers zuschrieb, überzeugend dem Jenaer Maler zu.[167]

Der Neufund der Panathenäischen Preisamphoren in Eretria veranlasste Panos Valavanis, die Stilentwicklung des 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. erneut zu untersuchen. Die Preisamphoren der Jahre 360/359, 344/343, 341/340 und 340/339 v.Chr. wies er überzeugend dem Marsyas-Maler zu,[168] wodurch sich auch für die Datierung des sog. reifen Kertscher Stils eine um etwa 10 Jahre frühere Datierung in die Zeit um die Jahrhundertmitte ergibt.[169]

Größere Schwierigkeiten, den Zeichenstil zu datieren, ergeben sich aus der Tatsache, dass im Œuvre vieler Maler plastische, tiefenräumliche und detailreiche Zeichnungen und Kompositionen neben schnell gezeichneten und anspruchslosen Bildern stehen. Die traditionellen Erklärungsver-

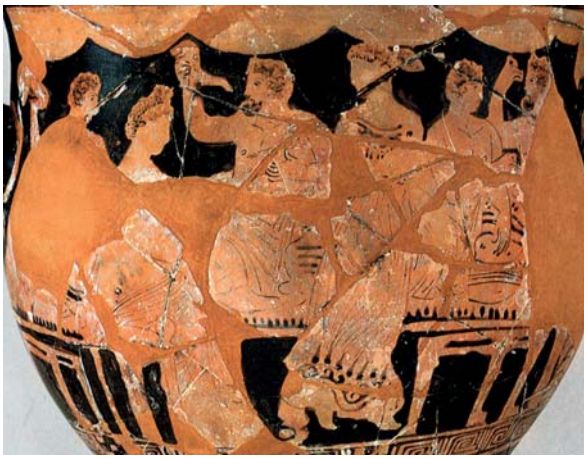


Abb. 31-32. Zwei unterschiedlich detailreich ausgeführte Gelagebilder des Filottrano-Malers (CVA Baltimore, Robinson Coll. (3) Taf. 17,2a; Baldelli/Landolfi/Lollini 1991, 120-121 Nr. 1).

suche, die die schlichteren Bilder zum Früh- oder Spätwerk des Malers deklarieren, können nicht überzeugen, wenn sie nicht mit der Formentwicklung der Gefäße überein gehen. Auf Grundlage der Formentwicklung ergibt sich hingegen häufig ein unorganischer Eindruck vom Werk eines Vasenmalers ohne klare Entwicklungslinien. Derartige Unterschiede in Aufwand und Detailreichtum sind häufig dem Format geschuldet.[170] So nimmt zum Beispiel bei zwei nahezu identischen Gelagebildern des Filottrano-Malers (*Abb. 31-32*)[171] die Ausgestaltung der Frisuren und Faltenbahnen mit der Höhe der Kratere zu, was auf Fotografien häufig nicht genug ins Auge fällt und daher ein verwirrendes Ungleichgewicht an künstlerischer Ausgestaltung produziert. Ein summarischer Stil könnte folglich eher mit der Größe des Bildfeldes zu tun haben als mit der Zeitstellung innerhalb des künstlerischen Œuvres. Mit dem Begriff 'Kertscher Stil' ist jedoch ein elaborierter Prachtdekor gemeint, der anspruchsvolle Bildinhalte in eleganten Linien plastisch schildert und das Gefäß unter Verwendung von Kaltfarbe und Goldauftrag in ein Schmuckstück verwandelt, was keineswegs für das Gros der attischen Produktion typisch ist.[172]

Hinzu kommt, dass gelungene Bilderfindungen über einen längeren Zeitraum ohne größere Änderungen reproduziert werden und entspechende Figurentypen und Bildschemata eher als typisch für bestimmte Werkstätten denn als Ausdruck eines bestimmten zeittypischen Bildinteresses gelten können. Beispielhaft sei das Motiv des Zweikampfes zwischen einer orientalisch gekleideten Person und einem nackten Krieger oder einem Greif herausgegriffen (*Abb. 33-34*), bei dem sich deutlich zeigt, dass über einen längeren Zeitraum nur geringe Veränderungen festzustellen sind. Eine Datierung über den Zeitstil ist daher bei Vasen mit Standarddekor schwierig. Angesichts der großen Zahl an Peliken dieses Motivs lassen sich aber vielleicht doch einige Tendenzen in der Bildgestaltung bestimmen, die die Datierung über die Gefäßform zusätzlich stützen könnten und auch bei Fragmenten eine chronologische Einordnung ermöglichte. Mit der Verschlankerung der Gefäße geht nämlich einher, dass sich die Proportionen des Bildfeldes verändern, indem es zunehmend höher und in der oberen Hälfte auch schmaler wird. Dies hat zur Folge, dass vor allem im oberen Teil die drei Figuren enger zusammenrücken. Der Reiter sitzt nach der Jahrhundertmitte nicht mehr aufrecht auf dem Pferd, sondern vorgebeugt, und die beiden Köpfe von Pferd und Greif rücken näher zusammen, wobei sich der Greifenkopf etwas stärker neigt, um den Zwischenraum über dem Pferdemaul besser ausfüllen zu können. Das Zusammenrücken der Figuren führt gelegentlich dazu, dass die Figuren nicht mehr auf einer Ebene agieren, sondern dass der Greif mit beiden Vorderläufen vor dem Pferd gezeigt wird. In Amazonomachiebildern ändert sich nach der Jahrhundertmitte die Haltung des Griechen, der nun vom Rücken gezeigt wird, wobei sein großer Rundschild, der durch die Drehung des Griechen zwischen die beiden Gegner rückt, den Zwischenraum gut ausfüllt und in weisser Farbe ausgeführt ein leuchtendes Zentrum bildet. Die Beliebtheit dieses Figurentypus erklärt sich zudem aus der tiefenräumlichen Wirkung der stark gedrehten Haltung, womit sich der Körper der Gefäßkontur anpasst. Mit dem weiten Ausschreiten der Figur wird eine aktionsreiche Bewegung darstellt, die dem Bild zusätzliche

G19 Kertsch 9 (um 350 v.Chr.)

G20 Louvre G 553bis (um 340 v.Chr.)

G21 Chania P 3 (um 330/320 v.Chr.)

G22 Okayama, Slg. R.O. (um 320/310 v.Chr.)

G19 H. 26,5 **G20** H. 26,4 **G21** H. 26,7 **G22** H. 28

Abb. 33. Chronologischer Vergleich des Zweikampfmotivs 'Arimasp' gegen Greif.

G7 Jalta KP 862 (um 370/360 v.Chr.)

G23 Chania P 2229 (um 340 v.Chr.)

G24 Odessa 21549 (um 320 v.Chr.)

G25 Voronez 156-GR (um 310 v.Chr.)

G7 H. 24,6 **G23** H. 21,8 **G24** H. 23,7 **G25** H. 21,5

Abb. 34. Chronologischer Vergleich des Zweikampfmotivs 'Amazone' gegen Grieche.

Spannung verleiht. Dabei unterstreicht die flatternde Chlamys die starke Bewegung und füllt zugleich den Freiraum an der rechten Seite und zwischen den Beinen.

Um eine gleichmäßige, fast ornamentale Füllung der Leerräume ist man allgemein bemüht, doch wird der Zwischenraum zunächst mit verschiedenen Ornamenten gefüllt oder es wächst zwischen den beiden Kontrahenten eine Ranke empor (**G19**). Erst nach der Jahrhundertmitte wird in Grypomachiebildern der Gruppe-G die Fläche nur noch durch einen zu Boden fallenden Schild gefüllt, dessen ovale Form dem jeweiligem Freiraum optimal angepasst werden kann. Es ist also auch bei den stereotypen Vasenbildern kleinformatiger Peliken die Grundtendenz zu einer zunehmenden Füllung des Bildfeldes beobachtbar, die erst in der letzten Stilphase (nach 320 v.Chr.) zugunsten einer klarer gegliederten Komposition wieder aufgegeben wird, bei der durch eine Verschlankerung der Figuren und Details wieder größere Zwischenräume entstehen, die zu einer größeren Eigenständigkeit der einzelnen Figuren und zu einer höheren Deutlichkeit führt. Die Figuren erscheinen nun in einer fast statuarischen Loslösung nicht mehr so deutlich aufeinander bezogen. Die auch in anderen Bildgattungen beobachtbare Verschlankerung der Figuren macht sich vor allem in den zunehmend schmaleren Körpern und längeren Beinen bemerkbar.

Während sich also in Komposition und Figurenstil um die Jahrhundertmitte ein deutlicher Einschnitt feststellen lässt, ist der Übergang zum frühhellenistischen Stil erst nach 320 v.Chr. gut zu fassen. Eine genaue zeitliche Einordnung der Vasen muss aber vor allem über die Gefäßform erfolgen.

Fazit

Es konnte gezeigt werden, dass die Töpfer traditioneller und reproduktiver arbeiteten als die Vasenmaler. Daher ist an der Gefäßform sehr viel deutlicher die zeitliche Bindung an bestimmte Moden abzulesen als am Zeichenstil. Glücklicherweise liegt für das 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr. mit den Panathenäischen Preisamphoren eine außerstilistisch datierte Reihe vor, an die sich die Entwicklung anderer Gefäßformen anschließen lässt.[173] Dabei wird deutlich, dass die Veränderungen nicht plötzlich, sondern schleichend verliefen. Man darf die Formentwicklung daher nicht als bewussten und in den Werkstätten diskutierten Wandel verstehen, sondern eher als eine sukzessiv und unterschwellig einfließende Modernisierung in einem allgemein eher traditionell und konservativ geprägten Handwerksmilieu. Selbstverständlich sind die hier abgebildeten Reihen eine archäologische Konstruktion und nur Versuche zur Visualisierung einer idealtypischen Entwicklung. Trotzdem ist an den datierten Preisamphoren die generelle Tendenz zu schlankeren und gezierteren Formen deutlich abzulesen. Man kann dieses Phänomen vielleicht mit dem Feintuning oder den Produktaktualisierungen heutiger Fertigungsreihen vergleichen, wo ebenfalls traditionelle Produkte vorsichtig den Moden angepasst werden, mit dem Unterschied, dass heute diese Prozesse von Marketingabteilungen gesteuert werden.

Ein zweites Ergebnis betrifft verschiedene Fertigungsserien innerhalb einer Werkstatt. So existierten zumindest bei den Krateren jeweils zwei gleichzeitige Formvarianten, eine hohe und eine bauchige. Dies ließ sich zum Teil daraus erklären, dass die Kratere zum Verkauf ineinander gestapelt wurden und so der Platz in der Verpackungskiste (und auch schon beim Brand im Ofen) optimal ausgenutzt werden konnte. Daneben gab es aber auch verschiedene Formvarianten, die von dem jeweiligen Format des Gefäßes abhingen. So produzierte zum Beispiel die Gruppe-G drei verschiedene Pelikentypen, die mit der Gefäßhöhe kongruent waren. Hier könnte man vermuten, dass das optische Erscheinungsbild der Peliken einer bestimmten Grundaussage angepasst werden sollte - in diesem Fall einer bestimmten kugeligen Grundform, die alle Peliken der Gruppe-G auszeichnet und ihnen einen gewissen Wiedererkennungswert verleiht, was besonders im Vergleich mit Peliken anderer Werkstätten auffällt (vgl. *Abb. 29*). Sollte damit dieses Phänomen zutreffend gedeutet sein, läge hier mit den erkennbaren Werkstatteigenheiten ein Prozess der optischen Angleichung im Sinne einer Markenidenti- tät vor, der bislang als bewusster Vorgang aus der griechischen Kleinkunst klassischer Zeit nicht bekannt war.

Appendix

Verzeichnis der in den Zusammenstellungen Abb. 7-34 abgebildeten Vasen

Preisamphoren

X1 Athen, Nationalmuseum 20048 (H. 70,0 cm, 363/362 v.Chr.): Valavanis 1991, 20-24 Taf. 5, 14-15; Bentz 1998, 170 Nr. 4.026 Taf. 111 (Profilz. nach Valavanis 1991, Taf. 5).

X2 Athen, Nationalmuseum 20047 (H. 70,5 cm, 363/362 v.Chr.): Valavanis 1991, 24-27 Taf. 6, 16-17; Bentz 1998, 170 Nr. 4.027 Taf. 110 (Profilz. nach Valavanis 1991, Taf. 6).

X3 Eretria, Museum 14813 (H. 69,5 cm, 363/362

v.Chr.): Valavanis 1991, 27-30 Taf. 7, 18-19; Bentz 1998, 170 Nr. 4.025 Taf. 110 (Profilz. nach Valavanis 1991, Taf. 7).
K1 Athen, Nationalmuseum 20046 (H. 71,6 cm, 360/59 v.Chr.): Valavanis 1991, 30-34 Taf. 8, 20-21; Bentz 1998, 172-173 Nr. 4.052 Taf. 112-113 (Profilz. nach Valavanis 1991, Taf. 8).
K2 Athen, Nationalmuseum 20044 (H. 72,8 cm, 360/59 v.Chr.): Valavanis 1991, 34-38 Taf. 9, 22-23; Bentz 1998, 172 Nr. 4.050 Taf. 112 (Profilz. nach Valavanis 1991, Taf. 9).
K3 Athen, Nationalmuseum 20049 (H. 71,8 cm, 360/359 v.Chr.): Valavanis 1991, 38-41 Taf. 10, 24-25; Bentz 1998, 173 Nr. 4.053 Taf. 112-113 (Profilz. nach Valavanis 1991, Taf. 10).
K4 Athen, Nationalmuseum 20045 (H. 73,5 cm, 360/359 v.Chr.): Valavanis 1991, 42-45 Taf. 11, 26-27; Bentz 1998, 172 Nr. 4.051 Taf. 110, 112 (Profilz. nach Valavanis 1991, Taf. 11).
K5 Eretria, Museum 14814 (H. 74,5 cm, 360/359 v.Chr.): Valavanis 1991, 45-48 Taf. 12, 28-29; Bentz 1998, 173 Nr. 4.054 Taf. 114 (Profilz. nach Valavanis 1991, Taf. 12).
K6 Eretria, Museum 14815 (H. 71,2 cm, 360/359 v.Chr.): Valavanis 1991, 48-51 Taf. 13, 30-31; Bentz 1998, 173 Nr. 4.055 Taf. 114 (Profilz. nach Valavanis 1991, Taf. 13).

Meleager-Maler
M1 Vatikan, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 9106 (H. 37,8 cm, um 400/390 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1410,15. 1693; *Add*² 374; *BeazA* 217932•; Curti 2001, 112 Nr. 29 Taf. 29; Kathariou 2002, 216 MEL 35 Taf. 15 (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 10a).
M2 Budapest, Szépmüvészeti Múzeum 50.569 (H. 38,4 cm, um 400/390 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1411,30 bis; *BeazA* 217948•; Curti 2001, 114 Nr. 41 Taf. 38; Kathariou 2002, 219 MEL 56 Taf. 23 a-b (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 11a).
M3 Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 1956.8.3 (H. 39,8 cm, um 390 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1416,2; *Add*² 375; *CVA Leiden* (3) Taf. 148,5-6; 149,1-3 Abb. 37; *BeazA* 218029•; Curti 2001, 117 Nr. 58; Kathariou 2002, 219 MEL 55 Taf. 21 b (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 10b).
M4 Paris, Musée du Louvre G 512 (N 2801; AC 8) (H. 33,2 cm, um 390/380 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1410,25; *CVA Paris*, Louvre (5) III I e Taf. 3,2; 3,4; *BeazA* 217942•; Curti 2001, 114 Nr. 39; Kathariou 2002, 218 MEL 51 Taf. 20 b-c (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 12b).
M5 Brüssel, Musées Royaux d' Art et d' Histoire A 196 (H. 31,8 cm, um 390/380 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1411,35; *BeazA* 217953•; Curti 2001, 117 Nr. 57 Taf. 47; Kathariou 2002, 220 MEL 63 Taf. 24 a-b (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 13a).
M6 Paris, Musée du Louvre G 505 (N 2661; ED 133) (H. 32,8 cm, um 380 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1410,17; *CVA Paris, Louvre* (5) III I e Taf. 1,4; 1,7; 1,9; *BeazA* 217934•; Curti 2001, 115 Nr. 46; Kathariou 2002, 217 MEL 42 Taf. 18 (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 12a).
M7 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des médailles 91 C 202732 (H. 33,0 cm, um 380 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1415; *BeazA* 218024; Curti 2001, 118 Nr. 62 Taf. 50; Kathariou 2002, 220 MEL 68 Taf. 25 a-b (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 13b).

Plainer Group
PA1 Vatikan, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 9104 (H. 29,1 cm, 'connected to P. of Louvre G 521', um 390 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1442,2; *BeazA* 218114•; Kathariou 2002, 268 LOUVR 2 Taf. 76 a (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 20b).
PA2 Brüssel, Musées Royaux d' Art et d' Histoire R 276 (H. 33,2 cm, vgl. Walter-Dresden-M., um 390 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1437; *CVA Brüssel, Mus. Royaux* (2) III I e Taf. 3,1a-c; *BeazA* 218078•; Kathariou 2002, 281 WD 3 Taf. 90 a, c (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 15b).
PA3 Vatikan, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 9098 (H. 34,8 cm, M. v. Louvre G 521, um 390 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1441,3; *BeazA* 218108•; Kathariou 2002, 267 LOUV 3 Abb. 16a. 39b Taf. 73 a (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 16a).
PA4 Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Museum 336 (H. 35,0 cm, 'connected to P. of Louvre G 521', um 390 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1442,1; *CVA Altenburg* (2) Taf. 58,1-3; *BeazA* 218113•; Kathariou 2002, 268 LOUVR 1 Taf. 75 (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 17b).
PA5 Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 946 (H. 34,0 cm, M. v. Louvre G 521, um 390 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1441,4; *Add*² 190. 378; *CVA Wien, Kunsthist. Mus.* (3) Taf. 134,1-2; *BeazA* 218109•; Kathariou 2002, 267 LOUV 4 Abb. 16 b Taf. 73 b (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 16b).
PA6 Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 910 (H. 34,5 cm, Philokleon-Rückseitengruppe, um 390 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1442,1; *Add*² 378; *CVA Wien, Kunsthist. Mus.* (3) Taf. 133,3. 4. 6; *BeazA* 218119•; Kathariou 2002, 275 PHIL 2 Taf. 79 a-b (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 18a).
PA7 Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 908 (H. 32,6 cm, Philokleon-Rückseitengruppe, um 390 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1442,2; *Add*² 378; *CVA Wien, Kunsthist. Mus.* (3) Taf. 133,2. 7; *BeazA* 218120•; Kathariou 2002, 275 PHIL 3 Taf. 79 c-d (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 18b).
PB1 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des médailles 430 (H. 37,2 cm, M. v. London F 64, um 400 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1420,3; *BeazA* 260019; Kathariou 2002, 262 LON 5 Taf. 67 c-d (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 22a).
PB2 Vatikan, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco (H. 33,1 cm, M. v. Madrid 11016, um 390 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1421,2; *BeazA* 260032•; Kathariou 2002, 269 MADR 2 Taf. 76 b (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 25b).
PB3 Paris, Musée Auguste Rodin 1.256; TC 1 (H. 32,8 cm, M. v. Louvre G 508, um 390/380 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1436,2; *Add*² 377; *CVA Paris, Mus. Rodin* Taf. 23,1-2, 25,3-5; *BeazA* 218050•; Kathariou 2002, 266 LOU 4 (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 24a).
PB4 Paris, Musée du Louvre G 506 (H. 32,0 cm, Peralta-Rückseitengruppe, um 390/380 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1443,4; Schefold UKV 16 Nr. 113; *CVA Paris, Louvre* (5) III I e Taf. 2,1,3; *BeazA* 218124•; Kathariou 2002, 274 PER 4 Taf. 78 b (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 26b).
PB5 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des médailles 435 (H. 34,1 cm, Peralta-Rückseitengruppe, um 390 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1443,7; *BeazA* 218127; Kathariou 2002, 274 PER 7 Taf. 78 d (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 26a).
PB6 München, Staatliche Antikensammlung 2397 (H. 34 cm, M. v. Louvre G 508, um 390/380 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1436,3; Schefold 1934, 15 Nr. 102; *BeazA* 218051•; Kathariou 2002, 266 LOU 5 Taf. 72 c (Profilz. nach

Kathariou 2002, Taf. 25a).
PB7 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des médailles 434 (H. 33,5 cm, M. v. Louvre G 508, um 380 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1436,6; *BeazA* 218054; Kathariou 2002, 267 LOU 8 Taf. 72 d (Profilz. nach Kathariou 2002, Taf. 24b).

Schwarzer-Thyrsos-Maler
ST1 Ubeda, Museo (H. 28,0 cm, um 370 v.Chr.): Trías 1967, I 477 Nr. 4 Taf. 238; Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, 228 Nr. 268d (Profilz. nach Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, 228).
ST2 Ubeda, Museo (H. 27,0 cm, um 370/360 v.Chr.): Trías 1967, I 477 Nr. 3 Taf. 237; Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, 228 Nr. 266 (Profilz. nach Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, 228).
ST3 Barcelona, Privatbesitz Durán Farrell o. Nr. (H. 27,2 cm, um 360 v.Chr.): Presedo Velo 1982, 235 Abb. 193, 1 Taf. 33,1-2; Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, 188 Nr. 33 Abb. 87 (Profilz. nach Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, 188).
ST4 Mula, Museo Monográfico El Cigarralejo (H. 26,0 cm, um 350 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1432,23; *BeazA* 260180; Trías 1967, I 396-397 Nr. 1 Taf. 183 (Profilz. nach Cuadrado 1958, 105 Abb. 11).
ST5 Granada, Jose Rodrigues Acosta 431 (H. 30,0 cm, um 350 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1432,17; *BeazA* 260174•; Trías 1967, I 458-459 Nr. 6 Taf. 208,2, 209; Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, Abb. 104 Nr. 109 (Profilz. nach Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, Abb. 104).
ST6 Barcelona, Privatbesitz Durán Farrell o. Nr. (H. 28,8 cm, um 350/340 v.Chr.): Presedo Velo 1982, 235 Abb. 192,2 Taf. 32,3-4; Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, 188 Nr. 34 (Profilz. nach Presedo Velo 1982, Abb. 192,2).
ST7 Barcelona, Privatbesitz Durán Farrell o. Nr. (H. 29,8 cm, um 340 v.Chr.): Presedo Velo 1982, 229-233 Abb. 192,1 Taf. 31,1-2; Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, 187 Nr. 32 Abb. 87 (Profilz. nach Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, 187).
ST8 Lluc, Museo (H. 26 cm, um 360/350 v.Chr.): *BeazA* 41675; Trías 1987, 38 Abb. 1, 47 Taf. 1 Nr. 1 a-d (Profilz. nach Trías 1987, Abb. 1,1).
ST9 Porciuncula, Museo (H. 24,7 cm, um 360/350 v.Chr.): *BeazA* 41676; Trías 1987, 38 Abb. 1 Nr. 2 (Profilz. nach Trías 1987, Abb. 1,2).
ST10 Simferopol, Krimsches Museum für Lokalgeschichte КП 1094 (H. 24,0 cm, um 370/360 v.Chr.): Štal' 2000, 35 Nr. 34 Taf. S. 136; Vdovičenko 2003, 448 Nr. 93 Abb. 12 spiegelverkehrt! (Profilz. von I.I. Vdovičenko, vgl. Vdovičenko 2003, Abb. 61,4).

Gruppe-G
G1 Brüssel, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire A 3900 (H. 19,6 cm, um 370/360 v.Chr.): *BeazlA* 6909; Margos 1978, 26-31 Abb. 1-7 (Profilz. nach Margos 1978, Abb. 6).
G2 Azov, Museum für Lokalgeschichte КП 18952 OA-193/1 (H. 21,1 cm, um 360/350 v.Chr.): Štal' 2000, 25 Nr. 13 Taf. S. 123 (Profilz. von I.I. Vdovičenko).
G3 Jalta, Museum für Lokalgeschichte КП 733; A1-249, A4-111 (H. 21,4 cm, um 350/340 v.Chr.): Štal' 2000, 30 Nr. 24 Taf. S. 130; Vdovičenko 2003, 494 Nr. 1053 Abb. 22,2 (Profilz. von I.I. Vdovičenko, vgl. Vdovičenko 2003, Abb. 60,8).
G4 Vergina, Museum ВПП 55 (H. 22,8 cm, um 330 v.Chr.): *BeazA* 21603; Drougou 2005, 77-78 Abb. 68; 144 Abb. 163 (Profilz. nach Drougou 2005, Abb. 68).
G5 Vergina, Museum ВПП 74 (H. 22 cm, um 320 v.Chr.): Drougou 2005, 91-92 Abb. 96 (Profilz. nach Drougou 2005, Abb. 96).
G6 Feodosija, Museum für Lokalgeschichte КП 1048; A-1217 (H. 22,2 cm, um 310/305 v.Chr.): Štal' 2000, 28 Nr. 18 Taf. S. 126; Vdovičenko 2003, 448 Nr. 86; 488 Nr. 974 Abb. 22,1 (Profilz. von I.I. Vdovičenko).
G7 Jalta, Museum für Lokalgeschichte КП 862; A4-469 (H. 24,6 cm, um 370/360 v.Chr.): Štal' 2000, 59 Nr. 90 Taf. S. 172; Vdovičenko 2003, 494 Nr. 1060 Abb. 12 (Profilz. von I.I. Vdovičenko, vgl. Vdovičenko 2003, Abb. 60,7).
G8 Jalta, Museum für Lokalgeschichte КП 499; A1-24 (H. 25,0 cm, um 350 v.Chr.): Štal' 2000, 66 Nr. 107 Taf. S. 180; Vdovičenko 2003, 494 Nr. 1062 Abb. 15 (Profilz. von I.I. Vdovičenko, vgl. Vdovičenko 2003, Abb. 60,6).
G9 Feodosija, Museum für Lokalgeschichte КП 28750; A-5971 (H. 26,3 cm, um 340/330 v.Chr.): Štal' 2000, 36 Nr. 35 Taf. S. 137; Vdovičenko 2003, 488 Nr. 973 Abb. 9 (Profilz. von I.I. Vdovičenko).
G10 Theben, Archäologisches Museum 407a (H. 28 cm, um 330/320 v.Chr.): *CVA Theben* (1) Taf. 87,1-3 (Profilz. nach *CVA Theben* (1) Abb. 40).
G11 Feodosija, Museum für Lokalgeschichte КП 117; A-746 КП 26/27 (322) (H. 27,6 cm, um 320 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1465,66; *BeazA* 230272; Kobylina 1951, 150 Abb. 1,2; Štal' 2000, 58 Nr. 88 Taf. S. 171; Vdovičenko 2003, 448 Nr. 88 (Profilz. von I.I. Vdovičenko).
G12 Chania, Archäologisches Museum П 8922 (H. 23,1 cm, um 310/305 v.Chr.): M. Skordou, in Kypraiou 1997, 37-39 Abb. 1 Nr. 1 (Profilz. nach Kypraiou 1997, 37 Abb. 1).
G13 Bochum, Ruhr Universität, Kunstsammlungen S 1100 (H. 30,8 cm, um 370/360 v.Chr.): *CVA Bochum* (2) Taf. 7,3-4; 8,3-4; 9,7-8; Beil. 3,1 (Profilz. nach *CVA Bochum* (2) Beil. 3,1).
G14 Berlin, Freie Universität G 27/52 (H. 29,9 cm, um 360 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1464,42; *BeazA* 230248•; Peters 1958, 19-20 Abb. 5-6 (Profilz. Verf.).
G15 Kertsch, Historisch-archäologisches Museum 47 (H. 31,0 cm, um 340 v.Chr.): Štal' 2000, 40 Nr. 44 Taf. S. 143; Vdovičenko 2003, 444 Nr. 8 Abb. 15 (Profilz. von I.I. Vdovičenko, vgl. Vdovičenko 2003, Abb. 61,1).
G16 Kertsch, Historisch-archäologisches Museum 473 (H. 31,6 cm, um 320 v.Chr.): Štal' 2000, 99 Nr. 215 Taf. S. 219; Vdovičenko 2003, 446 Nr. 46 (Profilz. von I.I. Vdovičenko, vgl. Vdovičenko 2003, Abb. 61,3).
G17 Athen, Nationalmuseum 1445 (H. 33 cm, um 310 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1464,56 (Schefold UKV 38 Nr. 343 Taf. 24,4).
G18 Moskau, Staatl. Museum der bildenden Künste A. S. Puschkin II 1b 1378 (H. 20,8 cm, um 340/330 v.Chr.): *CVA Moskau*, Puschkin Mus. (6) Taf. 8,1-4.
G19 Kertsch, Historisch-archäologisches Museum 9 (H. 26,5 cm, um 350 v.Chr.): Štal' 2000, 44 Nr. 55 Taf. S. 149; Vdovičenko 2003, 447 Nr. 65.
G20 Paris, Musée du Louvre G 553bis (H. 26,4 cm, um 340 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1463,32 (Museumsfoto).
G21 Chania, Archäologisches Museum П 3 (H. 26,7 cm, um 330/320 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1463,27; Schefold UKV 38 Nr. 351 (Kypraiou 1997, 43-45 Abb. 5 Nr. 4).
G22 Okayama, Slg. R.O. (H. 28 cm, um 320/310

v.Chr.): *CVA Japan* (1) Taf. 15,3-4.
G23 Chania, Archäologisches Museum Π 2229 (H. 21,8 cm, um 340 v.Chr.): Kypraiou 1997, 45-46 Abb. 6 Nr. 5.
G24 Odessa, Archäologisches Museum 21549 (H. 23,7 cm, um 320 v.Chr.): Vdovičenko 2003, 449 Nr. 102 (Štal' 2000, 60 Nr. 93 Taf. S. 173).
G25 Voronez, Kramskoi Museum der Schönen Künste 156-GR (H. 21,5 cm, um 310 v.Chr.): Štal' 2000, 58 Nr. 89 Taf. S. 171.

Amazonen-Maler
A1 Pilsen, Westböhmisches Museum 8412 (H. 22 cm, um 320 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1479,25; *Add*² 382; *CVA Pilsen* (1) Taf. 22,1–2; *BeazA* 230467•; Margos 1978, 42 (Profilz. nach *CVA Pilsen* (1) Abb. 15,2).
A2 Evpatorija, Museum für Lokalgeschichte A 585, КП 634 (H. 21,0 cm, um 320/310 v.Chr.): Štal' 2000, 76 Nr. 135 Taf. S. 194; Vdovičenko 2003, 448 Nr. 91 (Profilz. von I.I. Vdovičenko, vgl. Vdovičenko 2003, Abb. 62,2).
A3 Vergina, Museum BNP 61 (H. 23 cm, um 310/300 v.Chr.): Drougou 2005, 83-84 Abb. 78, 79; 144-147 Abb. 162, 165 (Profilz. nach Drougou 2005, Abb. 78).
A4 Pilsen, Westböhmisches Museum 8311 (H. 27,8 cm, um 340/330 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1479,17; *Add*² 381; *CVA Pilsen* (1) Taf. 16,1; 17,1–2; *BeazA* 230459• (Profilz. nach *CVA Pilsen* (1) Abb. 14,1).
A5 Feodosija, Museum für Lokalgeschichte КП 42595; A-10883 (H. 28,4 cm, um 330 v.Chr.): Štal' 2000, 69 Nr. 114 Taf. S. 185; Vdovičenko 2003, 487 Nr. 960 (Profilz. von I.I. Vdovičenko, vgl. Vdovičenko 2003, Abb. 61,2).
A6 Chania, Archäologisches Museum P 2228 (H. 29,3 cm, um 320 v.Chr.): M. Skordou, in: Kypraiou 1997, 48-49 Abb. 8 Nr. 1 (Profilz. nach Kypraiou 1997, 48 Abb. 8).

Helbig-Gruppe
H1 Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.196 (H. 29,1 cm, um 390/380 v. Chr.): *CVA Malibu* (7) Taf. 345,1-2; 346,1-2; 347,6-7 Abb. 7; *BeazA* 29151• (Profilz. nach *CVA Malibu* (7) Abb. 7).
H2 Jalta, Museum für Lokalgeschichte КП 498; A1-23 (H. 23,3 cm, um 380/370 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1473; Schefold 1934, 39 Nr. 360; *BeazA* 230403•; Štal' 2000, 38 Nr. 38 Taf. S. 138; Vdovičenko 2003, 494 Nr. 1058 Abb. 5 (Profilz. von I.I. Vdovičenko, vgl. Vdovičenko 2003, Abb. 60,5).
H3 Jerusalem, Israel Museum 829.60.05 (H. 24,5 cm, um 370 v.Chr.): *BeazA* 29587; Klinger 1997, 35-36 Abb. 1-4 (Profilz. nach Klinger 1997, 36 Abb. 3).
H4 Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 33440; 1979.70.77.1 (H. 22,5 cm, um 360 v.Chr.): Schefold 1934, 56 Nr. 519; *BeazA* 41864; Trías 1967, 463 Nr. 12 Taf. 214; Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, 219 Nr. 210; 355-356 Abb. 111, 112 (Profilz. nach Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, 219).

Maler des Londoner Greifenkraters
LG1 Jumilla, Museo Arqueológico Municipal NB 8024 (H. 31,8 cm, um 340/330 v.Chr.): García Cano/González 2009, 23–31 (Profilz. nach García Cano/González 2009, 24).

Maler von Athen 1472 (Marsyas-Gruppe)
MA1 St. Petersburg, Staatliche Eremitage Π 1840.49 (H. 31,5 cm, um 330 v.Chr.): *ARV*² 1477,2; *Add*² 381; Schefold 1934, 44, 114-115, 117, 120, 132 Nr. 384; *BeazA* 230435• (Profilz. Verf.).

Hydrien
Hy1 London F 90 (Kathariou 2002, 222 MEL 81 Taf. 31)
Hy2 New York 56.171.55 (Kathariou 2002, 238 ERB 20 Taf. 62)
Hy3 Tarent 4599 (Kathariou 2002, 221 MEL 76 Taf. 29)
Hy4 Havanna 178 (Kathariou 2002, 222 MEL 79 Taf. 30 b)
Hy5 St. Petersburg KAB 73b (Košelenko 1984, 324 Taf. 133,1)
Hy6 Brüssel R 286 (*CVA Brüssel, Mus. Royaux* (2) III I e Taf. 2,4a)
Hy7 London E 230 (*CVA London, British Mus*. (6) III I c Taf. 97,2)
Hy8 London E 227 (*CVA London, British Mus*. (6) III I c Taf. 93,2a)
Hy9 New York 26.60.75 (Schefold 1934, Taf. 11a)
Hy10 New York 24.97.5 (Schefold 1930, Taf. 11)
Hy11 St. Petersburg KAB 29 (Valavanis 1991, Taf. 144)
Hy12 Athen, Nationalmuseum 1443 (Metzger 1965, Taf. 19,1)
Hy13 St. Petersburg Π 1841.4 (Walter 1958, 47 Abb. 12)
Hy14 Paris, Louvre MN 728 (Museumsfoto)
Hy15 Ruvo 36853 (Kathariou 2002, 221 MEL 77 Taf. 30 a)
Hy16 Paris, Louvre MN 714 (*CVA Paris, Louvre* (9) III I d Taf. 54,1)
Hy17 Berlin, V.I. 3166 (*CVA Berlin* (9) Taf. 46,1)
Hy18 New York 06.1021.184 (Folsom 1976, 158 Taf. 62)
Hy19 Paris, Louvre MN 727 (Museumsfoto)
Hy20 Paris, Louvre CA 928 (Metzger 1951, 64 Nr. 11 Taf. 4,1)
Hy21 Alexandria 8668 (Grimm 1996, 59 Abb. 2)
Hy22 New York 56.171.56 (Kathariou 2002, 221 MEL 74 Taf. 26)
Hy23 Berlin V.I. 3768 (*CVA Berlin* (9) Taf. 40,1)
Hy24 Berlin F 2635 (*CVA Berlin* (9) Taf. 44,1)
Hy25 London E 237 (*CVA London, British Mus*. (6) III I c Taf. 98,4)
Hy26 New York, Privatbesitz (Valavanis 1991, Taf. 116)
Hy27 München 2439 (Valavanis 1991, Taf. 154)

Anmerkungen

* Dieser Beitrag stellt einen gekürzten und überarbeiteten Teil meiner Habilitationsschrift dar, die 2012 an der Freien Universität Berlin unter dem Titel 'Meisterwerk und Massenware. Chronologie, Dekor und Funktion spätrotfiguriger Bildervasen aus Athen' angenommen worden ist.

1 vgl. z.B. Sgourou 1994, 169.

2 *ARV*² 1312-1528, v.a. 1462-1471 (Gruppe-G); 1484-1495 (Fat-Boy-Group); 1496-1498 (Otčet-Gruppe).

3 Schefold 1934, 137-142 und passim. vgl. Tillyard 1923, 4-5; Buschor 1932, 152. Seine Definition einer Entwicklungslinie von schweren und plumpen zu leichten und eleganten Formen wurde gelegentlich missverstanden

oder grundsätzlich angezweifelt: Boháč 1958, 137; Valavanis 1991 passim; Robertson 1992, 274.

4 Valavanis 1991, 173-312 mit Eschbach 1995; Tiverios 1996, 40-45.

5 Boháč 1958, 137; Drougou 1982; Robertson 1992, 274; Papanastasiou 2004, 3, 23.

6 z.B. Graepler 1997a, 170; vgl. auch Graepler 1997b, 67-68 und 76-77 zum Typenbegriff. Schon Kobylina 1951 hatte den Ansatz Schefolds als zu formalanalytisch abgelehnt und versucht, über die kompositorische und stilistische Entwicklung der Bemalung zu einer Chronologie zu gelangen, die sie aus bosporanischen Grabkontexten ableitete. Ihre Arbeit ist in der westeuropäischen Forschung kaum rezipiert worden, hatte aber auf die russische Vasenforschung großen Einfluss.

7 Willemsen 1977, 117-157; Baitinger 1999, 117-126, bes. 119-120.

8 Brueckner 1915, 119; Willemsen 1977, 133; Stroszeck 2008, 99 Abb. 1-2. Jutta Stroszeck bereitet eine umfassende Publikation vor. s. Stroszeck 2006, 101-119.

9 Gebauer/Johannes 1937, 194 Tafel 13 Mitte. s. auch Shefton 1982, 156 Anm. 22; Burn 1987, 7.

10 *ARV*² 1344,3.

11 vgl. *LIMC* V Taf. 156, Herakles 3417; *LIMC* II Taf. 759, Athena 526.

12 Stroszeck 2006, 107. Bereits Beazley verband den Zeichenstil des anderen Fragments mit Werken des Semele- und des Suessula-Malers: *ARV*² 1344,3.

13 Boston 00.354: ARV² 1516; Para 500; Caskey/Beazley 1963, 89-90 Nr. 175 Taf. 106; Boardman 1989, 183 Abb. 365; Paul-Zinserling 1994, Taf. 43,1; Sparkes 1996, 149-150 Abb. VI.9; Kathariou 2002, 247 JEN 55; Strozeck 2006, 108-109 Abb. 7a-b.

14 Athen, Kerameikos 2189: Stroszeck 2006, 108 Abb. 5a-b; Kaltsas 2006, 288 Nr. 172.

15 Vermeule 1970, 94-111; Schmidt 2005, 194-201.

16 Zum Grab des Dexileos und zur Dexileos-Stele: Ensoli 1987; Bergemann 1997, 184 A1 mit Literatur; Geominy 2004, 260-261, 523 Tafel 194.

17 Demosthenes 9.26.

18 Robinson 1938, 370; Bellinger 1953, 180-186, bes. 184-185; Cahill 2002, 49-61 Tafel 10.

19 Es handelt sich um fünf Glanztongefäße, die zwischen 348 und 316 v.Chr. datiert werden sollten: Robinson 1933, Nr. 508, 728; Robinson 1950, Nr. 501, 513 A (= Nr. 510 Taf. 82), 583. Dazu s. Sparkes/Talcott 1970, 122 Anm. 65; 123 Anm 68; Rotroff 1990, 315-316; Rotroff 1997, 19 mit Anm. 14 und 15; Cahill 2002, 57-58.

20 Gegen Rose 1984, 258 und Dengate 1990, 315, die von einer umfassenden Weiterbesiedlung bis 316 v.Chr. ausgehen, halten an dem *terminus ante quem* 348 v.Chr. für die Mehrzahl der Funde fest: Coulson 1987, 234-236; Rotroff 1988, 174-177; Robertson 1992, 268, 271; Rotroff 1997, 18-20; Fless 2002, 27-28; Cahill 2002, 60.

21 Robertson 1992, 268, 287; Rotroff 1997, 29-31. Es handelt sich um zwei Peliken in Alexandria: Breccia 1912, 49-50 Nr. 91, 92 Abb. 36 Taf. 47,71-72; 48,73–74 = Schefold 1934, Nr. 334-335; Hydrien: München 2439: Schefold 1934, Nr. 188; Boardman 1989, Abb. 428; Valavanis 1991, 294-297 Taf. 154-155; Robertson 1992, 287 Abb. 290; Alexandria 8667, 8668: Grimm 1996, 58-59 Abb. 1-2; Hydria in Dresden: Pagenstecher 1913, 10 Abb. 14,2; Askos in Alexandria: Pagenstecher 1913, 12 Abb. 20a.

22 Rostoffzeff 1955, 82. s. auch Graham 1986, 51-65 mit der Replik von Boardman 1990, 169-190. Das Datum scheint für den großen Kelchkrater Oxford 1939.599 (Boardman 1989, Abb. 387; Robertson 1992, 284-285 Abb. 286-287) zu früh, wie auch einige Kraterfragmente des Toya- und des Filottrano-Malers erst im 2. Viertel des 4. Jhs. entstanden sein dürften: *ARV*² 1448,10; 1454,25, 33-35; 1455,6; *BeazA* 218172•, 218248•, 218256•-218258•, 218264•.

23 Hahland 1930, 7; s. Jehasse 1980, 215-235.

24 Alexandri 1967, 58 Taf. 73b; Bentz 1998, Nr. 4.127. Norbert Eschbach bereitet eine Publikation des Komplexes an der Odos Achilleos vor. Für seine Interpretation als vollständige Ofenfüllung spricht, dass in der Grube auch Probestücke, Brennstützen und Abstandhalter gefunden wurden und alle Gefäße aus der Werkstatt des Amazonen-Malers zu kommen scheinen.

25 Pharmakowski 1913, 181-182 Abb. 6-7; Rostowzew 1931, 260. Zur Preisamphora St. Petersburg, Staatliche Eremitage Inv. 17.685; 17.686 s. Eschbach 1986, Taf. 40,1-2; Bentz 1998, 179 Nr. 4.119. Zur rotfigurigen Amphora mit Amazonomachie St. Petersburg, Staatliche Eremitage T 1913.8 s. Schefold 1934, 3-4, 63, 134-135, 150 Nr. 1 Taf. 30,1-4; 31,2; Walter 1958, 44 Abb. 7-10; Valavanis 1991, 294-297 Taf. 149-151; *LIMC* I Taf. 485, Amazones 355.

26 Schefold 1934, 63-64.

27 vgl. Drougou/Tourátsoglou 1994, 132-133, für eine Übersicht von 33 makedonischen Grabkontexten, die durch Münzfunde chronologisch eingeordnet werden können.

28 Neapel 151600: Johannowsky 1960, 202-203 Abb. 1-4; De Caro 1994, 27; Scheibler 1995, 147 Abb. 128-129; Giudice 2007, 203 Nr. 418.

29 Chapouthier 1935, 114-117; Mustilli 1950, 123-124; Metzger 1951, 28, 277-278; Johannowsky 1960, 202-212.

30 Chapouthier 1935, 131; Johannowsky 1985, 230-231 Nr. 36, der allerdings die Pelike in Verwechslung der Tragödien Helena und Orestes auf 409 v.Chr. datiert.

31 Eur. *Hel*. 1496-1499: δι᾽ αἰθέρος ἱέμενοι / παῖδες Τυνδαρίδαι, / λαμπρῶν ἄστρων ὑπ᾽ ἀέλλαισιν: / οἳ ναίετ᾽ οὐράνιοι. Zur Helena des Euripides s. Kannicht 1969; Alan 2008.

32 Zu den älteren Quellen, dem komplizierten Verhältnis der Epiphanie der Dioskuren im St. Elmsfeuer und zu ihrer Verehrung als Sternbilder: Kannicht 1969, II 393-395.

33 London, British Museum F 68 (1865.01-03.14): *ARV*² 1446,1, 1693; *Para* 492; *Add*² 378; *BeazA* 218148•; Scheibler 1995, 67 Abb. 63.

34 Boston 98.884: Metzger 1965, 113 Nr. 30; Metzger 1968, 154; Durand 1987, 235 Abb. 12; Gebauer 2002, 269-271, 730 Nr. S 7 Abb. 141.

35 Herrmann 1984, 33-35 Nr. 22.

36 Pausanias 1.3.

37 Glockenkrater New York, Metropolitan Museum 56.171.49: *ARV*² 1347,3; Durand 1987, 231 Abb. 6a-b; Gebauer 2002, 152-153, 716 Nr. Pv 129 Abb. 101; Oakley/Palagia 2009, 266-267 Abb. 11-12 - Glockenkrater Dublin, University College 197: *CVA Irland* (1) Taf. 26,3-4; Durand 1987, 229 Abb. 3; Gebauer 2002, 156-157, 717 Nr. Pv 133 Abb. 107 - Glockenkrater Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 1050: *CVA Wien*, Kunsthist. Mus. (3) Taf. 136,1-3; Durand 1987, 233 Abb. 9; Gebauer 2002, 155-156, 716 Nr. Pv 132 Abb. 104; Bentz 2007, 79 Abb. 11 - Chus Athen, Nationalmuseum 1548: Durand 1987, 230 Abb. 4; Gebauer 2002, 157, 716 Nr. Pv 134 Abb. 105 - Chus St. Petersburg, Eremitage KAB 31: Gebauer 2002, 157-158, 717 Nr. Pv 135 Abb. 108.

38 Bentz 1998, 58. Der älteste gesicherte Archontenname ist der des Pytheas von 380/379 v.Chr. auf Fragmenten von der Athener Agora (P 27556; Bentz 1998, 167 Kat. 4.005), doch trägt bereits die Preisamphora in Berlin

(V.I. 3980; Bentz 1998, 167 Kat. 4.001), die wegen ihrer Nähe zur Kuban-Gruppe in die neunziger Jahre gehört, eine Archonteninschrift, von der nur das Schluss-Sigma erhalten ist. Wenn Süsserott 1938, 72-74, 227 Recht hat, besteht an der Stelle nur Platz für exakt sieben Buchstaben, wodurch dort lediglich der Name des Philokles, Archon des Jahres 392/391 v.Chr., gestanden haben kann. So auch Peters 1942a, 105-107; Eschbach 1986, 18. Dagegen hält Frel 1972, 285-286 auch die Namen des Theodotos 387/386 v.Chr., und des Dexitheos 385/384, für möglich. s. auch Bentz 1998, 167.

[39] Develin 1989; Samuel 1972, 206-210; Bentz 1998, 208-210; Bäbler 2004, 115-116.

[40] Beazley 1943, 463; Frel 1973, 19-21; Eschbach 1986, 2, 18, 109, 162, 165-166.

[41] Bentz 1998, 167-180, 208-209.

[42] Vgl. Schefold 1934, 108-112; Beazley 1951, 88-89. Zur Form allgemein: Valavanis 1991, 55-62; Moore 1997, 9-11 Taf. 7-10 Nr. 20-23; Schreiber 1999, 83-87; Papanastasiou 2004, 7. 11.

[43] Zu Preisamphoren hellenistischer Zeit: *ABV* 417 mit älterer Literatur; Edwards 1957, 320-349 Taf. 76-88; Lindner 1985, 256-260. Martin Streicher bereitet in Bonn eine Dissertation zu den Panathenischen Preisamphoren hellenistischer Zeit vor.

[44] Havelock 1980, 41-50; Bentz 1998, 60 mit Anm. 330.

[45] *ABV* 403-417; Valavanis 1991, 248-312; Eschbach 1992, 48-58; Eschbach 1995, 455-463; Eschbach 2001, 84 Tafel 1. Im Einzelnen handelt es sich um
Meidias-Werkstatt, 414/411 v.Chr.?: Giessen S 131; Athen PA 6. 9a-c = Bentz 1998, Nr. 5.231-5.233 [Eschbach]
Kadmos-Maler (Kuban-Gruppe A), 409-407 v. Chr.: London 1903.2-17.1 = Bentz 1998, Nr. 5.229 Taf. 92-93 [Eschbach]
Nikias-Maler (Kuban-Gruppe A), 409-407 v. Chr.: Kopenhagen 13.812, Heraklion 26556 = Bentz 1998, Nr. 5.228. 5.230 Taf. 91 [Eschbach]
M. v. Athen 1333 (Kuban-Gruppe B), 404-399: Petersburg 17553. London B 605. B 606 = Bentz 1998, Nr. 5.238 Taf. 94 [Eschbach]
Aristophanes (Kuban-Gruppe B), 404-399 v.Chr.: Hildesheim 1253. 1254; Kyrene = Bentz 1998, Nr. 5.244-5.247 Taf. 96-98 [Peters 1942b; Eschbach]
Nikias-Maler (Kuban-Gruppe C), 397-395 v.Chr.: Heraklion 26554 u.a. = Bentz 1998, Nr. 5.248-5.255 [Eschbach]
M. der Athener Hochzeit, 392/391 v.Chr.?: Berlin 3980 = Bentz 1998, Nr. 4.001 Taf. 100 [Eschbach]
Pourtalès-Maler, 363/362 v.Chr.: Eretria 14813, Athen 20047, Athen 20048, Eretria E/5-V 313, E/5-V 314 = Bentz 1998, Nr. 4.025-4.027. 4.030. 4.031 Taf. 110 f. [Valavanis]
Pompe-Maler, 363/362 v.Chr.: Eleusis, Kerameikos PA 133, Malibu 93.AE.55 = Bentz 1998, Nr. 4.024. 4.036. 4.038. 4.042 Taf. 109 [Eschbach, Langner]
Marsyas-Maler, 360/359 v.Chr.: Athen 20044, Athen 20045, Athen 20046, Eretria 14814 = Bentz 1998, Nr. 4.050-4.052. 4.054 Taf. 112-114 [Valavanis]
M. von Athen 12592, 360/359 v.Chr.: Athen 20046, Eretria 14815 = Bentz 1998, Nr. 4.052. 4.055 Taf. 112. 114 [Valavanis]
Eleusinischer Maler, 344/343 v.Chr.: Paris, Bibl. Nat. 246 = Bentz 1998, Nr. 4.075 Taf. 116 [Valavanis, Eschbach]
Eleusinischer Maler, 341/340 v.Chr.: Alexandria 18.238 = Bentz 1998, Nr. 4.078 Taf. 115 [Valavanis, Eschbach]
Eleusinischer Maler, 340/339 v.Chr.: Malibu 79.AE.147 = Bentz 1998, Nr. 4.080 Taf. 118 [Valavanis, Eschbach]
Hochzeitszug-Maler, 324/323 v.Chr.: Louvre MNB 323 = Bentz 1998, Nr. 4.102 Taf. 130 [Valavanis]
Hochzeitszug-Maler, 321/320 v.Chr.: Louvre MN 705 = Bentz 1998, Nr. 4.113 Taf. 132 [Valavanis]
Amazonen-Maler, 312/311 v.Chr.: Athen, 3. Ephorie = Bentz 1998, Nr. 4.127 [Langner].

[46] *ABV* 411 mit älterer Lit.; Eschbach 1992, 33-58; Bentz 1998, 156-163 Taf. 91-98 Nr. 5.228-5.314.

[47] Bentz 1998, 167 Taf. 99 Nr. 4.001.

[48] Bentz 1998, 167-168 Nr. 4.005-4.007.

[49] Oxford 1911.257: Bentz 1998, 168 Taf. 102 Nr. 4.008.

[50] Detroit, Institute of Arts 50.193: Bentz 1998, 167 Taf. 99 Nr. 4.004; Meyer 1987, 143.

[51] Bentz 1998, 168-169 Taf. 103-108 Nr. 4.011-4.017; die vom Töpfer Kittos signierte Preisamphora London B 604 (*ABV* 413; Bentz 1998, 168-169 Taf. 105 Nr. 4.013; Eschbach 1992, 30), gehört ebenfalls in das Jahr 367/366 v.Chr., wie an der Säulenfigur des Triptolemos deutlich wird. Schefold 1934, 108 hatte die Kittosamphora noch vor 373 v.Chr. datiert.

[52] Jahrgang des Kallimedes 360/359 v.Chr.: Bentz 1998, 172-173 Taf. 110, 112-114 Nr. 4.050-4.061; Valavanis 1991, 239-248.

[53] Jahrgang des Charikleides 363/362 v.Chr.: Bentz 1998, 170-172 Taf. 109-111 Nr. 4.024-4.049; Valavanis 1991, 222-239.

[54] Malibu 93.AE.55: Bentz 1998, 170 Taf. 109 Nr. 4.024.

[55] Bentz 1998, 29-30.

[56] vgl. Bentz 1998, 41.

[57] Bentz 1998, 173-175 Nr. 4.062-4.072.

[58] 344/343 v.Chr.: Athen, 3. Ephorie 6374 (Bentz 1998, 175 Taf. 115 Nr. 4.073), Paris, Bibl. Nat. 246 ist stark ergänzt und übermalt (Bentz 1998, 175 Taf. 116 Nr. 4.075). 340/339 v.Chr.: Malibu 79.AE.147 (Bentz 1998, 175-176 Taf. 117 Nr. 4.080), Harvard 1925.30.24 A (Bentz 1998, 176 Taf. 119 Nr. 4.081), Louvre MN 706 ist ergänzt und übermalt (Bentz 1998, 175 Taf. 117 Nr. 4.079). Die Amphora des Jahrgangs 341/340 v.Chr. in Alexandria 18.238 (Bentz 1998, 175 Taf. 115 Nr. 4.078), ist stark ergänzt und kann daher in ihrer originalen Form nicht beurteilt werden.

[59] Jahrgang des Pythodelos 336/335: Bentz 1998, 176-177 Taf. 119-124 Nr. 4.086-4.092; Jahrgang des Nikokrates 333/32: Bentz 1998, 177 Taf. 125 Nr. 4.095; Jahrgang des Niketes 332/31: Bentz 1998, 177 Taf. 127 Nr. 4.097-4.098; Jahrgang des Euthykritos 328/327: Bentz 1998, 177-178 Taf. 128 Nr. 4.099-4.100.

[60] Bentz 1998, 178 Taf. 128 Nr. 4.100.

[61] Jahrgang des Hegesias 324/323: Bentz 1998, 178 Taf. 129 Nr. 4.102-4.104; Jahrgang des Kephisodoros II. 323/322: Bentz 1998, 178-179 Taf. 131 Nr. 4.105-4.112; Jahrgang des Archippos 321/320: Bentz 1998, 179 Taf. 132 Nr. 4.113; Jahrgang des Neaichmos 320/319: Bentz 1998, 179 Taf. 133 Nr. 4.114-4.121.

[62] s.o. Anm. 24.

[63] Die jüngsten erhaltenen Beischriften nennen den Archon Polemon 312/311 v.Chr.: Bentz 1998, 58. 209.

[64] Zu den allgemeinen Tendenzen der Formentwicklung s. Schefold 1930, 5-8; Talcott/Philippaki 1956, 8-11; Diehl 1964, 62; Buschor 1969, 262. 265; Drougou 1982, 90; Sgourou 1994, 187; Breitfeld-von Eickstedt 1997, 55-61 mit Tabelle 2.

[65] Vgl. Mommsen 1997, 17-34; Mommsen 2002, 23-36.

[66] Zur Methode der Malerzuweisung s. z.B. Lezzi-Hafter 1976, 52-64; Robertson/Beard 1991, 1-35; Kunisch 1997, 21-74; Lissarrague 1999, 224-225. Grundsätzlich zur Bewertung stilistischer, motivischer und typologischer

Übereinstimmungen und Divergenzen in Hinblick auf Maler- und Werkstattzuschreibungen: Wehgartner 1992.

67 Grundlegend bleibt Blösch 1940; s. auch Lezzi-Hafter 1976, 21-22; Hemelrijk 1991, 250-254.

68 Valavanis 1991 passim; Bentz 1998, 170-173.

69 Bentz 1998, 27-28.

70 Valavanis 1991, 262-268. Zustimmend Eschbach 1995, 461.

71 Die Profilzeichnungen Valavanis 1991, Taf. 5-11 wurden von Th. Drimoura-Kakarounka **X1. X2. K3**, und E. Lempidaki **X3. K1. K2. K4-6**, angefertigt. Die berechtigte Kritik von Eschbach 1995, 457 wurde hier berücksichtigt. Grundsätzlich zum Anfertigen von Profilzeichnungen, die sich an der Achse der Rotationssymmetrie gedrehter Gefäße orientieren: Steckner 1990, 631-637; Mommsen 2002, 23-36.

72 **X1**: 69,9 cm, **X2**: 70,5 cm, **X3**: 69,5 cm. Das Fußprofil von **X2** ist offensichtlich falsch rekonstruiert.

73 Bentz 1998, 23-40. Im 4. Jh. v.Chr. ist allerdings die Zahl der Abweichungen von der Normalgröße recht hoch, was vielleicht mit wirtschaftlich rezenten Verhältnissen in Verbindung gebracht werden kann: Bentz 1998, 40.

74 Bentz 1998, 27.

75 Valavanis 1991, 55-61.

76 Valavanis 1991, 268-296. Seine Zuweisungen sind in diesem Punkt überzeugend und von der Forschung akzeptiert: Eschbach 1995, 462; Bentz 1998, 30; Robertson 2000, 244. Den Maler von K3 identifiziert Valavanis 1991, 292-312 mit dem Maler des Hochzeitszugs. Dem widerspricht Eschbach 1995, 463.

77 Aus archaischer Zeit sind Signaturen bekannt, mit denen ein Produzent sowohl als Maler als auch als Töpfer firmiert: Scheibler 1995, 113-116; Robertson 1992, 3-5.

78 Bedauerlicherweise lässt die Überlieferungssituation zur Zeit keinen Vergleich zwischen mehreren Jahrgängen eines Auftrags zu.

79 **X1**: 31,6 l, **X2**: 32,9 l, **X3**: 29,7 l; **K1**: 39,7 l, **K2**: 39,5 l, **K3**: 40,5 l, **K4**: 40,7 l, **K5**: 37,6 l. Valavanis 1991, 48 gibt für **K6** eine Füllmenge von 34,4 l an. Diese Abweichung von mehr als fünf Litern gegenüber den anderen könnte entweder auf einem Messfehler beruhen oder mit dem Zusammensetzen der kleinen Fragmente in der Gefäßmitte zusammenhängen, wodurch das Gefäß womöglich etwas zu schmal geworden ist.

80 Bentz 1998, 31-40, bes. 39-40.

81 Curti 2001; Kathariou 2002.

82 s.a. Robertson 1992, 271-272, 277-280. Zum Meleager-Maler und seiner Werkstatt s. *ARV*² 1408-1417; *Para* 490; *Add*² 374-375; Curti 2001 passim; Kathariou 2002, 69-79, 212-229 und passim. Zur Plainer Group s. *ARV*² 1418-1424; *Para* 490; *Add*² 375-376; Kathariou 2002, 229-281. Die Töpfer der Plainer Group arbeiteten auch mit Vasenmalern zusammen, die Beazley in einem anderen Kapitel nennt: *ARV*² 1435-1445; *Para* 491-492; *Add*² 377-378.

83 Kathariou 2002, 361-370 Tafel 10-29.

84 Kathariou 2002, 16-17.

85 Smith 1943, 46 zu Taf. 22,2, Typ 1.

86 so auch Kathariou 2002, 17.

87 Kathariou 2002, 16-17, 173 weist **PB1**-**PB3** der frühen Werkphase zu, die sie 400-395 v.Chr. datiert, und setzt die anderen Glockenkratere in die mittlere Werkphase 395-385 v.Chr.

88 Kathariou 2002, 17-18, 175 Tafel 1 d. Demnach sind vom Töpfer A 41 und von Töpfer B 40 Glockenkratere bekannt. Einem Töpfer C schreibt sie 6 und einem Töpfer D 3 Glockenkratere zu.

89 Kathariou 2002, 19-20; Zum Erbach-Maler s. *ARV*² 1418-1417; *Para* 490; *Add*² 375; Kathariou 2002, 235-238.

90 Kathariou 2002, 17, 175 ordnet alle Gefäße der mittleren Werkphase zu, die sie zwischen 395 und 385 v.Chr. datiert.

91 Kathariou 2002, 17-18.

92 Kathariou 2002, 262. 267 datiert **PB1** 400-395 und **PB2** 395-385 v.Chr.

93 Smith 1943, 46 zu Taf. 22,2, Typ 2.

94 Spina, Valle Pega Grab 376B: Schauenburg 2007/08, 4-5 Taf. 2,5-3,10 (um 390/380); Cerro del Real, Grab 82: Trías 1967, 458 Nr. 3-4 Taf. 205,2-207 (um 380); Villaricos, Grab 52: Trías 1967, 439-440 Nr. 14-15 Taf. 195,2-198,1 (um 380); Cerro del Santuario, Grab 43: Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, 184-186 Nr. 27-29 (um 370); Spina, Valle Pega Grab 559A: *ARV*² 1453,8; 1454,28 (2. Drittel 4. Jh.); Spina, Valle Pega Grab 515C: *ARV*² 1694,9 bis; 13 sept. (2. Drittel 4. Jh.); Spina, Valle Pega Grab 636A: Massei 1978, 272-273 Nr. 1-2 Taf. 65,1.2 (um 360); Spina, Valle Pega Grab 470C: Valavanis 1991, 287-289 Taf. 133. 135 (um 360); Spina, Valle Pega Grab 270A: Berti 1991, 38 (um 360/350); Spina, Valle Trebba Grab 1131: Berti/Guzzo 1993, 310 Nr. 543 (um 360/350), Nr. 544 (um 350/340?); Spina, Valle Trebba Grab 1210: Bermond Montanari 1987, 363 Abb. 241,1-2 (um 350/340); Castellazzo bei Mantua, Tomba della Garolda: De Marinis 1987, 200-203 Nr. 738. 739 Abb. 316. 319-320 (um 350/340); Spina, Valle Pega Grab 212C: Massei 1978, 265 Nr. 1-2 Taf. 64,1 (um 340); S. Paolina di Filottrano, Grab 2: Landolfi 2000, 79-80 Abb. 1-6 (um 330); Spina, Valle Pega Grab 406C: *ARV*² 1694,13 sext. 18 bis; Spina, Valle Pega Grab 141B: *ARV*² 1450,1-2; Spina, Valle Pega Grab 73C: Berti 1991, 37.

95 Zum Black Thyrsos Painter und der Telos-Werkstatt s. *ARV*² 1431-1434; *Para* 491; *Add*² 376-377.

96 Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, Nr. 268. 266. 33; Cuadrado 1958, 105 Abb. 11; Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, Nr. 109; Presedo Velo 1982, 235 Tafel 192,2; Domínguez/Sánchez 2001, Nr. 32.

97 Arribas/Trías/Cerdá/de Hoz 1987; Rouillard 1989, 15-146.

98 Trias 1987, 47-196; Trias 1989, 21-49.

99 Trias 1987, Abb. 2,1a; 2,2a; 3,3a; 4,6a Taf. 1-4. So ist z.B. die auf den Fotos ähnlich aussehende Fußgestaltung auf den Zeichnungen ganz unterschiedlich wiedergegeben. Der Wandungsverlauf ist kaum überprüfbar, aber scheint ebenfalls nicht korrekt nachgezeichnet.

100 In unserer stilistischen Reihung der Glockenkratere der Werkstatt (Abb. 17) gehört der Krater in Lluc **ST8** etwa zwischen **ST3** und **ST5**.

101 Noble 1988, 164 Tafel 251; *CVA Cleveland* 1, 18-19 Taf. 27-28; Bentz 2010, 103 Nr. 73 mit Abb.

102 Johnston 1991, 225-226; Boardman 2001, 159-160. Zu Transportkisten s. Aristophanes, Acharner 927-928. Zur Stapelware s. Fless 2002, 17.

103 Vdovičenko 2003, 400-401 Variante 3 und 4.

104 Nur einige, v. a. späte Peliken der Gruppe-G sind deutlich kleiner: Moskau II 1b 1228 (14,5 cm), Berlin F 2628 (15,9 cm), St. Petersburg ƀ 2237 (16 cm), Leiden KVB 57 (16,5 cm), Kopenhagen ABC 1035 (16,7 cm), Anapa AM 4981 (16,9 cm), Louvre CA 258 (17 cm), Berlin F 2627 (17,2 cm), Chania II 8741 (17,4 cm), Moskau II 1b 182 (17,5 cm), Athen 18748 (E 674) (17,6 cm), London F 13 (17,8 cm), Odessa 23374 (18,0 cm), Poltava A-92/6 (18,4 cm), Paris, Cab. Méd. 411 (18,5 cm), Kertsch 6 (18,6 cm), Paris, Cab. Méd. 410 (19 cm), Kertsch 10804 (19,0 cm).

105 Vgl. z.B. die Peliken des Meleager-Malers. Curti 2001, 119-120 Nr. 69-74; Kathariou 2002, 212-213 MEL 4-11. 50.

106 Vdovičenko 2003, 401 Variante 8.

[107] Ein besonderes Großformat haben die Peliken Odessa 21554 (32,9 cm), Athen 1445 (33 cm), Eremitage ? 1878.54 (33 cm), Ioannina ex Mela 7 (33 cm), Genf 481 (33,5 cm), Kavala 442 (35 cm), St. Petersburg Π 1841/42.13 (35 cm), Louvre CA 2267 (35,5 cm), Athen 1180 (37 cm), London E 433 (37 cm), alle ca. 330-310 v.Chr.

[108] Kazarow 1918, 15-18 Abb. 14-15 (um 380/370); *ARV*² 1465,67 bis und *ARV*² 1462,13 bis (2. Drittel 4. Jh.); Curti 2001, 163-164 Taf. 104,2-3 (um 340); Pruglo 1974, 64-77 Abb. 2 (um 340/330); Andronikos 1991, 191 Taf. 118a (um 330/320); Karejša 1846, 290-291 (um 330/320); Miller 1979, 23; 57 Hom. P3-4 Taf. 13 a-d (um 330/320); Štal' 2000, 76. 82 Nr. 136, 154 Taf. S. 195, 203; vgl. Štal' 2000, 68, 74 Nr. 111, 126 Taf. S. 182, 191 (um 320).

[109] Boltunova 1971, 159-172; Münztyp: Zograf 1951, Taf. 40,19; Šelov 1956, Taf. 5,59.

[110] Kertsch 406: Boltunova 1971, 159-172 Tafel 1; Štal' 2000, 100 Nr. 218 Taf. S. 221; Vdovičenko 2003, 446 Nr. 49 Abb. 7; 60,9.

[111] Die Reihe beginnt mit Zaphiropoulou 1970, 417 Nr. 21 Abb. 59 und *CVA Baltimore*, Robinson Coll. (3) Taf. 15, 2a-b. 16,1a-b, gefolgt von Robinson 1933, Taf. 93 Nr. 5; Taf. 89-90 Nr. 144; Robinson 1950, Taf. 62-65 Nr. 48-50. Ihnen nahe stehen die chalkidisch rotfigurigen Peliken Robinson 1950, Nr. 51 und 52. Die stilistisch jüngsten Peliken sind Robinson 1933, Taf. 94 Nr. 147 und Robinson 1950, Taf. 67-69 Nr. 51A.

[112] Die Form der Pelike **G14** entspricht den in Olynth gefundenen Exemplaren Robinson 1933, Taf. 93 Nr. 5 und Robinson 1950, Taf. 64-65 Nr. 50, während Robinson 1933, Taf. 89-90 Nr. 144 und Robinson 1950, Taf. 62 Nr. 48 zeitlich zwischen **G14** und **G15** liegen.

[113] Vgl. Robinson 1933, Taf. 94 Nr. 147 und Robinson 1950, Taf. 67-69 Nr. 51A.

[114] Pologiorgi 1981, 169-171 Abb. 9-10; Kypraiou 1997, 23-24.

[115] K. Tzanakáke, in Kypraiou 1997, 23-24; vgl. Stefanakis 1999, 259-260, 264.

[116] Drougou 2005, 77-78 Tafel 68; 144 Tafel 163.

[117] Vgl. Schefold 1934, 67-68.

[118] Kobylina 1951, 146 mit Anm. 2-3; 147 mit Anm. 1; 152-154 mit Anm. 1-3; 157 mit Anm. 1-2; 164. 169; Pruglo 1974, 69. Die von Morgan 2004, 169-170 Anm. 73-74 genannten Beispiele für eine Datierung ins 3. Jh. v.Chr. sind nicht stichhaltig: Die rotfigurige Pelike aus einem Grab in Paionia Kilkis (Savopoulou 1992, 427-428 Tafel 6) ist nicht attisch, sondern lokal produziert. Eine Zuweisung zur Gruppe-G, wie sie Catherine Morgan vorschlägt, kann man auch aus stilistischen und ikonographischen Gründen ausschließen. Die Gefäßform findet ebenso wie die hochragende Füllung des Gefäßgrundes keine Parallele in der attischen Produktion, lässt sich indes gut mit einer Datierung um 300 v.Chr. in Verbindung bringen. Die Pelike Vergina BNΠ 55, die mit einer Bronzemünze Philipps II. von 336 v.Chr. vergesellschaftet war, wird nun auch von Drougou 2005, 77-78 Tafel 68; 144 Tafel 163 um 330 v.Chr. datiert. Zuletzt spricht auch bei einer Datierung von Grab H2 in Derveni ans Ende des 4. Jhs. v.Chr. nichts dagegen, die Pelike des Hochzeitszug-Malers (Themelis/Touratsoglou 1997, 131 Taf. 145, 146) früher, also gegen 320 v. Chr. anzusetzen. Die Pelike aus einem Kammergrab in Eordaia (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1995, 31, 38 Tafel 6. 7), gehört nach unserer Chronologie etwa in die Zeit um 320/310 v.Chr. und wurde nicht in der Werkstatt der Gruppe-G, sondern in der des Amazonen-Malers hergestellt.

[119] Ferrara, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Spina 2359 und 2360: *ARV*² 1471,4; 1465,72; *Add*² 380; Massei 1978, 78 Nr. 1 Taf. 20,2; Alfieri 1979, 112 Abb. 283. Weitere frühe Peliken der Gruppe-G sind m. E. Moskau, Historisches Museum 11277, Op. B-300: Sorokina/Zhuravlyov 1997, 168 Abb. 3,3; Žuravlev 2003, 19 Nr. 21 - Mytilene, Archäologisches Museum: Archontidou/Acheilara 1999, 84 - Athen, Nationalmuseum 14626: *ARV*² 1464,59.

[120] Auch Štal' 2000, 41, 43, 61, 66, 68 Nr. 45, 53, 98, 107, 112 datiert die frühesten Peliken der Gruppe-G 370-360 v.Chr., die Vdovičenko 2003, 445, 494, 496 Nr. 28, 1062, 1103 ein Jahrzehnt später ansetzt, während das Ende der Werkstatt von Štal' 2000, 28-32, 43-99 Nr. 18, 21, 22, 25, 26, 29, 50, 66, 75, 77, 83, 99, 132, 153, 168, 214 zwischen 320 und 300 angesetzt wird und von Vdovičenko 2003, 444, 449, 490-494 Nr. 7, 12, 109, 1005, 1030, 1031, 1061, 1055 auf 330/320 v.Chr. Tugusheva 2001, 232 begrenzt die Aktivität der Werkstatt auf 340 bis 300 v.Chr.

[121] Einzig die Profilzeichnungen der Peliken Pilsen 8314 und 8316 (*CVA Pilsen* (1) 35-36 Abb. 14,2, 15,1 Taf. 18-21) lassen sich mit ihrer ungewöhnlich bauchigen Form nicht in unsere Profilvergleiche eingliedern. Da auch die anderen im *CVA Pilsen* publizierten Zeichnungen sowohl in der Gesamtform ungewöhnlich sind als auch in den Details zu prononziert und in der Wandungsstärke zu dick, liegt der Verdacht nahe, dass diese allesamt nicht korrekt umgezeichnet wurden.

[122] Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.196: *CVA Malibu* (7) Taf. 345,1-2, 346,1-2. 347,6-7 Abb. 7.

[123] z.B. München 8694 (Scheibler 1994, 117 Abb. 51); Dion 2138 (Tiberios 1990, Taf. 28-29).

[124] z.B. Athen EM 18747 (Giouri 1965, 155-156 Abb. 1 Taf. 70, 71a); einst Berlin V.I. 3984 (Beazley 1939, 633-634 Abb. 10).

[125] Zur Zeit sind 98 vollständig erhaltene Peliken der Werkstatt mit Maßen bekannt, davon 4 à 17 cm, 3 à 18 cm, 4 à 20 cm, 6 à 21 cm, 15 à 22 cm, 10 à 23 cm, 8 à 24 cm, 5 à 25 cm, 2 à 26 cm, 5 à 27 cm, 12 à 28 cm, 5 à 29 cm, 1 à 30 cm, 1 à 32 cm, 2 à 35 cm, 2 à 36 cm, 1 à 37 cm, 3 à 38 cm, 1 à 40 cm, 1 à 42 cm, 1 à 43 cm, 1 à 44 cm, 1 à 45 cm, 1 à 52 cm, 1 à 57 cm, 1 à 72 cm.

[126] Rotroff 1997, 120-121.

[127] z.B. Štal' 2000, 51, 74, 76 Nr. 76; 79, 135 Taf. S. 128. 164. 194; Kypraiou 1997, 19-35 Abb. 5-6; 52-53 Abb. 14 Nr. 3; Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1995, 31, 38 Abb. 6-7; Moore 1997, 143 Nr. 65 Taf. 14. Rotroff 2006, 257 Nr. 123-124 und 249 Nr. 45, aus frühhellenistischen Nutzungsphasen der Brunnen B 13:8, E 3:1, F 11:2 und G 13:4.

[128] Skordou 1997, 48-55 hält eine Datierung an den Anfang des 3. Jhs. v.Chr. für möglich, wohin sie auch die kretisch rotfigurige Nachahmung Chania Π 65 datiert: Skordou 1997, 53. 56-57 Taf. 15. Thompson 1934, 332-334. 427-429 hatte für die beiden Exemplare von der Agora, die aus der Südkammer der Zisterne H 16:3 stammen, eine Entstehungszeit um 325 v.Chr. angenommen. Moore 1997, 143 Nr. 64-65 datiert diese sogar noch ins 3. Viertel des 4. Jhs. Zur Verfüllung der Zisterne H 16:3 um 220 v.Chr. auf Grundlage eines rhodischen Amphorenstempels: Rotroff 1997, 456 und Rotroff 2006, 361 mit Literatur.

[129] Skordou 1997, 36-61 Gruppe B; Vdovičenko 2003, 401 Typ VI.

[130] Vgl. z.B. Skordou 1997, 40 Tafel 3 mit 48 Tafel 8.

[131] Vgl. Trendall 1990, 217-230 und die Abbildungen in *RVAp*, *LCS* und *RVP*.

[132] Lezzi-Hafter 1976, 24-51; Lezzi-Hafter 1988, passim; Kunze-Götte 2002, 97-110.

[133] Für Entwicklungsreihen anderer Gefäßformen s. M. Langner, *Repertorium spätrotfiguriger Bildervasen aus*

Athen (BAR Int. Ser.), Oxford (im Druck).

134 Schefold 1934, 138-139.

135 Diehl 1964. Die antike Benennung des dreihenkligen Wasserkrugs mit enger Mündung als 'Hydria' ist durch die Beischrift auf der Françoisvase gesichert. Zur Benennung als ὑδρία und zum antiken Wortgebrauch s. RE IX 2 (1916) 2516-2520 s.v. Hydria (L. Frankenstein); Richter/Milne 1935, 11-12; Sparkes/Talcott 1970, 53.

136 Zur Form allgemein: Richter/Milne 1935, 11-12 Tafel 76-86; Bloesch 1951, 29-39; Diehl 1964; Sparkes/Talcott 1970, 53 Taf. 3 Nr. 45-51; Lezzi-Hafter 1976, 6-7; Real 1976, 33-47; Kanowski 1984, 38-42; Matheson 1995, 184; Moore 1997, 37-39 Taf. 64-65 Nr. 592-608; Schreiber 1999, 120-123; Mannack 2001, 57-60; Kathariou 2002, 20-21; E. Böhr, *CVA Berlin* (9).

137 Papanastasiou 2004, 50. 57-58 unterscheidet bei jeder Gefäßform verschiedene Varianten und macht dabei nicht hinreichend deutlich, was sie für Zeit- und was für Werkstattstil hält. Dadurch sind ihre Einteilungen, die auf in der Literatur gegebenen Datierungen basieren, teils sehr allgemein, teils nicht nachvollziehbar. So teilt sie z.B. die Hydrien nach ihrer Körperform in vier Varianten, ohne die allgemeine Entwicklung von kugeliger über langovaler zu spitzovaler und ovoider Gefäßform zu berücksichtigen.

138 s.o. Anm. 133.

139 Thukydides III 104; Burn 1987, 7; Robertson 1992, 235-236.

140 Burn 1987, 97 M 1-2 Taf. 22-25a, 27-29.

141 Burn 1987, Taf. 1a, 2b-c, 3, 4b, 5-9.

142 E. Böhr, *CVA Berlin* (9) 63 mit Literatur.

143 Lezzi-Hafter 1976, 6-7 mit Anm. 36 Taf. 3-5 (Profilzeichnungen). 112, 132, 136d, 150a.

144 Um 420-410 v.Chr: *ARV*² 1331,1-5 (Camarina-M.). *ARV*² 1355,30-31; 1356,2; *Para* 484 (M. v. Ferrara T 28); *ARV*² 1359 (M. v. Ferrara T. 36 B, M. v. Ferrara T. 198 A). Vgl. Padua i.g. 1702: Lezzi-Hafter 1976, 115 F1 Taf. 174a. Bereits ins 4. Jh. v.Chr. gehören die Hydrien des M. v. Ferrara T. 1061: *ARV*² 1359,1-7, 1691; *Add*² 369.

145 Um 410-400 v.Chr.: *ARV*² 1350,22-27.

146 Curti 2001, 23-36; Kathariou 2002, 20, 76-78.

147 St. Petersburg, Staatliche Eremitage Φa 1869.52 (KAB 87a): Farmakovskij 1921, 5 Anm. 14; Schefold 1934, 71 Abb. 13.

148 St. Petersburg, Staatliche Eremitage Φa 1869.47 (KAB 78k): Farmakovskij 1921, 5 Anm. 13; Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 211 Abb. 78a-d.

149 s.o. Anm. 15.

150 Schefold 1934, 138: 'Um 390-380'.

151 Kathariou 2002, 222 MEL 79 Taf. 30 b.

152 In großer Deutlichkeit sind diese Tendenzen bei der Hydria Baltimore 48.263 (*CVA Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery* (1) Taf. 31,1-4, 32,1-2 Abb. 8,2) und besonders Berlin F 2635 (*CVA Berlin* (9) Taf. 44,1-4, 45,1-3, 59,2 Abb. 18 Beil. 10,1) umgesetzt. Einige kleinformatige Hydrien mit langgezogenen Formen, die v.a. in den Gräbern Spinas gefunden wurden, stehen zwischen unseren Stilphasen B und C. Um 390-370 v.Chr. sind daher folgende paarweise in Gräbern gefundenen Hydriai zu datieren: Massei 1978, 58 Nr. 1-2; 158 Nr. 3a-b; 312 Nr. 2 a-b; *ARV*² 1359,1-4; *Add*² 369.

153 Die Amphora Detroit 50.193, die ebenfalls zu unserem Typus gehört, dürfte älter als Oxford 1911.257 von 373/372 v.Chr. sein, aber wohl nur wenige Jahre: Bentz 1998, 167.

154 Vgl. Schefold 1934, 138 'Um 380-370'.

155 Vgl. Schefold 1934, 138 'Um 370-360' und 'Um 360-350'.

156 In annähernd chronologischer Reihenfolge: Robinson 1933, Nr. 284 Taf. 127; Nr. 145 Taf. 91-92; Schefold 1934, 155 Abb. 82; 155 Abb. 83; Robinson 1933, Nr. 272 Taf. 222; Nr. 262 Taf. 118. Bereits ins frühe 4. Jh. v.Chr. gehören wohl die kleinformatigen Hydrien Robinson 1933, Nr. 150-151 Taf. 96.

157 Vgl. Schefold 1934, 138 'Um 350-340'.

158 Vgl. Schefold 1934, 139 'Um 330-320'.

159 Gegen die Spätdatierung von Schefold 1934, 114, 119; 120, 124, 139 wendet sich berechtigt Valavanis 1991, 294, 300. Zu den anderen Hydrien aus Alexandria s. Breccia 1912 und oben Anm. 21.

160 Vgl. Schefold 1934, 139 'Um 320-310'.

161 *CVA Benaki* Taf. 19,3, 19,6 Abb. 9; Pagenstecher 1913, 10 Abb. 14,2; *CVA Gotha* (2) Taf. 71,4; Boháč 1958, 143-144 Abb. 49-51.

162 *ARV*² 1470,167-169; 1483,2; Johannowsky 2000, 151 Taf. I-III; Cabrera Bonet 2003, 344-345 Nr. 122; Christie's London, Auktionskatalog 7.10. 2010 Nr. 119.

163 Alexandria, Griechisch-Römisches Museum 8667: Grimm 1996, 58 Abb. 1 a-c - Amphipolis, Archäologisches Museum 3399: Descamps-Lequime 2011, 534 Nr. 333.

164 Schefold 1930, 7 vergleicht Jena 0469 (Paul-Zinserling 1994, Taf. 11,1, 32,1) mit einem auf 375 v.Chr. datierten Urkundenrelief. Kathariou 2002, 241 JEN 8 weist das Fragment nun zu Recht der Frühphase des Malers ca. 400-395 v.Chr. zu.

165 Curti 2001; Kathariou 2002; Kathariou 2009, 63-72.

166 So auch Drougou 1998.

167 Schefold 1934, 88-89 Nr. 145; *ARV*² 1516,81; *Para* 500; *Add*² 384.

168 Valavanis 251-256. Sein Frühwerk des Marsyas-Malers und die Gleichsetzung mit dem Eleusinischen Maler bleibt strittig: Eschbach 1995, 462; Drougou 1999.

169 Robertson 2000, 244. Die stilistisch jüngsten 'Kertscher' Vasen aus Olynth, deren Publikation erst nach Schefolds Arbeiten erschien, gehören in den Übergang vom sog. frühen zum reifen Kertscher Stil (Schefolds 'mittlere Zeit'). Lediglich der in Olynth gefundene Kantharos des Pompe-Malers steht bereits auf der Stilstufe des 'reifen Kertscher Stils': Robinson 1950, Nr. 54; Valavanis 1991, 294, 308-309 Taf. 153.

170 Dazu ausführlich in der 2012 an der Freien Universität Berlin eingereichten Habilitationsschrift 'Meisterwerk und Massenware. Chronologie, Dekor und Funktion spätrotfiguriger Bildervasen aus Athen' des Verfassers.

171 Oxford, University of Mississippi, David M. Robinson Collection, H. d. Kraters 36,7 cm, um 350/340 v.Chr.: *ARV*² 1453,2; *CVA Baltimore*, Robinson Coll. (3) Taf. 17,2a - Ancona, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 3639, H. d. Kraters 48 cm, um 340 v.Chr.: *ARV*² 1453,1; Baldelli/Landolfi/Lollini 1991, 120-121 Nr. 1. Vgl. auch *ARV*² 1453,3; *BeazA* 218226•.

172 Zum Begriff s. Robertson 1992, 267; Fless 2002, 88–89 und etwas unbeholfen Kogioumtzi 2006, 7-12.

173 Die Kritik von Graepler 1997a, 170, sich mit dem Verfahren einem Zirkelsschluss auszusetzen, greift hier also nicht.

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Les Iconocentristes, les Philodramatistes et les Arbitres

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Résumé

Une mode lancée il y a dix ans voudrait distinguer deux écoles inconciliables dans le domaine de l'iconographie de Grande Grèce : celle des «philodramatistes» (d'après qui les vases apuliens s'inspireraient directement de tragédies) et celle des «iconocentristes» (d'après qui les imagiers auraient travaillé au moyen de formules d'ateliers et de schémas pré-donnés). La réalité est tout autre. La question est de savoir si l'imagerie apulienne reflète purement et simplement une œuvre théâtrale, l'identification de celle-ci épuisant le discours, ou si l'image, avec ou sans l'impulsion donnée par un texte, porte l'empreinte d'influences multiples, venues d'horizons variés (peinture murale, relief, gravure, etc.) et remontant à des époques diverses - ce qu'on appelle la tradition iconographique.
Mots clés: Méthodes iconographiques. Tradition figurée. Langage iconographique. Rapports texte-image. Peinture de vases. Récit du messager.

Abstract

A ten-years-old trend would separate two incompatible schools regarding the iconography of Magna Graecia: the 'Philodramatists' (according to them, the Apulian vases are directly inspired by tragedies) and the 'Iconocentrists' (who think that the painters would have used pregiven schemas designed in their own workshop). The reality is different. The point is to define whether the Apulian imagery simply mirrors a theatrical work (so that identifying this work would be enough) or whether the images - with or without the impulse of a text - are influenced by multiple elements (such as wall paintings, reliefs or engravings) coming from various eras - what is called the iconographic tradition.
Keywords: iconographic methods. Figurative tradition. Iconographic language. Relation between text and image. Vase painting. Story of the messenger.

Voilà bientôt deux décennies que Luca Giuliani et Oliver Taplin ont pris l'initiative de faire sortir les travaux d'iconographie de l'impasse[1] où, à les en croire, ils sont enlisés. Ils se sont donc présentés en arbitres et ont décidé de renvoyer dos à dos les deux écoles responsables de ce blocage, celle des «philodramatistes» et celle des «iconocentristes».[2] Elles s'incarnent en la personne de Louis Séchan d'une part, Charles Dugas d'autre part. Séchan avait défini son domaine propre avec une honnêteté scientifique et une acuité intellectuelle dignes d'éloges : la philologie archéologique.[3] Il voulait savoir si les deux champs à explorer, la tragédie et les vases peints, s'inspiraient des mêmes thèmes légendaires et relevaient du même esprit. Une question plus précisément était au centre de ses préoccupations : les scènes des vases peuvent-elles apporter des informations sur les tragédies disparues - qui représentent, hélas, le 90% de ce qui a réellement existé? A chacun de juger dans quelle mesure la réponse qu'il a apportée est satisfaisante. Dans les années 50, c'est-à-dire à une époque où la littérature dessinée n'avait pas encore obtenu ses lettres de créance, Charles Dugas[4] révolutionna l'imagerie de l'Antiquité en montrant que le langage iconographique fonctionne par référence moins à des textes qu'à d'autres images. Henri Metzger a continué dans cette voie, ses *Représentations* marquant une date importante dans l'histoire de l'iconographie. J'ai emboîté le pas avec l'*Ilioupersis*, et quelques émules s'inscrivent dans ce sillage: Christian Aellen, Didier Fontannaz, Christos Ioannitis, Thomas Morard.[5] Mais c'est Meret Mangold[6] qui a posé la pierre angulaire de l'édifice. L'effort, partagé, visait à prolonger pour l'Antiquité grecque les approches, aussi variées soient-elles, d'Aby Warburg, Fritz Saxl, Erwin Panofsky et Ernst Gombrich: faire de l'image, quels qu'en soient l'époque et le support, l'objet à interpréter, et à cette fin n'écarter aucune source, ni aucun instrument susceptibles de l'éclairer.

Les «philodramatistes»[7] représentent aujourd'hui, en tout cas par le nombre, le groupe dominant. Taplin et Giuliani se défendent d'en faire partie et ils déclarent occuper le juste milieu, entre les deux courants extrêmes. C'est la relation entre les images et les représentations théâtrales que Taplin entend mettre en évidence. A l'en croire, les Grecs d'Italie lisaient les scènes de vases en se référant aux connaissances mythologiques acquises lors des représentations de tragédies. En déplaçant ainsi le point de vue du créateur des images au spectateur de celles-ci, Taplin prétend pouvoir échapper à l'alternative iconocentrisme/philodramatisme. Intention louable, certes, mais de réalisation singulièrement aléatoire! Faute de disposer d'informations directes ou indirectes sur les représentations théâtrales du IVe siècle avant J.-C., nous sommes dans l'incapacité de reconstruire le rôle du spectateur comme intermédiaire entre la perception des vases et la vision scénique. De ce genre mixte qu'était la tragédie attique, nous sommes privés définitivement du *melos* et de l'*opsis*, la *lexis* ayant seule survécu: l'*interaction* se limite donc, inéluctablement, aux vases peints et aux textes tragiques. Pour appréhender le régime scopique de l'époque, nous n'avons pas d'autre moyen que de cerner au plus près la relation peintre/spectateur, en nous appuyant sur le matériel iconographique conservé.

Autre postulat contestable de Taplin: le primat accordé à Euripide. En réalité, le public d'alors se trouvait en face d'une masse énorme d'oeuvres dramatiques. L'exemple des *Médée*, que j'avais allégué naguère,[8] conserve toute sa validité: on avait représenté plus de neuf tragédies de ce nom avant le premier tiers du IVe siècle - toutes susceptibles d'avoir inspiré les peintres de vases. Les nombreuses images incompatibles avec la version euripidéenne (jusqu'à la réinterprétation éleusinienne)[9] prouvent que les imagiers ont puisé à des sources diverses. En fonction de laquelle des multiples versions admettra-t-on que les utilisateurs des vases lisaient les scènes peintes? Prétendre qu'Euripide jouissait d'une primauté absolue, ce serait admettre que le public d'alors pouvait avoir une vision claire des différents scénarios qui circulaient pour un thème mythique donné. Or, il est manifeste que cela ne pouvait pas être le cas. Il est vraisemblable que la célébrité d'Euripide a éliminé assez tôt de la tradition les oeuvres dramatiques concurrentes, mais au moment de leur lancement celles-ci ont exercé une influence équivalente. La complicité que postule Taplin entre le spectateur du vase et Euripide repose donc sur un leurre: prétendre que l'image se lisait en fonction d'une version canonique est une allégation gratuite, dépourvue de tout fondement.

De surcroît, le jeu d'*interaction* est toujours ambigu: il n'est jamais possible de dire si tel détail d'une image qui est en contradiction avec Euripide renvoie à une autre version dramatique ou à une innovation de l'imagier. Notons bien que ce n'est pas seulement une impossibilité pour nous, vu l'état lacunaire de la transmission. C'eût été impossible aussi pour le spectateur antique, parce que la succession des tragédies sur un thème donné était trop rapide: ni le public, ni l'imagier n'auraient pu en assurer le contrôle. Les vases étant l'unique matériel de référence en circulation, la tradition iconographique était la seule avec laquelle, au moins théoriquement, le jeu d'*interaction* aurait été possible.

De cette tradition figurée, nous pouvons suivre le développement sans faille. Son évolution est si cohérente qu'elle exclut *a priori* la thèse de Taplin selon laquelle une tragédie précise - Euripide - aurait permis à la chaîne évolutive de s'immobiliser. Une telle argumentation serait défendable si la version euripidéenne s'était imposée définitivement, et elle serait surtout probante si, précisément, cette version avait opéré un travail d'uniformisation. Or, c'est l'inverse qui est vrai: les variantes sont telles qu'il est exclu d'envisager un scénario canonique. D'ailleurs les «étiquettes» accolées par Taplin montrent de façon concrète que pas un seul des documents qu'il incrimine ne reflète de façon univoque la version euripidéenne. En revanche, le *corpus* des images correspond exactement à la situation que nous avons décrite: les tragédies ont certes servi de catalyseurs, mais toutes les tragédies, pas seulement celle d'Euripide. Et les imagiers n'ont modifié que partiellement, ou superficiellement, les données antérieures. A de rares exceptions près - exceptions qui confirment la règle - ni le public (les spectateurs des vases), ni les peintres n'avaient en tête le référent du texte. Il est toujours délicat de reconstituer les arcanes de la création figurée, mais ce qu'on observe, c'est que les imagiers n'ont pas fait table rase de la tradition antérieure et que les données du mythe n'ont pas été oblitérées par la plus récente représentation.

Dans sa pénétrante analyse des mécanismes de transformation du langage iconographique, Meret Mangold a montré que les innovations étaient toujours correctement interprétées par les destinataires, parce qu'ils appartenaient au même contexte socio-religieux que les peintres de vases. L'entente était implicite, inconsciente pourrait-on même dire. Mais précisément cette osmose excluait toute pos-

sibilité d'*interaction*: sur le plan diachronique, parce que les spectateurs des images ne connaissaient que celles qui leur étaient contemporaines, sur le plan synchronique, parce que l'anonymat du langage iconographique interdisait tout renvoi à un *prôtos heuretês*. Seul l'écart chronologique et culturel permet d'établir la distance critique sur laquelle repose l'*interplay*. Comme antithèse absolue à la réception de l'image dans une société où le langage iconographique fonctionne de façon vivante, on peut citer le cas de Pausanias. La relation «culturelle» qu'il entretenait avec l'art de l'époque classique lui a permis de recourir aux méthodes de l'intertextualité (avant la lettre) dans son exégèse des fresques de Polygnote. Avec une naïveté qui n'est pas incompatible avec une pointe de pédantisme, il a pu rattacher chaque détail de la figuration à un poète ou à un peintre déterminé. Mais six siècles le séparaient des oeuvres qu'il commentait et un élagage radical était déjà intervenu dans la transmission des textes.

La question ici débattue ne se réduit pas à une querelle byzantine entre des spécialistes d'une discipline de l'art antique : les vases peints d'Italie méridionale. Il y va de la conception du mythe, du rôle de la tradition figurée dans le monde antique, du fonctionnement de ce qu'on appelle le langage iconographique. Plutôt que de prolonger un discours théorique qui n'est guère éclairant pour les autres représentants des sciences de l'Antiquité, j'aborderai la question avec des exemples concrets. Mon propos est de démontrer que ces vases ont été regardés, et compris, par leurs utilisateurs, *sans référence aucune à quelque tragédie que ce soit*. J'ai choisi à dessein des images qu'Oliver Taplin et Luca Giuliani ont fait comparaître à titre de témoins. Ces deux auteurs ont des positions si proches et sont intervenus en duo si fréquemment que j'estime légitime de les associer dans ce débat qui, je le répète, prendra en compte des monuments célèbres, donc déjà largement connus, et qui se prêtent pour cette raison à des démonstrations que ne peuvent entraver ni sophisme habile, ni faux-fuyant.

Deux vases du peintre de l'Ilioupersis nous serviront de point de départ: le meurtre de Néoptolème à Delphes[10] (*fig. 1*) et la rencontre d'Oreste et d'Iphigénie en Tauride[11] (*fig. 2*). Frappé, comme Huddilston,[12] par leur très grande ressemblance, je les avais rapprochés et j'avais montré que l'*Andromaque* d'Euripide, plus précisément le récit du messager, n'avaient fourni que le prétexte de l'image, l'ensemble de la composition renvoyant à tout un ensemble de traditions d'ateliers et de modèles du grand art.[13] Taplin et Giuliani ont contesté, déclarant que tous les signes (*signals*, *Zeichen*) attestaient une imitation directe de la tragédie.[14] Le cas est bienvenu, puisque, en l'occurrence, le «modèle» littéraire est intégralement conservé. Les historiens de la littérature grecque s'accordent à dire que ce récit de messager est l'un des plus saisissants que l'Antiquité nous ait transmis.[15] Tous les moyens poétiques et dramatiques sont sollicités pour permettre au spectateur - simple auditeur en fait - de *voir* le tableau que décrit le récitant. Il y a le passage de l'aoriste au présent, pour que l'action évoquée coïncide avec le temps du spectateur et se déroule ainsi devant ses yeux;[16] il y a le passage de la 3e personne à la 2e, pour interpeller le public et l'associer à l'action décrite:[17] «Tu aurais vu alors……..».[18] *Stricto sensu*, le messager s'adresse à Pélée, présent sur scène, mais c'est bien ceux qui sont assis sur les gradins qu'Euripide invite ainsi à *voir* ce qu'il dépeint. Nous expérimentons chaque jour ces sensations, grâce aux héros du monde du sport, qui usent des mêmes procédés dans leurs interviews: «Quand tu as fait un entraînement intense, tu entres dans le match avec décontraction…». Au-delà du *speaker*, c'est au téléspectateur ou à l'auditeur de la radio qu'il est fait appel, et celui-ci, par empathie, s'identifie aussitôt aux nouveaux dieux des courts et des stades. Longin, rédigeant son *Traité du Sublime*, savait-il qu'il aurait, deux millénaires plus tard, autant de disciples hors des cercles littéraires? Mais revenons au messager d'Euripide. Il décrit alors les agresseurs, «embusqués à l'ombre du laurier» (1115), et Néoptolème, qui fait face à ses assaillants, debout,[19] *debout sur l'autel* - ce qui est répété deux fois: 1123 et 1146. Le fils d'Achille saisit les armes suspendues au portique (1121), et, le glaive dans la main droite, un bouclier (1131) dans la gauche, il danse la pyrrhique (1135) comme un forcené, toujours dressé sur l'autel.[20] Puis, les assassins[21] le serrant de plus en plus près, Néoptolème réitère le «bond troyen» (1139) que son père avait exécuté lors du siège d'Ilion et saute à terre, «les pieds joints». Finalement, assailli de toutes parts, il tombe (verbe deux fois répété: 1149 et 1152) et expire, allongé au pied de l'autel (1156).

Je ne m'arrêterai pas sur deux points contestés, la présence d'Oreste à Delphes au moment de l'agression et la localisation du meurtre à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur du temple. Si Lesky, Stevens, De Jong[22] et d'autres ont raison, la participation active d'Oreste serait due à une invention du peintre ou à l'utilisation d'un autre référent littéraire. Mais laissons ce problème de côté, pour éviter la polémique.[23] Qu'Euripide ait eu en vue l'autel de

Fig. 1. Cratère à volutes, Milan «H.A.» 239. Cl. du propriétaire.

Chios, situé devant le temple, ou l'autel d'Hestia, qui se dressait dans l'adyton,[24] près de l'omphalos, une chose est sûre : le peintre du vase (*fig. 1*) a imaginé la scène à l'extérieur.[25] Dans l'imagerie d'Italie méridionale, la position agenouillée s'applique à celui qui oppose une ultime résistance, juste avant de succomber. Elle est difficilement compatible avec la danse en armes qu'exécute le Néoptolème d'Euripide, «hoplite terrifiant» (*gorgòs*: 1123), dressé sur l'autel. Le palmier, qui prend ici la place du laurier,[26] trahirait une connaissance étonnante des lieux de la part du peintre, car on sait que, près du temple, se dressait le palmier de bronze que les Athéniens avaient consacré après la victoire de l'Eurymédon (468 av. J.-C.).[27] Le trépied? C'est l'emblème apollinien par excellence et le sanctuaire de Delphes en abritait sans doute un certain nombre, mais les deux que le peintre de l'Ilioupersis a représentés ne se réfèrent à aucun ex-voto précis.[28] Celui qui se dresse, immense, devant le temple, apparaît semblablement sur l'autre représentation de la mort de Néoptolème (*fig. 3*), ce qui implique que l'imagier l'a trouvé dans son modèle. Le messager ne parle pas de trépieds. L'omphalos?[29] Pas un mot non plus dans Euripide. Celui qu'on voit sur le vase, le peintre l'a manifestement emprunté à la scène d'Oreste à Delphes, où il figure régulièrement.[30] On dira de même de la prêtresse en fuite,[31] car, dans le récit du messager, ce sont les Delphiens, les conjurés, qui, terrorrisés par le cri formidable jailli du frond du temple, «fuient comme des colombes devant l'épervier» (1140é-1141). De la Pythie, il n'est nulle part question.[32] Est-ce alors manquer d'objectivité, que de dire qu'en fin de compte, rien, sur le vase, rien ne rappelle, de quelque manière que ce soit, le récit de l'*Andromaque*?[33] La substitution du palmier au laurier[34] est d'autant plus étonnante que, contrairement à l'imagerie attique, où il symbolise parfois Delphes,[35] cet arbre n'apparaît qu'exceptionnellement sur les vases apuliens, où, de surcroît, il ne renvoie pas à Delphes.[36] Le laurier, qu'on aurait attendu, c'est dans la scène de Tauride, sur le vase «jumeau» (*fig. 2*), que le peintre de l'Ilioupersis l'a représenté.

Fig. 2. Cratère à volutes de Naples H 3223, inv. 82113 (photo du Musée).

Le récit du messager est, dans bien des cas, ce à quoi les philodramatistes (Séchan, Trendall/Webster, Giuliani, Taplin) rattachent les scènes de leurs vases: il suffit pour s'en assurer de chercher les références dans leurs index, sous le mot «messager».[37] Cependant, sauf erreur de ma part, jamais aucun d'eux n'en a dit le pourquoi. Cela paraît évident: parce que l'action, qui est le noyau de chaque mythe, généralement une action violente, se jouait forcément derrière le théâtre[38] et que c'est elle que les peintres de vases voulaient montrer. Ce noyau était aussi ce que les poètes tragiques, dans la réélaboration du mythe, pouvaient le moins modifier.[39] La fin de Néoptolème en apporte la confirmation. La tradition de sa

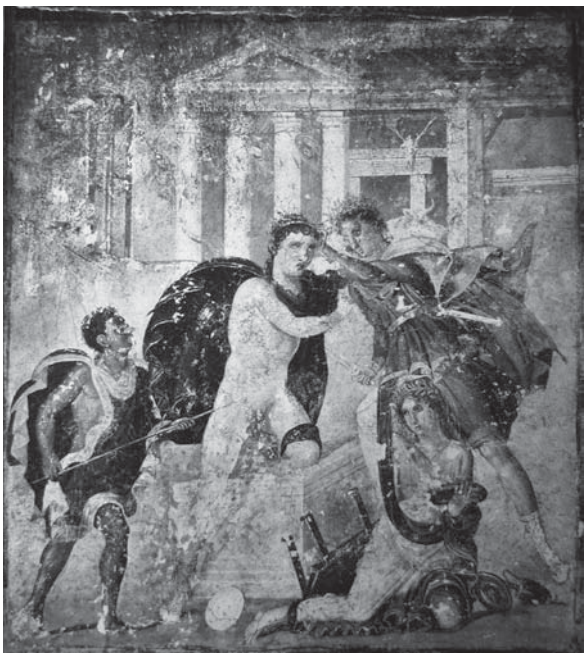

Fig. 3. Maison de Lucretius Fronto, Pompéi V 4a. Cl. Anderson, Nég. 24861.

Fig. 4. Maison du Centenaire, Pompéi VIII 3, 7 (d'après PPM *IX, 1043, fig. 268).*

mort à Delphes était antérieure à Euripide et les Grecs la connaissaient.[40] C'est donc moins le *quoi* que le *comment* qui devait tenir le public en haleine. Euripide l'a bien compris et il a inventé le scénario le plus spectaculaire qui se puisse imaginer. S'il est un récit de messager qui aurait dû attirer l'attention des imagiers, c'est bien celui de l'*Andromaque*. Un autel, même les divinités ne le foulent pas de leurs pieds.[41] Néoptolème dansant la pyrrhique sur celui de Delphes! Voilà assurément *the very signal* que les spectateurs se seraient attendus à retrouver sur les images, si la thèse de Taplin avait un fondement. Le peintre de l'Ilioupersis n'a pas renoncé à la fameuse position agenouillée:[42] preuve que l'innovation d'Euripide n'a pas eu raison de la tradition figurée. Cette adéquation entre un mythe donné et une expression figurée ne doit d'ailleurs pas être considérée comme un merveilleux hasard. Elle était donnée d'avance, dans la mesure où le jeune apprenti, dans l'atelier, faisait la découverte des mythes au travers des images dont ses aînés décoraient les vases.[43]

Les messagers de tragédies, on le sait, ont un statut ambivalent. D'une part, ils racontent ce qu'ils ont vu et laissent transparaître leur douleur, car ils sont impliqués dans l'action (point de vue subjectif);[44] mais, d'autre part, leur capacité de vision et de connaissance dépassent largement celle d'un simple témoin oculaire (point de vue objectif).[45] Dans le cas d'*Andromaque*, le mouvement de va-et-vient entre l'extérieur et l'intérieur, est factice: le messager n'a pas pu suivre, physiquement, Néoptolème, dans ses déplacements ultra-rapides.[46] Mais Euripide pouvait compter sur la compréhension du public, car un grand nombre des spectateurs de la tragédie avaient fait le voyage de Delphes.[47] Et en Italie méridionale, au IV^e^ siècle? Grâce à l'épigraphie, par un heureux hasard, nous savons que les Tarentins disposaient du droit de promantie,[48] ce qui suppose qu'ils allaient eux aussi fréquemment consulter l'oracle. Les citoyens de Thourioi, à leur tour, reçurent ce privilège vers 370/360,[49] donc exactement à la date où notre vase a été peint. Est-ce à dire que le peintre de l'Ilioupersis connaissait *de visu* les lieux qu'il a représentés dans cette image inattendue? Non, il a recréé un Delphes de convention où se juxtaposent tous les référents usuels (omphalos, trépied, laurier) - mais aucun des *signals* tels que les définit Taplin. Giuliani, lui, n'hésite pas à affirmer que l'imagier a montré Oreste dans une attitude mi-fuite, mi-attaque, pour traduire l'ambiguïté que le poète a laissé planer quant à son rôle précis dans le déroulement de l'action.[50] Si tel était le cas, alors le peintre de l'Ilioupersis aurait véritablement été le Wilamowitz de l'Antiquité.

«La peinture est une poésie muette et la poésie une peinture parlante», a dit Simonide.[51] Plutar-

que, dans son commentaire, a introduit la notion de temporalité: les poètes exposent les actions une fois achevées, alors que les peintres les montrent en train de se dérouler. Si Taplin s'était intéressé au *paragone* de Simonide, il n'aurait pas limité les indices référentiels de la tragédie à des *signals* superficiels et banals. Il aurait cherché à mettre en évidence la manière dont les imagiers ont réussi, précisément, à traduire ce déroulement de l'action. Et il aurait peut-être compris que le type «agenouillé», pour garder cet exemple, englobait le passé, le présent et le futur. Néoptolème, qui avait combattu dressé sur l'autel et allait finir allongé au pied de celui-ci, est dans la position intermédiaire, annonciatrice d'une mort imminente. Il aurait alors réalisé que les attitudes, les types, les schémas ne sont pas des formules d'ateliers vides de sens, mais des moyens d'expression aussi efficaces que les tonalités (ré majeur, si mineur) en musique ou que la gamme des couleurs en peinture. Encore une fois: à supposer qu'il soit légitime d'établir un lien entre une tragédie et un vase, rien de décisif n'aurait encore été dit une fois cette relation démontrée. L'intérêt du rapprochement ne ferait alors que s'amorcer. On rêverait presque d'un livre sur la tragédie et les vases peints qui prendrait réellement en compte les outils dont disposaient les imagiers de Grande Grèce, porteurs d'un métier que leurs prédécesseurs du Céramique d'Athènes avaient mis au point durant deux siècles de production.

Venons-en à la peinture romaine (*fig. 3*).[52] Non seulement le décor s'avère identique, mais les protagonistes aussi se présentent selon la même ordonnance. Les agresseurs sont toutefois plus proches de leur victime: Oreste tient son adversaire par les cheveux et la lance du Delphien a déjà pénétré dans l'aine. Plusieurs des accessoires ont disparu, le second trépied, l'omphalos et le palmier. Ou le décorateur pompéien, disposant d'un champ plus limité, les a éliminés, ou, alors, c'est la confirmation qu'ils avaient été introduits par le peintre de l'Ilioupersis. Notons qu'ici Néoptolème est totalement désarmé, ce qui donnerait à penser que la peinture d'époque impériale a été plus fidèle à Euripide que le vase apulien. En réalité, nous avons affaire à une oeuvre de contamination, qui a emprunté autant à une *Mort de Néoptolème*, du début du IV^e^ siècle avant J.-C., qu'à une *Mort de Laocoon*, datant de la fin de l'époque hellénistique.[53] La prêtresse affaissée au pied de l'autel occupe la place du Laocoontide, qui est semblablement agenouillé sur les deux peintures pompéiennes.[54] L'extrémité de la chlamyde enroulée autour de la cuisse de Néoptolème, les entrelacs que dessine la bordure de l'himation de la prêtresse, le liseré zigzagant de la tunique du doryphore sont autant de réminiscences des ondulations des serpents autour de leurs victimes dans la scène concernée. Les ressemblances entre la peinture de la Maison de Lucretius Fronto (*fig. 3*) et le vase apulien (*fig. 1*) sont cependant si évidentes qu'il est impossible de ne pas admettre que les deux images reflètent un modèle commun.[55] Et les différences ne résultent pas du recours à deux sources littéraires distinctes, mais à deux traditions figurées concurrentes. Un dernier mot encore à propos de la position agenouillée, ici inversée. Dans l'immense majorité des cas, c'est le genou droit qui est posé sur l'autel, manifestement pour des raisons d'harmonie du mouvement et d'équilibre de la pondération - la «belle» pose disait Lippold.[56] Si le peintre romain a modifié cette orientation, c'est que son tableau faisait pendant à d'autres scènes mythologiques: il s'agissait de mettre en consonance le décor de la pièce entière et la correspondance des schémas de composition en était une des conditions.[57]

Abordons le vase «jumeau», qui illustre la scène de Tauride (*fig. 2*). Précisons qu'ici encore la tragédie est intégralement conservée: la confrontation peut donc se faire en toute objectivité. On pouvait s'attendre à ce que Taplin ait dressé la liste de tous les signes et signaux par lesquels l'image renverrait à *Iphigénie*. Pas le moins du monde: «It might seem at first glance that this picture evokes *IT* generally, not any particular juncture in it. But for someone who knows the play well, or has it fresh in mind, there is a moment and a memorable frisson that fits this picture quite closely.» Ton confidentiel, connaissance intime de la pièce, voilà qui annonce une découverte inattendue. Faux espoir, car le «moment» en question, auquel Taplin renvoie, est celui que Séchan déjà signalait, se référant à Huddilston, qui ne l'avait invoqué, lui, qu'en désespoir de cause: «Wenn es nötig wäre sich über irgend einen Moment, welchen der Künstler im Sinn hatte, schlüssig zu machen, würde man eine nahe Beziehung zwischen V. 625 ff. und dem vorliegenden Bilde wahrnehmen».[58] Carl Robert, l'un des tout premiers commentateurs du vase, avait déclaré forfait: «Ich bin nicht im Stande, die literarische Quelle dieser Version, wenn anders eine solche zu Grunde liegt, nachzuweisen».[59] Je souligne le membre de phrase décisif: «… si vraiment il faut trouver à tout prix une source littéraire»! Devons-nous soupçonner Carl Robert d'iconocentrisme? Certes non! C'est ici l'un des seuls cas où Carl Robert, dont le credo était que toute image repose

sur un texte,[60] s'est déclaré impuissant à dénicher la source littéraire. Mais donnons la parole au second arbitre: que dit Giuliani[61] du vase de Naples (*fig. 2*)? Rien.[62] Après avoir critiqué l'inanité de ma lecture, il passe à un autre sujet,[63] Rhésos. Pas un mot sur le cratère de Naples. On en devine la raison.

Par souci d'objectivité, nous dirons que la composition du peintre de l'Ilioupersis (*fig. 2*), en l'occurrence, est complexe. Les ressemblances avec le cratère «jumeau» (*fig. 1*) sont trop visibles pour qu'il vaille la peine de s'y attarder. Plusieurs des accessoires communs aux deux images sont probablement de son invention. Mais la scène de Tauride présente tant de similitudes avec d'autres monuments figurés qu'il est manifeste que là encore, l'imagier apulien a puisé à des sources multiples. Les parallèles que Buschor[64] a signalés avec quelques reliefs de la fin du V^e^ siècle sont convaincants, et l'on ajoutera qu'une des scènes récurrentes sur les sarcophages romains[65] montre Oreste semblablement assis, en proie au désespoir. Mais c'est la peinture de la Maison du Centenaire, à Pompéi,[66] qui offre le parallèle le plus impressionnant (*fig. 4*). On y retrouve la même disposition des trois protagonistes: Iphigénie, qui apparaît à un niveau plus élevé; Pylade, dont la main droite pend le long du corps et qui s'appuie contre l'autel; Oreste, assis sur celui-ci. La curieuse présentation des jambes, le copiste l'a empruntée au Diomède du rapt du Palladion, un motif qui était devenu, par le truchement de la glyptique, un des plus attractifs de l'art antique.[67] L'idée d'asseoir Oreste sur un autel proviendrait-elle de ce même modèle? Ce n'est pas impossible. Une autre peinture romaine, celle de la Maison des Vettii (*fig. 5*),[68] préserve plus fidèlement la position assise d'Oreste avec les jambes croisées. Ce qui est sûr, c'est que le bâton sur lequel il s'appuie des deux mains, sur le vase de Naples, n'est pas une invention du peintre de l'Ilioupersis. Ce geste, c'est celui de Thoas, non seulement dans la tradition figurée montrant Oreste assis, mais aussi dans la version[69] où l'on voit les deux voyageurs garrottés, debout, formant un «groupe de deux» qu'on a considéré à juste titre comme une des plus belles inventions de la peinture grecque.

Il y aurait beaucoup à dire encore pour rendre pleine justice à ces deux images du peintre de l'Ilioupersis (*fig. 1-2*). Avec les remarques qui précèdent, le lecteur en sait maintenant suffisamment pour se faire sa propre opinion sur la prétendue querelle des «iconocentristes» et des «philodramatistes». L'imagerie antique reste incompréhensible à qui refuse de mettre au jour les traditions iconographiques qui en ont conditionné la genèse pendant plus de dix siècles. Ces traditions ne sont pas perceptibles à ceux qui établissent des frontières entre les genres artistiques, peinture de vases, peinture murale, glyptique, reliefs. Les «savants» modernes s'enferment dans un cul-de-sac avec leurs spécialisations à outrance et leur méconnaissance de la majeure partie du matériel existant. L'auteur de ces lignes a consacré quarante années à étudier en profondeur quelques-uns des nombreux domaines où se sont manifestés les artistes

Fig. 5. Maison des Vettii, Pompéi VI 15, 1 (d'après PPM *V, 562, fig. 156).*

Fig. 6. Cratère à volutes, Berlin inv. 3157 (d'après Moret, Ilioupersis*, pl. 86).*

Fig. 7. Antéfixe de Tarente, au Musée de Brindisi (d'après Sciarra, Museo Provinciale di Brindisi, n° 278).

Fig. 8. Antéfixe de Lavello, au Musée de Melfi (d'après Tagliente, Italici in Magna Grecia*, pl. 99/1).*

de l'Antiquité - céramique italiote,[70] céramique attique,[71] pierres gravées,[72] peinture romaine.[73] On ne peut rien comprendre, et, surtout, rien expliquer de l'imagerie antique, si on ne prend pas en compte les traditions figurées qui ont traversé dix siècles de créations ininterrompues, s'entremêlant dans les genres les plus divers.[74] A toutes les époques les textes littéraires ont nourri les inventeurs d'images. Au IV[e] siècle, en Italie méridionale, c'est la tragédie qui a rempli ce rôle. Je l'avais écrit noir sur blanc dans l'Ilioupersis.[75] Taplin[76] le répète: «The performance of tragedy was one of the main means through which the viewers of these vases knew their myths», sans me citer.[77] Mais soulignons une fois encore que les tragédies invoquées n'ont été que le point de départ.

L'emprise et la pérennité de la tradition figurée, sur les vases apuliens, transparaît de façon particulièrement manifeste sur le cratère de Berlin montrant l'épisode de Rhésos[78] (*fig. 6*). Giuliani et Taplin ayant utilisé ce vase à titre démonstratif, je crois nécessaire d'y revenir moi aussi. Le peintre a montré en haut l'épisode du meurtre, en bas la fuite des deux compères avec les cavales du roi thrace. Diomède, évidemment, apparaît ici et là: les monuments parallèles (*fig. 9-10*)[79] où l'on voit le héros exécuter les mêmes gestes dans l'une et l'autre scènes en apportent la confirmation irréfutable.[80] Giuliani,[81] rejetant cette idée, parle de comparses anonymes, sous prétexte que le procédé du «récit continu», où précisément un héros intervient plusieurs fois dans la même image, date seulement de l'époque hellénistique. Je cite: «Here the combination of different pictorial tokens results in a gradual dissolution of the thematic content». Taplin[82] surenchérit: «The "montage" does not make sense as a story; it amounts to iconographic incompetence». Il est difficile d'imaginer une conception plus intellectualiste de l'imagerie antique. Plus grave : cela montre que les tenants de la philologie archéologique, incapables d'envisager que les imagiers aient pu concevoir leurs scènes sans référence à un texte précis, parlent immédiatement, en pareil cas, d' «incompréhension» ou de «non-sens». Les contemporains du peintre, eux, ne s'y trompaient pas: entre les créateurs d'images et les spectateurs de celles-ci, il n'y avait pas de malentendus, car tous se référaient

Fig. 9. Situle de Naples H 2910, inv. 81863 (photo du Musée).

Fig. 10. Cratère à volutes de Berlin 1984.39 (d'après Giuliani, Trauer und Tragik, *fig. 73).*

au même langage iconographique.[83] Les uns et les autres participant également à l'évolution de celui-ci, comme l'a admirablement démontré Meret Mangold,[84] il ne pouvait y avoir de malentendus. Nos prédécesseurs du XIX^e^ et du début du XX^e^ siècle eux non plus ne s'y trompaient pas: ils lisaient ces scènes sans préjugés en raison de leur bagage littéraire et artistique.[85] Quand on revient à Furtwängler, Jacobsthal, Kunze, et qu'à chaque nouvelle lecture on réalise tout ce qu'on doit encore apprendre d'eux, on sait aussi que le génie est simple. Le plus douloureux, c'est de constater, non pas seulement qu'il n'y pas eu de progrès, mais qu'il y a eu régression. Diomède remplacé par un Grec anonyme? Ulysse assisté d'un autre que Diomède? Autant dire que un et un ne font pas deux! Le cas qui nous occupe est symptomatique, parce que la scène considérée ne présente pas la moindre ambiguïté. La mission secrète qu'exécutent les deux compères, dans la Dolonie, interdisait la présence de tout comparse.[86] Limpide quant à l'identification des personnages, le vase de Berlin aurait dû conduire les archéologues à un autre constat, d'une importance bien supérieure. Il permet en effet de comprendre comment la technique du «récit continu» a pu se former: par la juxtaposition de deux moments d'un même épisode, qui a entraîné une sorte de fusion entre les deux. C'est d'autant plus évident que sur la situle de Naples (*fig. 9*) on ne voit que le Diomède de la fuite, sur l'autre cratère de Berlin (*fig. 10*) que le Diomède de la tuerie - ce qui confirme que notre imagier a combiné les deux moments en un seul. Ce qui aurait dû intriguer les commentateurs, en l'occurrence, c'est moins le redoublement de Diomède que l'absence d'Ulysse dans le bandeau supérieur.[87] Le peintre a créé une composition parfaitement unitaire avec tant d'habileté que son subterfuge a échappé à tous les observateurs. N'est-il pas tentant de penser que le récit continu est né, tout naturellement, de telles associations?

Sur les représentations apuliennes du meurtre de Rhésos, les chevaux qu'Ulysse tient par la bride se cabrent et leurs têtes, tournées en sens opposé, donnent naissance à une composition héraldique. Le peintre du cratère de Berlin (*fig. 6*), dont la scène est si riche d'enseignements, a franchi un pas de plus. Les deux chevaux se détournent semblablement, mais leurs corps, convergents, s'offrent comme une nouvelle formulation du motif du «maître des chevaux», attesté en Grèce depuis l'époque géométrique.[88] Sa résurgence au IV^e^ siècle dans le monde colonial est confirmée par d'autres attestations, notamment les antéfixes de Tarente (*fig. 7*)[89] et de Lavello (*fig. 8*),[90] qui datent du VI^e^ et du V^e^ siècles respectivement. Cet exemple constitue un cas privilégié où il nous est donné de suivre, dans l'espace et dans

Fig. 11. Cratère en cloche de Bari 12521 (d'après Moret, Ilioupersis*, pl. 53/2).*

le temps, le cheminement d'un motif iconographique avec ses variantes. Sur les antéfixes, les chevaux se cabrent au-dessus du «dompteur», ce qui n'entrait pas en ligne de compte pour la scène du mythe (*fig. 6*). Mais la frontalité d'Ulysse est plus marquée, paradoxalement, et le balancement de ses jambes, qui dessinent un triangle équilatéral, renforce l'impression de symétrie. Le miracle, c'est que, loin de figer la scène et de neutraliser l'action, l'entrecroisement des lignes dynamiques souligne aussi bien la violence de la capture que l'élan de la fuite. Diomède, qui ouvre le chemin et se tourne vers Ulysse pour lui faire signe, permet à celui-ci d'échapper à l'isolement où pourrait l'enfermer un schéma trop décoratif. C'est à Georg Loeschcke[91] que l'on doit cette observation capitale. Le motif du «maître des chevaux» a valeur de paradigme: par la longévité de son utilisation, par son apparition dans les genres stylistiques les plus divers, et par la facilité avec laquelle il a pu s'appliquer, comme ici, à des scènes narratives. Le terme de bricolage, cher à Lévy-Strauss et aux structuralistes français,[92] est celui qui me paraît le moins heureux pour décrire les procédés des imagiers de l'Antiquité et la genèse de leurs images. L'Ulysse qui tient héraldiquement les chevaux a jailli tout naturellement sous le pinceau du décorateur du cratère de Berlin: ces motifs, il les avait dans la main et ils se manifestaient spontanément lors de l'élaboration de la scène. Répétons-le : c'est dans l'atelier que le petit apprenti faisait la découverte des mythes, en voyant ses aînés les dessiner sur les vases et en s'appliquant à les reproduire à son tour. Qui s'est intéressé au travail des peintres ou a écouté des musiciens improviser ou, encore, a dialogué avec des mathématiciens et des physiciens, sait que le langage conceptuel n'en est qu'un parmi beaucoup d'autres, et qu'il n'est pas le plus précis, ni le plus pénétrant. Les peintres pensent en formes et en couleurs, les musiciens en mélodies, en rythmes et en tonalités, les mathématiciens et les physiciens en chiffres et en formules - ce que les intellectuels sont généralement incapables de comprendre. Combien de mathématiciens n'ont-ils pas dit qu'une fois la découverte faite et la formule établie, ils ont toutes les peines du monde à l'exprimer en langage conceptuel? Il leur faut traduire cette formule en mots, ce qui, pour eux, est une tâche terriblement astreignante. Et les caricaturistes, ne répètent-ils pas inlassablement que leurs pointes d'humour ne reposent jamais sur des mots, mais que leur idée part toujours du trait, du dessin? Il faut les croire. Le cratère en cloche de Würzburg (*fig. 13*)[93] apporte-t-il la preuve du con-

Fig. 12. Hydrie de Naples RC 141, inv. 86064 (photo du Musée).

Fig. 13. Cratère en cloche de Würzburg H 5697 (d'après Kosssatz-Deissmann, Tainia Hampe, *pl. 60).*

traire? Une réminiscence d'Aristophane ne peut être exclue *a priori,* mais l'image faisait rire d'abord à cause de la position agenouillée. Le public reconnaissait immédiatement Télèphe, parce que le schéma, utilisé *ad nauseam* pour les héros campés sur un autel, l'aiguillait dans la bonne direction. La *vis comica* découlait de la transposition du schéma héroïque (*fig. 11-12*)[94] à un personnage sordide et de la transformation du bébé royal en sac à vin. L'image était parlante même pour celui qui n'aurait jamais entendu parler des *Thesmophoriazousai*.[95] Les philologues, eux, font le détour par Aristophane, parce qu'ils sont ravis de trouver une illustration de la comédie, sur laquelle se focalise leur intérêt.

Séchan avait eu pour ambition, nous l'avons dit, d'aider à la reconstruction des tragédies perdues. Inutile de dire que ses épigones émettent les mêmes prétentions. A quoi aboutissent-ils? Stephan Radt,[96] le dernier éditeur des fragments d'Eschyle et de Sophocle, cite dans la bibliographie de chaque tragédie les travaux des archéologues-philologues. Mais il ne s'y réfère pas dans ses commentaires des fragments. Moins prudent, Kannicht[97] utilise le témoignage des vases notamment pour dresser la liste des *dramatis personae*: pari risqué! Un commerce même superficiel avec cette imagerie lui aurait montré combien les peintres sont imaginatifs en la matière, inventant des noms fantaisistes pour les protagonistes et insérant des figures de leur crû pour les besoins de la composition. Et nous ne nous arrêterons pas ici sur les phénomènes de contamination ou d'inter-iconicité. Ce qui m'attriste surtout, c'est le choix limitatif et arbitraire auquel ces philologues, très sérieux par ailleurs, ont procédé pour leur information archéologique. Dans leurs bibliographies ne figurent que les «philodramatistes», et, de préférence, ceux de langue allemande. L'élimination systématique des «iconocentristes» avait deux avantages à leurs yeux: 1. Il était commode de s'en tenir aux représentants de la méthode «théâtrophile»: Webster, Erika Simon, Taplin ayant donné leur aval, plus de problème! Je concède que pour agrémenter une lecture universitaire de l'*Orestie* ou d'*Iphigénie en Tauride*, les ouvrages de ces auteurs sont fort commodes. Il n'y a pas à se casser la tête pour trouver les illustrations désirées. 2. Le danger, avec cette pratique, c'est que, les philologues n'utilisant que les travaux des philodramatistes et les philodramatistes classant leurs vases par poètes et par tragédies, il ne peut y avoir d'incompatibilités. Qu'ils soient prisonniers d'un cercle vicieux ne semble pas les affecter : la navette va dans un sens, puis dans l'autre, et les représentants de chaque spécialité se félicitent de la parfaite correspondance.

Je ne m'étonne pas en ce qui concerne les «philodramatistes» (Giuliani, Taplin, Todisco), qui se livrent à un travail d'étiquetage: auteur, tragédie, et via. En revanche, je m'étonne à propos des philologues, eux qui publient les études les plus subtiles sur les parties constitutives de la tragédie et les mètres qui y sont utilisés. En revanche, ils sont de la naïveté la plus désarmante quand il s'agit du langage iconographique. Pour eux, le dessinateur allait au théâtre et, de retour dans l'atelier, peignait sur le vase ce qu'il avait vu. Mozart aussi réécrivit d'un jet, après l'avoir entendu, le *Miserere* d'Allegri, mais cela suppose, même pour le génie qu'était Mozart, une connaissance préalable[98] de la langue musicale et de sa notation, portées, mesures, rythmes, tonalités, instruments impliqués, etc., etc. Et il aurait, lors d'une seconde audition, vérifié et corrigé sa transcription.[99] Aux yeux de Nissen, son biographe, le plus stupéfiant, de la part de ce jeune génie de 14 ans, était précisément «sa connaissance de la phrase musicale et du contrepoint».[100] L'imagier antique se trouvait en face des mêmes difficultés: quand bien même il aurait assisté à la représentation théâtrale, tout commençait quand, le pinceau à la main, il traduisait dans son langage propre le scénario concerné. Faut-il ajouter que le spectacle lui-même, il le voyait de toute façon - en admettant toujours qu'il assistait aux représentations théâtrales - avec d'autres yeux que ses voisins de gradins, lui qui ne cessait depuis l'enfance de peindre des scènes

Fig. 14. Nestoris du British Museum F 175 (photo du Musée).

mythologiques. Nul doute que, présent dans la *cavea*, il aurait vu déjà Oreste et Télèphe tels qu'il allait les dessiner sur ses vases.

A l'époque où le peintre de l'Ilioupersis était à l'apogée de sa production, Isocrate[101] écrivait à son disciple Nikoklès: «Homère a raconté les exploits et les guerres des héros; ces récits, les poètes tragiques les ont transformés en actions et en affrontements». En fait, cela veut dire qu'Eschyle, Sophocle et Euripide ont coulé les mythes dans les vers et les mètres qu'ils avaient empruntés à la poésie lyrique et chorale antérieure. C'est John Herington[102] qui a attiré l'attention sur cette évidence, dont personne n'avait vraiment pris conscience. Et il a rappelé que, pour Aristophane, dans l'*agôn* des *Grenouilles*, l'unique critère d'excellence d'un poète tragique est la *technè*, c'est-à-dire la maîtrise en matière de musique et de métrique. Comment exprimer de façon plus claire la toute-puissance de formes pré-données, que chaque poète pouvait modifier, mais à l'empreinte desquelles il ne pouvait se soustraire? En quelques pages pénétrantes, Herington a montré que le langage tragique a fonctionné avec une efficacité remarquable, durant plus d'un siècle, en se transformant continuellement, non pas d'un poète à l'autre, mais d'une tragédie à l'autre. Meret Mangold n'a rien dit d'autre, dans son irremplaçable *Guide*, à propos du langage iconographique. Elle a montré que les peintres de vases ont représenté les mêmes scènes du mythe, trois siècles durant, en les adaptant aux formes et aux *schêmata* qu'ils avaient hérités de traditions figurées diverses et qu'ils ont modifiées aussi, d'une génération à l'autre, parfois d'un vase à l'autre. A Radt, à Kannicht et aux autres vrais philologues, je ne puis rien dire d'autre que «Tolle et lege».

Ne nous y trompons pas: Taplin, qui se donne un rôle d'harmonisateur, est infiniment plus absolutiste que Séchan. Son livre repose sur un certain nombre d'*a priori*, qui constituent autant de dogmes: 1. Tout vase reflète nécessairement une tragédie.[103] 2. Euripide a une priorité absolue: c'est avec lui que toute comparaison doit commencer. 3. En cas d'échec, mais alors seulement, la comparaison se fait avec un autre poète tragique.[104] 4. Si vraiment cela ne joue toujours pas, c'est qu'on a affaire à une tragédie inconnue (entendez quant au titre et quant à l'auteur, mais tragédie il y a forcément).[105] Ecrire un livre de 309 pages, sans mentionner une seule fois le nom d'un sculpteur, d'un peintre, d'un graveur, et sans évoquer une seule fois une des oeuvres du grand art grec qui ont fourni leurs modèles aux artistes romains, puis au-delà de la Renaissance, à tous les artistes européens jusqu'au milieu du XX^{e} siècle, relève du tour de force. Taplin s'enferme lui-même et ses lecteurs avec lui dans une impasse d'où il est impossible, non pas seulement de sortir, mais de jeter un regard au-dehors. L'abîme qui me sépare des philodramatistes se manifeste de façon exemplaire avec une nestoris du peintre de Dolon (*fig. 14*).[106] Une jeune femme, que deux doryphores encadrent, est conduite devant un roi qui est assis

sur un trône, sceptre en main, et dont les pieds s'appuient sur un escabeau. Le premier garde s'adresse à lui par un geste interpellateur. La jeune femme, tournée vers le monarque, tient humblement la tête baissée. La scène ne comporte aucun décor, mais les deux personnages encore en marche foulent un sol rocheux. C'est, à mes yeux, une image, une des rares images dont la relation avec une tragédie s'impose au premier regard: l'*Antigone* de Sophocle.[107] Taplin l'a écartée, pour deux raisons: parce que le roi ne se tient pas debout et parce qu'il porte la tiare du Grand-Roi. Naïvement, comme le petit garçon du conte d'Andersen dont la nudité du souverain n'aliène pas le bon sens, je dirais: «Mais c'est la preuve que les *signals* ne sont pas opérants!» A partir de la seconde moitié du V^e^ siècle les personnages du mythe, sur les vases, portent des costumes de théâtre: cela a été dit et redit depuis des décennies. Et dans le cas de la nestoris, comment l'imagier eût-il pu faire comprendre que l'homme assis[108] était un *tyrannos*, sinon en l'affublant de l'attribut qui, pour les Grecs, depuis les guerres médiques,[109] était le symbole du despotisme? La vérité est que ce vase gêne Taplin et pour plusieurs raisons. D'abord parce qu'il a été peint en Lucanie, une zone marginale où la pénétration du théâtre attique n'a pas pu se faire, estime-t-il, aussi facilement qu'à Tarente.[110] Et l'absence de tout décor met en échec sa théorie des *signals*:[111] manque ici l'édicule à quatre colonnes, manquent les autres personnages-clé de la tragédie, manquent les costumes «de théâtre», manquent les inscriptions qui sont le critère, selon lui, de l'origine scénique d'une illustration du mythe. La nestoris de Londres confirme, s'il le fallait, que les philodramatistes regardent les images par le mauvais côté de la lunette.

Le témoignage de deux autres vases nous amène à la même conclusion, mais par des voies différentes. Il s'agit des deux cratères en calice du peintre de Capodarso,[112] qui représentent des acteurs, sur des tréteaux, en train d'interpréter une scène de tragédie; l'indiquent leurs mouvements, leurs gestes emphatiques, leurs expressions tragiques. Mais précisément, ici nous avons affaire à des acteurs,[113] non à des héros, et il est impossible de savoir quels sont les personnages qu'ils incarnent - et quel est le mythe illustré.[114] A l'inverse, sur la plupart des vases que les philodramatistes rattachent à la tragédie, les protagonistes apparaissent dans la nudité héroïque et dans des schémas de composition qu'avait transmis la tradition figurée. Et c'est en fonction de ceux-ci que les spectateurs s'y retrouvaient. Les costumes «de théâtre», qui étaient devenus une mode dans l'imagerie déjà dans la seconde moitié du V^e^ siècle,[115] y sont généralement réservés à des rôles typés (roi, pédagogue, etc.). De façon symptomatique, dans les deux scènes de tragédie du peintre de Capodarso, les fameux *signals* de Taplin sont absents.[116] Sur les autres vases de son *corpus*, ils ne constituent que des gadgets, inspirés par le théâtre, certes, pour la simple raison que c'est par ce biais qu'à partir du V^e^ siècle les mythes se sont diffusés.

Le cratère de Naples illustrant le mythe d'Hypsipyle (n° 79)[117] constitue une autre pierre de touche. En l'occurrence, ce sont bien les héros du mythe que le peintre de Darius a mis en scène : non pas cependant dans une véritable action, mais engagés dans un dialogue, celui où les trois protagonistes jouent leur va-tout.[118] Thomas Morard[119] a montré comment l'imagier, ici, a habilement associé les liens d'intertextualité avec les instruments du langage iconographique, notamment ceux de l'imagerie funéraire. Quand les philodramatistes auront vu les différences entre un tel vase et tous ceux qu'ils rattachent gratuitement, en vertu des seuls *signals*, à la tragédie, alors, mais alors seulement, ils pourront légitimement se prétendre arbitres. Et ils réaliseront qu'ils se trouvent dans une position qui ne diffère que d'un cheveu de celle que j'ai défendue naguère dans l'*Ilioupersis*.[120]

Les vases illustrant le mythe de Médée (n^os^ 33-36) suffiraient à résumer la méthode de Taplin. Sur l'amphore de Naples (n° 36),[121] Médée s'enfuit sur son char, poursuivie par Jason à cheval. Entre les pattes de la monture, le cadavre d'un des enfants gît recroquevillé ; celui de l'autre victime se devine sur le bord du char. Taplin imagine une version où la magicienne aurait utilisé leurs dépouilles pour retarder Jason. Sur les sarcophages romains,[122] on retrouve une version similaire de la fuite, avec parfois un des petits cadavres glissant du char. Mais jamais, même dans les oeuvres les plus expressionnistes, on est tenté de dire les plus extravagantes de l'époque antonine, on ne voit Jason à cheval, et encore moins brandir une lance, et jamais non plus un enfant gisant sous les pattes d'un cheval. Dans l'*Ilioupersis*, j'avais reproduit sur la même planche les deux faces de cette amphore, pour montrer - la simple juxtaposition parle d'elle-même - que la scène de Médée a été construite sur le modèle direct de l'Amazonomachie. Au revers, en effet, Penthésilée, javelot en main sur son cheval cabré, s'élance par-dessus le corps d'une de ses guerrières gisantes, pour attaquer un fantassin grec. Dans leur article de 2007, Giuliani et Most, qui se sont penchés sur ce vase, sans mentionner ma thèse, concluent: «All this

corresponds very closely to Euripides' tragedy.»[123] Que dire? Rien. Rien, sauf que même Taplin n'a pas pu cacher son embarras ![124] Dans cet article, les deux auteurs ont abordé aussi le cratère de Médée à Eleusis (Taplin n° 94),[125] que j'avais étudié en détail en 2001, lors d'un colloque dont les *Actes* ont paru en 2004.[126] J'abandonne au lecteur le soin de se faire un jugement à ce propos, étant donné que les possibilités qu'offre l'informatique, notamment pour les recherches bibliographiques, sont quasiment illimitées.[127] Mais j'avoue éprouver un sentiment de malaise en face de cette pratique, de plus en plus répandue, qui consiste à taire les publications des autres quand leurs idées vous conviennent et à les attaquer de front quand elles vous déplaisent.[128]

Pour les adeptes de la *Visual Culture*, aujourd'hui à la mode en-deçà et au-delà de l'Atlantique, cet affrontement entre iconocentristes et philodramatistes peut ressembler à une bataille d'arrière-garde, aussi anachronique que la querelle des Anciens et des Modernes. On y retrouve cependant, comme *in vitro*, un des éléments récurrents de la longue histoire des deux disciplines sœurs: le caractère agonal du rapport texte/image. Ce qui est nouveau, c'est qu'il se manifeste ici sur le plan méthodologique. Vouloir le nier, en proposant un itinéraire intermédiaire, conduit, nous l'avons vu, à un cul-de-sac. N'est-il pas plus judicieux de reconnaître que les deux parcours envisagés sont irréductibles? Les explications et les exemples que nous avons proposés permettront au lecteur de choisir la voie la plus satisfaisante du point de vue scientifique.

Notes

1 *Aporia*: Giuliani 1996, 73.

2 Giuliani 1996 et 2009; Taplin 2007. L'inventeur? Ils se font des politesses: Taplin 2007, 23, renvoie à Giuliani, Giuliani 2009, 439, à Taplin.

3 Voir notamment Séchan 1926, 58.

4 Voir *Recueil Dugas* (1960), édité par H. Metzger et la bibliographie ibid., 9-11.

5 Voir Aellen 1994; Ioannitis 2007; Fontannaz 2008; Morard 2002 et 2009.

6 Mangold 2005. La version allemande (2000) porte, il est vrai, un titre peu indicatif: *Kassandra in Athen*, hommage de l'auteur au très beau livre de Christa Wolf.

7 Voir, outre les travaux déjà cités de Giuliani et Taplin: Webster 1967a; Trendall/Webster 1971; Kossatz-Deissmann 1978; Todisco 2003 et 2012.

8 Moret 1975, 263, n. 1.

9 Voir infra n. 125 et 126.

10 Cratère à volutes de Milan «H.A.» 239: *RVAp* I, 193/4; Huddilston 1900, 99, fig. 10; Séchan 1926, 254, fig. 75; Pouilloux 1963, pl. 21/1; Trendall/Webster 1971, III 3, 9; Roux 1976, pl. 15; Schefold 1989, 370, fig. 331; Giuliani 1996, pl. 15; Taplin 2007, n° 43 ; Morard 2009, 51, pl. 87/1.

11 Cratère à volutes de Naples H 3223 (inv. 82113) : *RVAp* I, 193/3; Huddilston 1900, 151, fig. 18; Séchan 1926, 383, fig. 111; Lippold 1951, 61, fig. 47; Trendall/Webster 1971, III 3, 28; Giuliani 1996, pl. 14; Taplin 2007, n° 47.

12 Huddilston 1900, 100, n. 2, qui les avait attribués au même peintre. Il vaut la peine de se reporter à son exégèse des deux vases: 98-103 et fig. 10, d'une part, 150-155 et fig. 18, d'autre part. Trendall a confirmé son jugement quant à leur attribution.

13 Moret 1975, 108-109 et 176-177. Plusieurs de mes phrases sont citées dans le commentaire du *LIMC*, s.v. *Neoptolemos*, 779. Taplin s'y prend à deux fois pour rejeter cette interprétation: 2007, 37 et 141.

14 Giuliani et Taplin n'ont pas élevé de critiques à propos des «modèles du grand art» que j'avais invoqués. Pour cause ! Du vase du peintre de l'Iliouspersis, Taplin dit: «It happens to be the only artistic representation we have of the death of Neoptolemus … at Delphi» (p. 37), répété avec encore plus d'emphase p. 139: «It is remarkable that this is the one and only representation of the death of Neoptolemus at Delphi to survive in visual art». On a du mal à comprendre: cf. fig. 3. Selon eux, de surcroît, j'aurais considéré le travail de ces peintres de vases comme du vulgaire bricolage à l'aide de formules, de chiffres, de conventions limitées à ces ateliers. Voir notamment : Giuliani 1996, 74 («iconographic formulae»); 2009, 439 («Formen, Chiffren, Formeln») et 441 («Konventionen»; «gattungsinterner Prozess»). Taplin 2007, 141: «selective pedantry», et 24: «outpedant the pedantists»! La rédactrice de l'art. Neoptolemos, dans le *LIMC*, n'a pas, elle, déformé mes propos. Voir aussi infra n. 92.

15 Lesky 1947; Diller 1958, 96: «gehört zu den eindrucksvollsten»; De Jong 1991, passim, notamment 72 ; Allan 2000, passim, notamment 145-146, 251 et 254.

16 Long. *Subl.* cap. 25: «Si on représente comme agissant sous nos yeux et comme présents des faits qui appartiennent au passé, ce ne sera plus une narration, mais une action dramatique [littéralement: «une action en mouvement, en exécution»] que l'on constituera».

17 Long. *Subl*. cap. 16: «Le changement de personnes aussi n'est pas moins dramatique: souvent, grâce à cet artifice, l'auditeur croit se voir en proie au danger». Voir aussi De Jong 1991, 98 et 195-197, *Appendix* G.

18 Eur. *Andr*. 1135: *an eides*. Voir Stevens 1971, 231 ad 1135. Sur le «visual focus»: Wiles 1997, 201.

19 Burnett 1971, 152.

20 Notons que Néoptolème passait pour l'inventeur de la pyrrhique: Luc. *Salt*. 9. Le public d'Euripide ne pouvait l'ignorer.

21 Bremer 1976, 34, insiste sur la masse: il classe l'action delphique rapportée dans le récit du messager parmi les «crowd-scenes» et résume les vv. 1085-1166 ainsi: «Orestes' gang attacks Neoptolemos». De même Diller 1958, 96-98, où il compte Néoptolème parmi les héros qui tombent dans une trappe, cernés qu'ils sont par «une muraille d'hommes». Le vase du peintre de l'Iliouspersis ne provoque pas précisément cet effet.

22 Lesky 1947; Stevens 1971, 211-213; De Jong 1991, 53, n. 144.

23 Parce que j'ai adhéré (1975, 176) à la thèse de Lesky, selon laquelle Oreste avait quitté Delphes avant le meurtre de Néoptolème, Taplin écrit (2007, 282, n. 75): «This unconvincing claim by Lesky… is eagerly embraced by Moret, because it suits his case better». Je fais remarquer à Monsieur Taplin que Webster, dans son livre sur les tragédies d'Euripide (1967b, 120) écrit: «Euripides has been very careful to indicate time here: Neoptole-

mos at the beginning of the play is said to be in Delphi. The messenger reports that Neoptolemos devoted three days to sightseeing during which Orestes sowed his rumours; so that we should think of Orestes leaving Delphi for Phthia before the day on which Neoptolemos decided to sacrifice and was murdered». Et il renvoie expressément (n. 7) à l'article de Lesky. Ce livre de Webster ne figure pas dans la bibliographie de Taplin, qui, manifestement, ne l'a pas utilisé. J'ajoute que dans *Monuments illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play*[2], paru la même année, Webster rattache le vase de Milan à *Andromaque* (1967a, 154). Je concède à Taplin que s'il me demandait de justifier la position en porte-à-faux de Webster (que personne, pourtant, ne peut soupçonner d'iconocentrisme), j'aurais quelque difficulté à le faire. Mais les philodramatistes ont leurs raisons que la raison ne connaît pas toujours.

[24] Ainsi Paus. 10.24.4: «on voit, à l'intérieur, le foyer (*hestia*) où un prêtre d'Apollon tua Néoptolème». Pouilloux 1963, 113 identifie comme autel d'Hestia les foyers (*ta empura*) mentionnés au v. 1113.

[25] Sur l'alternance entre intérieur et extérieur dans le récit d'Euripide: Pouilloux 1963, dont la reconstruction est acceptée par Stevens 1971, 226: «the most plausible». De même Roux 1976, 103-110 sur la topographie du récit euripidéen. Selon Fontenrose 1960, 213-216, toute l'action décrite par le messager se serait déroulée à l'intérieur. Winnington-Ingram 1976, 487-490, n'apporte pas grand-chose de nouveau.

[26] Un laurier se trouvait-il dans l'adyton? Voir Amandry 1950, 126-134; Roux 1976, 123-129 et 134-135, fig. 7-8 (reconstitution de l'adyton); Stevens 1971, 228 ad 1115.

[27] Amandry 1954, notamment 307-315. Encore vu par Pausanias au II[e] s. apr. J.-C.: 10.15.4. Voir Daux 1936, 185-186.

[28] La colonne d'acanthes, où les danseuses étaient comme enchâssées dans un trépied de bronze qui portait un omphalos de marbre, n'a pu être vue ni des contemporains d'Euripide, ni de ceux du peintre de l'Ilioupersis: elle date de 335/325 av. J.-C. Voir Martinez 1997 et Luce 2001.

[29] Voir Amandry/Hansen 2010, I, 85-100: pronaos (Bousquet), opisthodome (Amandry).

[30] Parmi d'innombrables ex.: Taplin 2007, n[os] 7, 9 et 10.

[31] Sur cette figure récurrente: Moret 1975, 135-147.

[32] En revanche, le messager parle des proxènes et des devins (v. 1103). Proxènes: Amandry 1950, 112 et n. 1; Pouilloux 1963, 112. Devins: Delcourt 1981, 46.

[33] Au contraire Giuliani 1996, 73: «All this agrees very well with the messenger's speech in Euripides». Un peu plus nuancé Taplin 2007, 140: «The painting tallies with much of this, but not with all».

[34] «The palm is probably thought suitable simply through association with the cult of Apollo on Delos, where there was a sacred tree beneath which he and Artemis were supposed to have been born», écrit Taplin 2007, 282, n. 68. Démonstration vraiment convaincante que tout, sur le vase du peintre de l'Ilioupersis, est signe (*signal*) renvoyant au récit euripidéen! Giuliani 1976, 74, n'est guère plus inspiré: «in Delphi, as one might expect, the palm, holy to Apollo».

[35] Voir notamment le cratère en calice de Saint-Pétersbourg St. 1807, du peintre de Cadmos: *ARV*[2] 1185/1187; Metzger 1951, 177, n° 32, pl. 37 et pl. 25/3; Roux 1976, pl. 28.

[36] Voir, du peintre de l'Ilioupersis, la scène localisée en Egypte (?) ou en Crète, sur le cratère à volutes du Vatican AA2, inv. 18255 (Aellen 1994, n° 19, pl. 24; Morard 2009, 52, pl. 88/1). Peintre de Darius: l'oasis de Siwa, sur le lécythe de Hamburg 2003.129. Cf. Ioannitis 2007, notamment 33: «la présence de deux palmiers signifie effectivement une oasis».

[37] Selon Taplin 2007, 272, n. 120, un tiers des images (pour Euripide).

[38] Cela implique que la mise en scène et le décor n'entraient pour rien dans l'influence que la représentation était susceptible d'exercer sur les imagiers. Cf. aussi Taplin 2007, 24.

[39] C'est particulièrement vrai de l'*Andromaque* d'Euripide, comme le souligne Conacher 1967, 167: «As is usual with Euripidean manipulations of this kind, the dramatist reduces to the minimum any actual changes of "fact" (in the legendary sense) in the received tradition. Rather he … invents connections between relatively independent legends».

[40] Voir Fontenrose 1960.

[41] Voir Greifenhagen 1942.

[42] C'est celle d'Oreste, de Télèphe, même de Priam et de Cassandre se défendant contre un agresseur: Moret 1975, 103-134. Ceux qui supplient sont assis sur l'autel: ainsi Oreste en Tauride (*fig. 2*).

[43] Les grands-mères ou les nourrices (cf. Taplin 2008, 7 et n. 28: *old women*)? Taplin lui-même n'y croit pas trop.

[44] Pour *Andromaque*: De Jong 1991, 53-54; Allan 2000, 79 et 254.

[45] Voir De Jong 1991; Barrett 2002, passim, notamment 56-101. Il prend comme exemple le messager des *Perses* d'Eschyle qui embrasse la totalité de la bataille et, simultanément, voit des détails infimes comme la barbe ensanglantée d'un Perse (23-55). On pourrait parler d'un effet de zoom (mot que Barrett n'emploie pas).

[46] Voir notamment De Jong 1991, 20-21 et 52-53. Pouilloux 1963, 116, montre que, dans le récit du messager, il est surtout question de bruits et de lueurs quand Néoptolème est censé se trouver à l'intérieur du temple.

[47] Et il a pris soin de préparer son auditoire à cette description précise du messager en lui faisant dire qu'avec son maître ils ont admiré pendant trois jours le sanctuaire et ses merveilles: vv. 1085-1087. Si l'on rattache *ommata* à *exepimplamen* («nous nous sommes rempli les yeux»), la dimension du spectacle s'exprimerait de façon vraiment hyperbolique. Voir Stevens 1971, 223 ad 1086-1087. Notons que même si la «création» n'a pas eu lieu à Athènes, le caractère panhellénique de Delphes permettait au public de n'importe quelle autre cité de s'y reconnaître. Voir Diller 1958, 957-97 et Allan 2000, 77, n. 148: «Delphi, the international sanctuary *par excellence*…».

[48] Pouilloux 1952, 489, n° XIII; Roux 1976, 76.

[49] Pouilloux 1952, 488, n° XII: entre 373 et 350 av. J.-C. Etonnant que Taplin, si attentif à souligner tout ce qui pouvait rendre le public d'Italie méridionale complice d'Euripide, et de son texte, ait négligé des données historiquement aussi importantes. C'est d'autant plus étonnant qu'il parle (p. 9) de possibles représentations théâtrales à Tarente et Thourioi précisément. Ajoutons, pour ceux qui ne connaîtraient pas bien l'histoire du sanctuaire de Delphes, que la reconstruction du temple des Alcméonides, au IV[e] s., n'a rien changé au plan extérieur, ni à l'aménagement intérieur: Gruben 1976, 76-77; Hellmann 2002, 98-99; Amandry/Hansen 2010.

[50] Giuliani 1996, 75. De même Taplin 2007, 140-141.

[51] Plut. *De glor. Athen.* 3, 346 F. Plutarque loue aussi Thu-

cydide et Démosthène d'avoir, par leur art, réussi à transformer l'auditeur en spectateur. On comparera Hor. *Ars poet*. 180-188. Mais Horace, lui, met plutôt l'accent sur ce qu'il faut dérober à la vue et donc confier au récit.

[52] Maison de Lucretius Fronto (V 4a): *PPM* III, 986, fig. 40 [M. de Vos]; HBr, 215-217, pl. 156; Pouilloux 1963, pl. 21/2. Taplin 2007 n'y fait pas allusion et, à propos du vase apulien, il souligne: «It is remarkable that this is the one and only representation of the death of Neoptolemos at Delphi to survive in visual art» (p. 139).

[53] Voir Moret 2002.

[54] Maison du Laocoon (VI 14, 28.33: b): *PPM* V, 352-354, fig. 16-17 [I. Bragantini]; Settis 1999, fig. 37. Maison du Ménandre (I 10 4 : 4): *PPM* II, 282-285, fig. 64-68 [R. Ling]; Maiuri 1932, pl. 4; Settis 1999, fig. 36.

[55] Déjà relevé dans HBr, 215, où est reproduit en dessin (fig. 63) le vase du peintre de l'Iliounpersis. De même Schefold 1989, 372: «Das Vasenbild muss ein berühmtes Original wiedergegeben haben, denn eine Variante in Pompeji [ist] nächstverwandt».

[56] Lippold 1946, 88-90.

[57] Le démontre l'ordonnance dans le *triclinium* (p) de la Maison des Vettii (VI 15, 1), avec la Mort de Penthée, Hérakliskos étouffant les serpents (deux mêmes positions agenouillées, mais en sens inversé) et la Mort de Dircé: *PPM* V, 526-533 [V. Sampaolo].

[58] «S'il fallait absolument se décider pour un moment particulier que l'artiste avait en tête, ce sont les vers 625 sqq. qu'on retiendrait pour établir le rapport entre l'image et la pièce»: Huddilston 1900, 153.

[59] «Je suis dans l'incapacité de démontrer, pour cette version [entendez: la version retenue par l'imagier] la source littéraire, si vraiment il en existe une»: Robert 1876, 137.

[60] Son *Bild und Lied* (1881) peut être considéré comme l'acte fondateur de la philologie archéologique.

[61] Giuliani 1996, 74: «This approach [entendez: celle de Moret] can be illustrated *paradigmatically* with the two vase-paintings by the Iliupersis Painter.» *Paradigmatically*: c'est moi qui souligne. Voir Moret 1975, 109, 143 et 177.

[62] Il se contente de traduire le commentaire de Séchan sur ce vase: 1996, 72.

[63] Giuliani 1996, 75.

[64] Buschor 1932, 165-169, notamment fig. 82-84.

[65] Robert 1890, 186-188, n^{os} 177-180.

[66] VIII 3, 7 (*triclinium* 41): *PPM* IX, 1042-1043, fig. 266-268 [V. Sampaolo]; *HBr*, 165, pl. 119; Lippold 1951, 61, fig. 48.

[67] Voir Moret 1997, passim, notamment 243-266, pl. 33-48.

[68] VI 15, 1 (q): *PPM* V, 562, fig. 156 [V. Sampaolo]; HBr, 31, pl. 20/3; Curtius 1929, 248, fig. 146.

[69] Ex. le plus célèbre, la peinture de la Maison du Citharistе I 4, 5 et 25 (exèdre 35): *PPM* I, 134-135, fig. 31-32 [M. de Vos]; HBr, pl. 115-116; Curtius 1929, 244, fig. 142; Lippold 1951, 61, fig. 46; Schefold 1989, 309, fig. 265. Signalons que, dans la scène de la remise des armes, Achille, assis sur sa kliné, tient aussi un bâton, mais d'une main seulement, sur laquelle, de surcroît, sa tête s'appuie. Parmi plusieurs illustrations similaires: amphore de Tarente 9847, du peintre de Baltimore (*RVAp* II, 869/44, pl. 369/1-3). Pour le geste d'Oreste, le cratère du peintre de l'Iliounpersis est sans parallèles dans la peinture de vases: nouvel exemple qu'il ne s'agit pas, comme le répètent Taplin et Giuliani, de «formules d'ateliers» et de «schémas limités à un genre fermé sur lui-même».

[70] Moret 1975.

[71] Moret 1984.

[72] Moret 1997.

[73] Moret 2012.

[74] Deux exemples suffiront: 1. Meurtre de Dolon : le cratère campanien de Syracuse 36332 (*RVP*, 25/7) est incompréhensible sans le rapprochement avec la pâte de verre de Berlin FG 622 (*AG*, pl. 23/32). Voir Moret 1997, 238-239, pl. 118, fig. 260 et 261. 2. Rapt du Palladion: l'agate d'Oxford 1966.1808, signée Félix, est le fruit de multiples manipulations à partir de nombreux modèles, notamment de la peinture et du relief: voir Boardman 2009, 96-98, n° 165; Moret 1997, 243-257.

[75] Moret 1975, 262: «Il est indéniable que la tragédie attique a été, au IV^{e} siècle, un des principaux agents de diffusion de la mythologie en Grande-Grèce.» Et j'ajoutais: «Contre l'idée traditionnelle d'une inspiration purement littéraire, nous rappellerons l'importance d'une tradition figurée dont l'influence s'est fait sentir tout au long du IV^{e} siècle». Puisqu'il faut mettre les points sur les «i», je précise que l'adverbe «purement», dans cette phrase, implique que je considère qu'il y a effectivement eu influence littéraire, mais que cette influence n'a pas été exclusive.

[76] Taplin 2007, 25.

[77] «Intellektuelle Redlichkeit»? C'est ce qu'affirme Giuliani 2007, 447. Voir encore Taplin 2007, 7, où l'on trouve une autre paraphrase de ce que j'avais écrit dans l'*Iliounpersis*: «It is … a pretty fair conjecture that the main way [pour la connaissance des mythes] throughout the Greek world in the 4th century was through tragedy.» Mais là encore il n'y a aucun renvoi à l'*Iliounpersis*.

[78] Cratère à volutes de Berlin, inv. 3157, proche du peintre de l'Iliounpersis: *RVAp* I, 441/102a; Trendall/Webster 1971, III 5, 8; Moret 1975, 187-190 et 267, pl. 86; Giuliani 1996, pl. 18; Taplin 2007, n° 53.

[79] Situle de Naples H 2910 (inv. 81863), du peintre de Lycurgue: *RVAp* I, 417/18; Trendall/Webster 1971, III 5, 7; Giuliani 1996, pl. 16. Cratère à volutes de Berlin 1984.39, du peintre de Darius: *RVAp* Suppl. II, 146/17a; Giuliani 1996, pl. 17; Taplin 2007, n° 54.

[80] Les textes de même! La répartition des tâches entre Ulysse et Diomède (celui-ci tuant Rhésos, celui-là s'emparant des chevaux: Hom. *Il*. 10.480-481) faisait tellement partie du mythe que l'auteur de la tragédie a dû la conserver: [Eur.] *Rh*. 622-624.

[81] Giuliani 1996, 78-79.

[82] Taplin 2007, 162. Taplin semble d'ailleurs avoir mal compris ce qu'entendait Giuliani (dont l'article était pourtant en anglais!): «The solution offered by Giuliani is that the painter has included figures who represent two alternatives positions for Diomedes, one attacking, one escaping» (pp. 161-162). En réalité Giuliani considère les deux Diomède comme deux figurants anonymes. C'est moi qui ai défendu l'interprétation que Taplin prête à Giuliani, mais, étrangement, il ne me cite pas pour ce vase (p. 283, n. 122).

[83] C'est pourquoi les prétentions de Taplin 2007, *Part I*, de se placer dans l'optique des spectateurs des vases, non des peintres, sont purement théoriques. Sur cette corrélation, je me suis exprimé très clairement: 1984, 153-162.

[84] Mangold 2005.

[85] Ainsi Jessen, Roscher IV (1909), s.v. *Rhesos*, col. 104-106, fig. 2: «Oben schleicht Diomedes heran zu dem zwischen seinen Thrakern schlafenden Rh., unten sieht man Odysseus die Rosse fortführen und Diomedes forteilen.» De même Trendall/Webster 1971, sub III 5,

8, qui ne relèvent pas d'anomalies: «a similar treatment of the subject, with a little more detail».

[86] La paire que constituent Ulysse et Diomède est mise en évidence à plusieurs reprises dans l'*Iliade*: 10.247 (*amphô*: tous deux); 283 (*deutéros*: en deuxième); 297 (comme deux lions). Encore plus remarquable pour le public d'alors, l'emploi du duel: *Il*. 10.254 sqq.; 272 sqq.; 349 sqq.; 469 sqq. Duel que conserve la tragédie, au IVe siècle: [Eur.] *Rh*. 590-591; 595; 619.

[87] Il a assisté Diomède lors de la tuerie, en tirant à l'écart les cadavres, pour que les chevaux aient ensuite la voie libre: Hom. *Il*. 10.488-493. Le glaive qu'il porte, sur ce vase et sur la situle de Naples, fait-il allusion aux moments qui ont précédé la capture des chevaux ?

[88] On le rencontre sur les vases géométriques, sur les bronzes péloponnésiens, sur deux hydries de Caeré, sur des vases du peintre d'Amasis, sur des vases laconiens et sur des pierres gravées.

[89] Au Musée de Brindisi: Sciarra 1976, no 278; Danner 1996, 67, pl. 17/5.

[90] Au Musée de Melfi: Bottini/Fresa/Tagliente 1990, 243, pl. 99/1; Danner 1996, 32, F 62, pl. 14/1.

[91] Loeschcke 1890.

[92] Taplin 2007, 23 écrit: «This view [la mienne] has become the dominant orthodoxy in Francophone scholarship and is now becoming widespread.» I. Krauskopf (*GGA* 239, 1987, 228-258) avait déjà fait un mémorable pasticcio avec ces notions, me considérant comme le protagoniste (c'était son mot) de l'école de Claude Bérard ! Mais il semblerait que les plus grossières confusions de méthodes se soient entre temps étendues outre-Manche: Taplin 2007, 272, n. 117, en plus de la citation ci-dessus. Qui a une connaissance fût-ce superficielle de Vladimir Propp, de Ferdinand de Saussure, de Claude Lévi-Strauss et de Roland Barthes sait que le structuralisme de chacun d'eux est incompatible avec celui des autres. Comme l'avait écrit Domingo Gasparro (cf. H. Metzger, *REG* 103, 1990, 663-664), si l'on raisonne en schémas binaires, blanc ou noir, il est certain que je suis plus proche encore des philodramatistes que des structuralistes. Autre étiquette aberrante: Taplin 1993, 22, n. 2: «Moret … much influenced by H. Metzger»! Qui a parcouru ses *Représentations*, que je tiens pour un des plus grands livres jamais écrits sur l'iconographie grecque, connaîtrait l'abîme qui nous sépare dans l'approche des images.

[93] Würzburg H 5697: *RVAp* I, 65/4a; Kossatz-Deissmann 1980, pl. 60; Taplin 2007, 14, fig. 6. Kossatz-Deissmann a insisté sur le schéma agenouillé que le peintre phlyaque a emprunté aux représentations héroïques (p. 284 et p. 290).

[94] Cratère en cloche lucanien de Bari (*LCS*, Suppl. II, 165/416d; Moret 1975, pl. 53/2) et hydrie campanienne de Naples RC 141 (inv. 86064) (*LCS*, 340/804, pl. 133/4; Séchan 1926, 509, fig. 149; Trendall/Webster 1971, III 3, 48).

[95] Voir Keuls 1997, 324: «The illustration does not necessarily prove that the entire play of Aristophanes was revived in the *phlyax* theater of Southern Italy, only that the myth and its parody were sufficiently familiar for this scene to be recognizable.» Et à propos des images parodiques du mythe d'Oedipe (rassemblées in Moret 1984, 139-150, pl. 90-96), elle ajoute: «The treatment of the Oedipus motif is, of course, but one small sample of the satirizing tendencies of Greek vase painting, but its blatant rejection of the dominant literary-mythological tradition makes it especially revealing of the pictorial artists' own frames of mind» (p. 286). Les philodramatistes accuseront-ils Eva Keuls d'iconocentrisme? Qu'ils lisent son livre en entier.

[96] S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, III, *Aeschylus*, Göttingen 1985; Idem, IV, *Sophocles*, 1977.

[97] R. Kannicht, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, V (2 vol.), *Euripides*, Göttingen 2004.

[98] La mémorisation, qui constitue évidemment l'élément le plus stupéfiant de cet épisode de la vie du jeune Mozart, relève de son génie. Mais ce génie devait néanmoins connaître les conventions de la mise sur papier, à l'aide de portées, d'une partition. Les musicologues savent qu'il existe des rythmes, dans la musique folklorique, qu'il est impossible de transcrire dans le système occidental de notation musicale, composé de noires, de croches, doubles croches, etc. Cela montre la distance séparant l'audition d'un morceau de musique et sa notation.

[99] Voir Nissen 2010, 219-220 et 226. Wolfgang et son père entendirent le *Miserere* une première fois le mercredi 11 avril, jour de leur arrivée à Rome (lettre de Léopold du 14.4.1770). Selon Nissen, ils le réentendirent à Vendredi Saint (13 avril). Wolfgang aurait caché le manuscrit dans son chapeau et aurait ainsi pu contrôler sa transcription - preuve que le plus difficile, pour lui, était cette transcription.

[100] Nissen 2010, 227. Ce jugement est remarquable de la part de quelqu'un qui n'était pas musicien de profession. G.N. Nissen, diplomate danois, épousa, après la mort de Mozart, la veuve de celui-ci, Constanze Weber. C'est ainsi qu'il fut amené à écrire sa biographie.

[101] Isocr. *Ad Nicocl*. 2.49.

[102] Herington 1985, notamment 103-124.

[103] Ainsi pour les vases de Rhésos (nos 53-54). Même un philodramatiste endurci comme Giuliani, qui est revenu à plusieurs reprises sur ces vases, exclut tout rapport possible avec la tragédie *Rhésos*: Giuliani 1996.

[104] La discussion de n° 102 porte sur les différences entre Euripide et un «autre» auteur (anonyme), différences de traitement poétique évaluées, soulignons-le, par le biais d'images!

[105] Taplin parvient à distinguer, et à reconstituer, trois tragédies *Médée* écrites sous l'influence d'Euripide (p. 256), en plus de toutes les autres. Et il réussit à délimiter une «iconographie de la tragédie d'Euripide» (dont un des *signals* est le char de Médée), qui aurait influencé les peintres de vases même sur des images où ils s'inspirent de tragédies indépendantes d'Euripide. Les spécialistes de la botanique et de la zoologie ne nous donnent pas, pour leurs familles, classes et embranchements, des tableaux aussi affinés.

[106] B.M. F 175: *LCS*, 103/539; Huddilston 1900, 88-91; Séchan 1926, 141, fig. 43; Trendall/Webster 1971, III 2, 4; Taplin 2007, 94.

[107] Second épisode (vv. 376 sqq., notamment 388 sqq.). Rochers: v. 411; tête baissée: v. 441.

[108] Autre *signal* de royauté!

[109] Voir Her. 5.49 et 7.64, et, surtout, Ar. *Av*. 487, qui montre combien ce symbole était ancré dans la conscience collective du public athénien.

[110] Les nombreuses images du peintre de Dolon qui représentent des scènes du mythe ayant une longue tradition dans l'imagerie sont trop connues pour qu'il faille les rappeler ici. Mais elles aussi sont à l'index, ne présentant pas les *signals* requis.

[111] Le seul argument envisagé par Taplin pour «récupérer» le vase («It is not impossible that a performance tradition grew up of dressing the rulers of the city of Kadmos with Oriental accoutrements»: p. 94) n'a évi-

demment aucune pertinence. D'ailleurs il en est conscient («but that is a rather far-fetched explanation»): un point d'accord entre lui et moi.

[112] Cratère en calice de Syracuse 66557 (*LCS* Suppl. I, 105/98a; Trendall/Webster 1971, III 2, 8; Taplin 2007, n° 22). Cratère en calice de Caltinissetta 1301 bis (*LCS*, 601/98, pl. 235/2-3 ; Trendall/Webster 1971, III 6, 1; Taplin 2007, n° 105).

[113] L'absence des masques ne change rien à la question.

[114] A moins de recourir à la devinette: ainsi pour *Œdipe Roi* de Sophocle, sur le cratère de Syracuse.

[115] Je l'avais dit après beaucoup d'autres: 1975, 271-272.

[116] Les philodramatistes pourront argumenter en disant que là où ils n'étaient pas indispensables, ils n'avaient pas raison d'être. Mais ce serait une autre façon de cultiver le paradoxe.

[117] Cratère à volutes H 3255 (inv. 81934): *RVAp* II, 496/42; Séchan 1926, 361, fig. 103; Trendall/Webster 1971, III 3, 26; Aellen 1994, n° 86, pl. 106-197; Taplin 2007, n° 79; Morard 2009, Cat. 33, pl. 26.

[118] Page 1941, 76-109.

[119] Morard 2009, 75-76.

[120] Mais il leur faudra lire l'*Ilioupersis*, non la recension qu'en a faite Margot Schmidt, qui, involontairement (je veux croire) ou volontairement, a complètement biaisé ma vision.

[121] Naples H 3221 (inv. 81954), du peintre de Darius: *RVAp* II, 497/43 ; Moret 1975, 180-184, pl. 94; Giuliani/Most 2007, fig. 9.2 et 9.3 (les deux fois la fuite de Médée, mais pas l'Amazonomachie du revers).

[122] Robert 1890, 205-217 ; Schmidt 1969.

[123] Giuliani 2007, 205.

[124] Taplin 2007, 125, où il relève «the incompatibilities between this narrative and that of Euripides» (cf. aussi 280, n. 35). Mais il ajoute: «This scene may well reflect a tragic narrative, although there are no strong signals of the link».

[125] Princeton 1983.13, du peintre de Darius: *RVAp* Suppl. I, 18/41a, pl. 12 ; Schefold 1989, 45, fig. 27 bis; Moret 2004; Giuliani/Most 2007, fig. 9.1; Morard 2009, 114-116, pl. 29.

[126] Moret 2004. J'y rejetais déjà la thèse de Margot Schmidt que Giuliani et Most 2007, 201, jugent «highly sophisticated». Sur ce point, nous sommes d'accord.

[127] Depuis 1999, la bibliographie du DAI est on-line: retrouver les publications concernant un sujet donné est l'affaire de quelques minutes.

[128] Quelques ex.: Taplin me passe sous silence pour quatre vases notamment (n^{os} 18, 36, 47 et 53) auxquels j'avais consacré des analyses détaillées : Moret 1975, 184-187; 180-184; 109, 132, 143 et 177; et 187-190. Le lecteur comparera aussi ses 20 lignes superficielles (52-53 et 274, n. 15) avec mon commentaire approfondi: 1979, 236-239.

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Herakles in Brabant. Die Amethyst-Gemme aus Sint-Oedenrode

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Abstract

In 2006 during the excavations in the centre of Sint-Oedenrode (NL), an extraordinary Hellenistic amethyst gem in a later gold pendant was discovered in a decidedly medieval context. It depicts in three-quarter view the head of a young man wearing a laurel wreath wrapped with a diadem. Despite intense abrasion to the surface of the gem, the ends of the diadem are visible fluttering on both sides of the man's neck; the remains of a club above his shoulder, moreover, clearly identify him as the young Herakles. The gemstone can be dated by material, shape, technique, and style to the late 3rd or the first half of the 2nd century BC. It reproduces a true copy of the head of a classical Greek statue created ca 350 BC, which by the evidence of 20 surviving Roman marble copies of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD must have been quite famous. This statue type is known as the 'Herakles Lansdowne' after a copy found in the Villa Hadriana in Tivoli near Rome, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu. By adding a laureate diadem the Hellenistic gem engraver characterized the young man as a ruler. But the entirely idealized head only allows suggestions as to who might have been assimilated to the hero.

Im März 2006 kam in Sint-Oedenrode in der niederländischen Provinz Noord-Brabant ein erstaunliches Schmuckstück ans Licht (*Abb. 1-3*).[1] Im Zentrum des heutigen Ortes wurde wegen eines neuen Bebauungsplans seit 2003 eine großflächige Grabung durchgeführt; sie legte um die im 11. Jahrhundert gegründete Kirche für die schottische Heilige Oda (heute St. Martin) eine rechteckige Anlage und zwei große hallenartige Gebäude frei, die zur ersten Phase einer Burg der Herren van

Abb. 1. Amethyst-Anhänger in Sint-Oedenrode, Vorderseite (Foto Clemens Kerstholt, Beleid en Ontwikkeling, Gemeente Sint-Oedenrode).

Abb. 2. Amethyst-Anhänger in Sint-Oedenrode, Rückseite (Foto Clemens Kerstholt, Beleid en Ontwikkeling, Gemeente Sint-Oedenrode).

Rode aus dem 11. und 12. Jahrhundert gehörten. In dem um 1175 um die Anlage aufgeworfenen Erdwall wurde der goldene Anhänger mit einem antiken gravierten Amethyst entdeckt.[2] Stratigrafisch, dendrochronologisch sowie durch Münzen und andere Beifunde ist der Kontext zwischen 1175 und 1230 gesichert. Bei dem Symposium 'De Burcht van Rode' zu den Grabungen am 14. Mai 2011 in Sint-Oedenrode wurde dieser Horizont durch die Geschichte der Grafen von Rode bestätigt: Arnold I. (reg. 1095–1116) hatte den seit prähistorischer Zeit genutzten Platz zu einer Burg befestigt; um 1180 kam die Grafschaft Rode durch Heirat in den Besitz der Grafen von Geldern, Otto II. verkaufte sie 1231 an Hendrik I., Herzog von Brabant (reg. 1190–1235).[3]

Anlässlich des Symposiums wurden die wichtigsten Funde im Rathaus von Sint-Oedenrode ausgestellt; dank dem Entgegenkommen der Stadtverwaltung konnte ich die Gemme mit dem Kopf eines jungen Mannes in dem Goldanhänger mit Öse eingehend unter dem Mikroskop untersuchen. Der Amethyst - eine Varietät des Minerals Quarz der Härte 7 auf der Skala von Friedrich Mohs (1773-1839) - ist in der Mitte kräftig violett, zum Rand hin, besonders im Haar, fast glasklar wie Bergkristall. Der hochovale Stein ist bikonvex geschliffen, die Rückseite in der Mitte plan. Die Gemme misst ca 22.5 x ca 19.2 x 7.2 mm. Sie ist intakt bis auf zwei große, sich überlappende, muschelige Absplisse vorne auf der Brust des Mannes, die schräg bis in die untere Steinkante abgeplatzt sind. Die Vorderseite ist stark abgenutzt und verkratzt, besonders an den Kanten zur tiefen Gravur beiderseits des Gesichtes. Die Gemme wurde also über eine längere Zeit getragen und häufig zum Siegeln verwendet. Die Rückseite ist poliert, der Übergang zur ovalen Mittelfläche leicht verrieben.

Der Stein sitzt etwas lose in der goldenen Fassung als Anhänger (*Abb. 2*). Sie besteht aus einem glatten Goldblech, das grob zugeschnitten und zu Vorder- wie Rückseite des Steins umgebördelt ist. Außen sind auf den Blechstreifen zwei Perldrähte gelötet, darauf ein weiterer Draht mit etwas größerer Körnung. Die Lötung von Blech und Drähten wurde nicht sehr sorgfältig durchgeführt, sondern sie lässt kleinere Lücken zwischen Blech und Dekor. In der Mitte oben wurde die Fassung aufgeschnitten und innen ein kleines Blech als Verbindung eingelötet. An dieser Brücke sitzt die in Richtung der Fassung angesetzte ovale Öse aus einem Blechstreifen, auf den außen wiederum ein doppelreihiger Perldraht gelötet wurde. Die Verbindungen zwischen Öse und Rahmen sind vorn mit je zwei Granuli auf jeder Seite gesichert, hinten links mit zwei Kugeln, rechts mit einer Kugel. In der Öse sitzt lose ein Ring, der aus einem schmalen Blechstreifen zu einem glattem Runddraht gedreht, an den Enden platt geschlagen und aufeinander gelötet wurde. Diese lose Öse erlaubt ein Auffädeln des Anhängers an einer Kette derart, dass dieser dann flach auf der Brust liegt. Maße: Fassung 29.5 x 26.3 x 3.3 mm; H mit fester Öse 36 mm, mit losem Ring 43.5 mm; Dm lose Ringöse 13 mm.

Dargestellt ist der Kopf eines jungen bartlosen Mannes in Dreiviertelansicht von vorn mit einer Wendung zu seiner Linken (Abguss *Abb. 3a*); die Haare reichen fast bis an die obere Steinkante, der Kopf sitzt hoch im Bildoval auf einem kurzen Hals; darunter ist der Stein beschädigt: Die fehlende Büste mit Schulteransatz wird das untere Segment der Gemme gefüllt haben. Das kräftige Gesicht charakterisieren die in der Mitte und an den Schläfen gewölbte Stirn, die fein in den geraden Nasenrücken geschwungenen Brauen und die fülligen Wangen; die detailliert mit plastisch abgesetzten Lidern, Iris und Pupille gestalteten Augen sowie der leicht geöffnete Mund mit vollen Lippen über dem schweren Kinn vermitteln eine eindrucksvolle Präsenz. Die in kleinen Büscheln frisierten Haare sind in drei bis vier Reihen übereinander gestaffelt (*Abb. 3b*), die kleinen Haken erhalten durch die feine Gliederung in einzelne Strähnen ein kompaktes Volumen; die lebhafte Bewegung der gegeneinander abgesetzten und teilweise unterschnittenen Haarbüschel folgt einem strengen System (s.u.). Auf dem Oberkopf liegt am Rand der Gravur ein Kranz aus spitzovalen Blättern mit Mittelrippe, die gegenständig zum Scheitel hin gruppiert sind. Zwischen den Blätterpaaren geben parallele schräge Kerben die Umwicklung des Kranzes mit einer Binde an. Deren Enden sind in Resten auf dem abgenutzten und verkratzten Bildgrund erhalten; sie lassen sich am Abguss (*Abb. 3a*) besser erkennen als am Stein: Links neben dem Nacken zeichnet sich der Kontur einer Schleife ab, darunter ihr Ende; deutlicher ist ein flatterndes Bandende auf der anderen Seite neben dem Kinn. Darunter, über der - wegen der Beschädigung nur zu vermutenden - linken Schulter (Abguss) des jungen Mannes liegen zwei tiefere tropfenförmige Gravuren, die Reste seines Attributs (s.u.).

Der Intaglio ist eine Meisterleistung eines unbekannten antiken Gemmenschneiders: Er hat das Gesicht tief in den bikonvexen Amethyst geschnitten; die Nasenspitze stößt fast an die abgeflachte Mitte der Rückseite. Die Dreiviertelansicht

Abb. 3a. Abguss der Amethyst-Gemme in Sint-Oedenrode (Johannes Laurentius, Berlin).

Abb. 3b. Abguss der Amethyst-Gemme in Sint-Oedenrode, Profil nach rechts (Johannes Laurentius, Berlin).

erforderte die Gravur der Nase so schräg in den Edelstein, dass die Nasenspitze fotografisch von der Vorderseite nicht ganz zu erfassen ist und das unterschnitten negative Bild nur mit flexiblem Silikon abgeformt werden konnte (*Abb. 3a-3b*). Die Gestaltung des lebhaften Gesichtes ist außerordentlich plastisch mit weichen Übergängen an Stirn, Wangen und Kinn, mit fein konturierten Brauen, Augen und Lippen sowie tiefen Nasenlöchern. Im Kontrast zur hohen Politur des Gesichtes hat der Graveur die aus der Stirn aufstrebenden und in die Schläfen eingebogenen Locken matt belassen, was dem Werk einen sinnlichen Reiz verleiht. Der einst ebenfalls hoch polierte Bildgrund wird die optische Täuschung, der Kopf trete erhaben hervor, noch verstärkt haben - ein Eindruck, den alle gut gravierten Gemmen erwecken, der hier aber durch die starke Abnutzung der Oberfläche beeinträchtigt ist.

Köpfe oder Büsten in Dreiviertelvorderansicht kommen auf Gemmen selten und nur im Hellenismus vor, dazu in einigen Rückgriffen während der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit.[4] Das bevorzugte Material für derartige Darstellungen sind klare Steine wie Bergkristall, Amethyst oder reiner Karneol; die meist bikonvexe Form begünstigt den Lichteinfall in die negative Gravur und erlaubt die leicht vergrößernde Betrachtung des z.T. unterschnittenen Gesichtes von der Rückseite. Der Edelstein Amethyst, den schon Plinius d. Ä. als ‘glänzenden Purpur’ beschrieb,[5] wurde seit dem frühen 3. Jahrhundert v.Chr. bis in die Spätantike gern für Bildnisse hellenistischer Könige und römischer Kaiser verwendet.[6] Die Steinfarbe entsprach der *porphyra*, dem purpurnen Mantel, der neben der breiten Diadembinde ein wesentliches Merkmal hellenistischer Herrscher war.[7] Das Material könnte von den ausgedehnten Amethyst-Vorkommen im Wadi Abu Diyeiba, 25 km südwestlich von Safaga in der Östlichen Wüste Ägyptens am Roten Meer, stammen.[8]

Ein frühes Beispiel bikonvexer Amethyste mit Köpfen in Dreiviertelvorderansicht zeigt eine Gemme in Berlin (*Abb. 4*): Das markante Porträt eines Mannes mit vollem Gesicht, gebogener Nase und großen Augen kennzeichnet die glatte Binde mit Nackenschleife im gesträhnten, nackenlangen Haar als hellenistischen Herrscher, den E. Zwierlein-Diehl als Ptolemaios III. Euergetes von Ägypten (reg. 246-222 v.Chr.) benannte.[9] Diverse Gemmen mit Büsten des Zeus-Sarapis, von denen manche wohl die kolossale, auf Münzen des

Abb. 4. Hellenistischer Herrscher. Amethyst-Gemme, Antikensammlung Berlin (Foto Ingrid Geske, Berlin).

Abb. 5. Büste des Zeus Sarapis. Karneol-Gemme (Abguss), Antikensammlung Berlin (Foto Johannes Laurentius, Berlin).

Ptolemaios IV. Philometor (222-205 v.Chr.) fassbare Statue im Serapeion von Alexandria reflektieren,[10] verwenden die fast frontale Ansicht (*Abb. 5*).[11] Ein direkter Bezug zu Statuen wurde auch zwei jugendlichen Köpfen mit leicht gehobenem Kopf und flatterndem Haar auf zwei kleinen, flachen Karneol-Gemmen wohl des 2. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. attestiert, die Dionysos und Apoll in Alexander-Manier darstellen.[12] Sicher nachgewiesen wurde der Rückgriff auf eine Statue aber erst für die größte Gemme in dieser Reihe, zugleich eines der späten Beispiele: die Büste der Athena in Berlin (*Abb. 6*).[13] Eutyches signierte als Sohn des aus Aigeai in Kilikien nach Rom ausgewanderten Dioskurides seine Umbildung der Statue Typ 'Athena Velletri' zu einem Brustbild der Göttin; für seine meisterhafte, in frühaugusteischer Zeit entstandene Arbeit nutzte er die ganze Tiefe des bikonvexen, glasklaren Bergkristalls. Von ihm stammt vielleicht auch eine frontale Merkur-Büste auf einem weiteren bikonvexen Amethyst in Wien.[14]

Als 'Hermes' wurde wegen der Kopfbedeckung

Abb. 6. Büste der Athena. Bergkristall-Gemme (Abguss), Antikensammlung Berlin (Ingrid Geske, Berlin).

Abb. 7. Büste des Hermes. Achat-Gemme ex Sammlung Currié, Florenz. Daktyliothek Odelli, Sammlung Derek Content (Derek Content, London).

Abb. 8. Büste des Hermes. Glasgemme (Abguss), Staatliche Münzsammlung München (Wilhelm Kisskalt, Repro aus: AGD I,2 München 1970).

die Büste eines Mannes mit längeren Locken und gefibeltem Mantel auf einem konvexen 'schwarzen Achat' bezeichnet, der 1863 mit der Sammlung des in Como lebenden Engländers Currié nach Florenz kam (*Abb. 7*).[15] Der präzise Gipsabguss dieser hellenistischen Gemme vermittelt - wie der Amethyst Sint-Oedenrode - die Lebhaftigkeit des nach vorn gewandten bartlosen Gesichtes mit betonten Augen zwischen den plastischen Lidern und mit geöffnetem Mund über dem kräftigen Kinn; feine Linien markieren Brauenbögen und Lippenkontur. Das alexanderhaft aufspringende, bis in den Nacken fallende Haar bedeckt eine gewölbte Kappe mit geperltem Rand und mittigem Stern. Die Kopfbedeckung unterscheidet sich vom üblichen *Petasos*, dem Hut des Hermes mit Kopfform, breiter Krempe und Kinnband; vielmehr erinnert sie mit ihrer durchgehend flachen Wölbung an die *Kausía*, die barettartige Mütze der antiken Makedonen aus Filz oder Leder.[16] Allerdings fehlt die unter dem Schirm befestigte 'Röhre' der Kausia, bei der Kappe des Mannes auf dem Abguss Currié ebenso wie auf zwei konvexen Glasgemmen in München (*Abb. 8*) und Berlin (*Abb. 9*), die spiegelbildlich vielleicht denselben Mann mit großen Augen und vollen Gesichtszügen, gerahmt von lang gelocktem Haar und gebogenem Petasos mit Perlrand, wiedergeben.[17] Einen derartig geschwungenen Petasos ohne Krempe, jedoch oben mit zwei kleinen Flügeln des Hermes, trägt ein männlicher Kopf im Profil auf dem kurz gelockten Haar, den eine violette Glasgemme in Sankt Petersburg überliefert; die

Abb. 9. Büste des Hermes. Glasgemme (Abguss), Antikensammlung Berlin (Foto Bernhard Platz, Berlin).

im Nacken flatternden Enden der Herrscherbinde kennzeichnen ihn zweifellos als König, nach den Münzbildnissen vielleicht den bereits erwähnten Ptolemaios III. Euergetes als Hermes, in Angleichung an den ägyptischen Sonnengott Ra.[18]

Den Petasos mit Perlrand des Mannes auf der Gemme Currié (*Abb. 7*) zeichnet neben der seltenen Form sein einzigartiger Dekor aus: der 8-zackige 'Makedonenstern'. Letzterer ist als Emblem auf der Kausia für die makedonischen Könige seit Alexander III. (356-323 v.Chr.) aus Schriftquellen belegt und für einige ägyptische Ptolemäer durch Siegelbullen aus dem 'Haus des Dionysos' in Nea Paphos auf Zypern.[19] Zur makedonischen Tracht gehörte auch der Schultermantel. Dieser ist bei dem Mann mit dem Makedonenstern auf dem Petasos im Abguss Currié auf der nach vorn gedrehten linken Schulter gefibelt, bei den spiegelbildlichen Glasgemmen München und Berlin auf der rechten Schulter.[20] In Verbindung mit der Alexander-Frisur, vermitteln diese Büsten mit großen Augen und vollem Gesicht in lebhafter Wendung zum Betrachter eher ein Bildnis als ein Götterbild. Die exzellente Arbeit des verlorenen Achats ex Currié im hochhellenistischen 'Hofstil' und die beiden zeitgleichen Glasgemmen in München und Berlin könnten das Bildnis eines aus Makedonien stammenden Herrschers in Angleichung an Hermes überliefern; da aber nur das Diadem den Dargestellten eindeutig als König definiert - wie bei der erwähnten Glasgemme in Sankt Petersburg, muss dies hier offen bleiben.

Die Amethyst-Gemme aus Sint-Oedenrode teilt mit dem Berliner Amethyst (*Abb. 4*), der verschollenen Gemme aus 'schwarzem Achat' ex Currié (*Abb. 7*) und den Glasgemmen in München und Berlin (*Abb. 8-9*) neben der konvexen Form auch die plastische Gestaltung und feine Zeichnung von Details. Zusammen mit dem allen Beispielen gemeinsamen vollen Gesicht in der Unmittelbarkeit der Dreiviertelansicht, den aufspringenden Locken, den betonten Augen und geöffneten Lippen legt dies eine zeitliche Einordnung in das späte 3. Jahrhundert bis mittlere 2. Jahrhundert v.Chr. nahe. Wen aber stellt der junge Mann mit Kranz im kurz gelockten Haar auf dem Amethyst aus Brabant dar?

Erstaunlicherweise gibt er bis ins Detail den Kopf einer griechischen Herakles-Statue wieder, die in 20 römischen Kopien sowie acht Varianten des 1. und 2. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. überliefert ist; ihre Erfindung wird um 350 v.Chr. datiert und bisweilen dem von der Insel Paros stammenden Bildhauer Skopas (aktiv ca. 370-330 v.Chr.) zugeschrieben. Dieser Statuentypus wird benannt nach dem 'Herakles Lansdowne', einer um 125 n.Chr. entstandenen Replik in der 'Getty Villa' in Malibu; sie gehörte zur Ausstattung der Villa Hadriana in Tivoli bei Rom, wo sie 1790 gefunden worden ist (*Abb. 10*).[21] Der nackte Heros steht frontal im Kontrapost auf seinem rechten Bein, den Fuß des linken Spielbeins mit voller Sohle zur Seite gesetzt; in seiner gesenkten rechten Hand hält er das Löwenfell, mit der linken schultert er die Keule und dreht den Kopf leicht zu dieser Seite. Zu den qualitätvollen Kopien des Kopfes gehört jener in Dresden (*Abb. 11*),[22] der sich Locke für Locke mit dem Amethyst aus Sint-Oedenrode (*Abb. 3a-b*) vergleichen lässt: Über der Mitte der Stirn gabeln sich zwei hoch stehende Büschel, von links neigt sich eine Locke hinein, die mit der folgenden wiederum eine Gabel bildet, begleitet

Abb. 10. Statue des Herakles Lansdowne. Marmor, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California).

von einer kleineren, unter der in Höhe des Brauenwulstes eine breitere Locke nach hinten gelegt ist; an der Schläfe biegt eine Locke nach vorn, darunter folgen zwei weitere vor dem Ohr. Rechts von der Mittelgabel liegt eine parallele Locke, in die zwei Büschel von oben eingreifen - hier verschwindet die abgewandte Schläfe im Bildgrund der Gemme. Die zweite und dritte Lockenreihe lässt sich ebenso in den über- und ineinander greifenden Büscheln verfolgen.

Es wird bis heute bezweifelt, ob der Kopftypus des 'Herakles Lansdowne', der auch für andere Statuentypen verwendet worden ist, ursprünglich zu dem Körper gehörte, mit dem er in der namengebenden Kopie im J. Paul Getty Museum verbunden ist; ob also der Kopftypus überhaupt von einer Statue des Herakles mit geschulterter Keule stammt oder ob es sich um ein kaiserzeitliches Pasticcio handelt.[23] Hier gibt der neue Amethyst aus Sint-Oedenrode eindeutig Auskunft: Über seiner linken Schulter (Abguss) markieren zwei tiefe Furchen deutlich die Reste der Keule des Herakles (*Abb. 3a*) - trotz der starken Abnutzung des Bildgrundes in Folge der langen Verwendung und Tragedauer der Gemme über vermutlich mehr als ein Jahrtausend (s.u.).

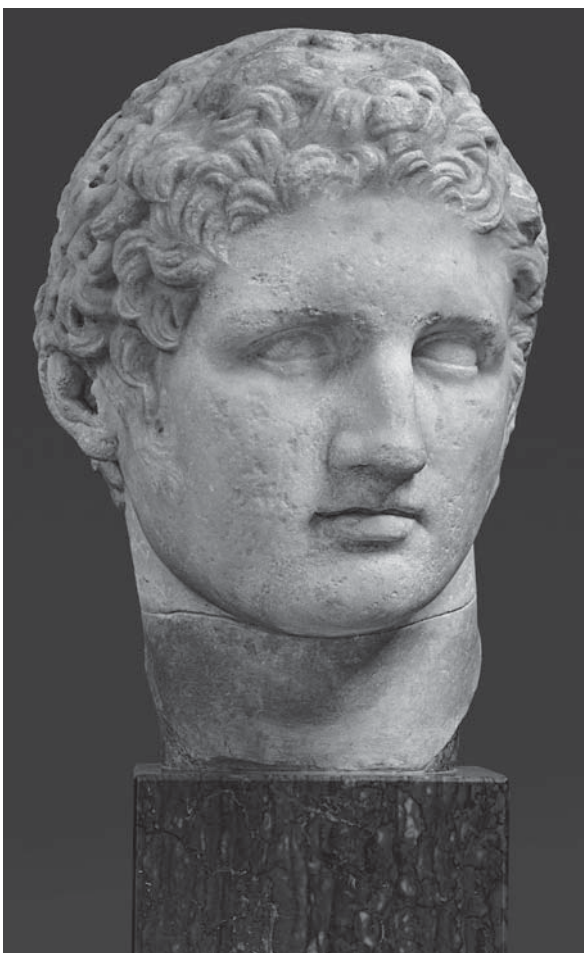

Abb. 11. Kopf des Herakles 'Lansdowne'. Marmor, Dresden, Skulpturensammlung Hm 132. (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. Foto Hans-Peter Klut/ Elke Estel).

Der Gemmenschneider des Herakles-Amethyst muss also das griechische Original des Statuentypus 'Herakles Lansdowne' mit der geschulterten Keule gesehen und für sein Brustbild eines jungen Mannes exzerpiert haben; allerdings hat er die Keule kürzer gestaltet als in der modernen Ergänzung bei der Kopie Lansdowne-Getty. Welche Version der spätklassischen Statue eigen war, ist ebenso wenig zu beantworten wie die Frage, wo der Graveur diese gesehen haben könnte, da sie mit keinem in den antiken Quellen erwähnten Standbild des Herakles identifiziert werden kann. Offenbar muss sie noch mehrere Jahrhunderte öffentlich aufgestellt und so attraktiv gewesen sein, dass sie für die römische Klientel bis in das späte 2. Jahrhundert n.Chr. immer wieder kopiert wurde.

Die ausdrucksvoll modellierten Gesichtszüge des Kopfes auf der Amethyst-Gemme mit der in der Mitte und über den Schläfen gewölbten Stirn, dem geraden Nasenrücken, den tief liegenden Augen, dem weichen Karnat der Wangen mit Mulden unter den Augen, um Nasenwurzel und Mund über dem kräftigen Kinn stehen einem Kopf in Houghton Hall/Norfolk näher (Nase ergänzt): Diese römische Kopie mit Königsbinde, entstanden in der mittleren römischen Kaiserzeit nach einem hellenistischen Vorbild des späten 3. oder frühen 2. Jahrhunderts v.Chr., geht vielleicht zurück auf das Porträt eines Herrschers, das dem Typus des sog. Meleager angeglichen war, der wiederum mit dem Typus 'Herakles Lansdowne' in Verbindung steht.[24]

Der Mann auf dem Amethyst in Sint-Oedenrode trägt einen Kranz im Haar; aber für die dem 'Herakles Lansdowne' zugrundeliegende griechische Statue wird ein Kranz ausgeschlossen und dieser für eine römische Zutat erachtet.[25] Die Mehrzahl der Marmorkopien weist ein einfaches Band ohne herabhängende Bindenenden auf; jedoch liegt im Haar der qualitätvollen Kopie in Dresden (*Abb. 11*) ein Kranz mit spitzen Oliven-Blättern, der als Hinweis auf die athletischen Fähigkeiten des Herakles interpretiert wurde. Der Kranz im Haar des Helden auf dem Brabanter Amethyst hat breitere, glattrandige Blätter mit

Mittelrippe und Spitze, wohl die eines Lorbeers, nicht die für Herakles üblichen Pappelblätter. Da die Gemme im hohen Hellenismus entstanden ist, stellt sich bezüglich des Kranzes bei seinem Vorbild die Frage nach einer hellenistischen 'Zwischenfassung' des Statuentypus 'Herakles Lansdowne', für die es im Skulpturenbestand wohl keinen Beleg gibt.[26] Also hat der Graveur der Gemme seinem Zitat einer spätklassischen Herakles-Statue, die ihm angesichts der exakten Wiedergabe der Frisur *in natura* vor Augen gestanden haben muss, einen Lorbeerkranz hinzugefügt. Dieser ist zwischen den Blätterpaaren mit einer Binde umwickelt, deren Bänder in Resten - trotz der abgenutzten und verkratzten Oberfläche des Edelsteins - links im Nacken des Kopfes (*Abb. 3a*) mit einer Schlaufe und einem Ende sowie rechts seitlich des Kinns mit einem breiteren flatternden Ende erhalten sind: Der Lorbeerkranz ist hier also kein Götterattribut, sondern ein im Nacken gebundenes Diadem. Nach dem Tod Alexanders d. Gr. wurde der mit der königlichen Stoffbinde umwickelte Lorbeerkranz zur Insignie der folgenden Herrscher.[27] Damit ist die Büste des jungen Herakles auf dem Amethyst eindeutig als Herrscherbild bezeichnet.

Die neu gefundene hellenistische Gemme, die Kopf und Attribut des griechischen Vorbildes des Statuentypus 'Herakles Lansdowne' tradiert, ist m. W. das früheste bekannte Beispiel einer im Sinne der Kopienkritik genauen Wiedergabe einer nur in römischen Kopien bekannten griechischen Statue.[28] Der Neufund widerlegt meine These, nach der das exakte Kopieren 'klassischer' Skulpturen auf Gemmen erst im Laufe des 1. Jhs. v.Chr. einsetzte.[29] Durch das Hinzufügen der Herrscherbinde mit Lorbeerkranz hat der Auftraggeber dieses meisterhaften Gemmenbildes die Angleichung eines hellenistischen Königs an den Heros intendiert, für die ein klarer Amethyst der adäquate Edelstein war - *purpura et diadema*.[30]

Hierfür käme am ehesten das Königshaus der Attaliden von Pergamon in Frage, das Herakles, den Vater des legendären Gründers Telephos und Sohn des Göttervaters Zeus, im Zentrum des Ostfrieses der Gigantomachie und im Telephos-Fries am Großen Altar sowie mit mehreren Statuen im Gymnasion ehrte.[31] Zudem wird Philetairos, der erste Herrscher von Pergamon (r. 281-263 v.Chr.), als Erster unter den hellenistischen Machthabern mit dem im Nacken gebundenen Lorbeerkranz dargestellt auf Tetradrachmen, die seine Nachfolger über hundert Jahre lang - von seinem Neffen Eumenes I. (r. 263–241) bis zu Attalos II. (r. 159-139) - prägen ließen.[32]

Hinzu kommt das große Interesse der Attaliden an 'klassischer' Kunst des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v.Chr., das verschiedene Kopien und Umbildungen griechischer Kultbilder für die Ausstattung des Athena-Heiligtums auf dem Burgberg von Pergamon - als berühmtestes Beispiel die Statue der Athena Parthenos - und für die Attalos-Stoa auf der Agora in Athen bezeugen.[33] Die Könige von Pergamon verstanden sich seit ihren Siegen über die Gallier als Bewahrer der griechischen Zivilisation, deren Kunst und Wissenschaft sie schon im späten 3. Jahrhundert v.Chr. zur eigenen Legitimation zu nutzen wussten.[34] Mit der ausdrücklichen Nachahmung 'klassischer' Kunstwerke als Vorbild für die kulturpolitische Repräsentation initiierten sie den ersten Klassizismus und trugen so zu einem wesentlichen Merkmal des Hellenismus, der Tradierung der griechischen Bildwelt, bei. Die getreue Kopie des Kopfes einer offenbar berühmten Herakles-Statue der bewunderten Vergangenheit für die außergewöhnliche Amethyst-Gemme passte perfekt in dieses Konzept.

Herakles spielte in der pergamenischen Gründungslegende nicht nur als heroischer Vater des Telephos eine wichtige Rolle. Auch der gleichnamige Sohn von Alexander d. Gr. mit der persischen Aristokratin Barsine, die in Pergamon residierte, wurde offenbar schon früh für die politischen Interessen der Stadt eingesetzt.[35] Der wohl 327 v.Chr. in Baktrien geborene Prinz sollte - laut der über den römischen Historiker Justin tradierten Geschichte Alexanders d. Gr. - als letzter Überlebender den Thron des Königs von Makedonien erben; Alexanders späterer Nachfolger Kassander (ca. 350-297 v.Chr.) verhinderte dies, indem er 309 v.Chr. den dann 18-jährigen Herakles und seine Mutter beseitigen ließ; der Mord sollte durch ein feierliches Begräbnis vertuscht werden.[36] Bei neuen Ausgrabungen 2008 am Nordrand der Terrasse des Heiligtums der Eukleia auf der Agora von Vergina in Makedonien wurde eine goldene Pyxis mit den verbrannten, in einen goldbestickten Purpurstoff eingewickelten Knochen eines 15- bis 18-jährigen Jünglings und mit einem goldenen Eichenkranz gefunden; die am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts niedergelegte Bestattung wird mit Herakles, dem letzten überlebenden Nachkommen Alexanders, in Verbindung gebracht. In demselben Graben wurde 2009 eine weitere Urne entdeckt, eine silberne Amphora 'panathenäischer' Form.[37] Selbst wenn sich diese These bei der ausstehenden Publikation nicht erhärten sollte, so weist doch die Ermordung des pergamenischen Prinzen in Makedonien während der Diadochen-

kämpfe auf seine Bedeutung als potentieller Alexander-Nachfolger für die Legitimation von Pergamon und seiner späteren Herrschern hin: Gezeugt von Alexander d. Gr. und von ihm benannt nach Herakles, dem schon von den Argeaden, seinen Vorfahren väterlicherseits als fingierten Stammvater geehrten Helden,[38] bot der Bezug auf ihn der neuen Dynastie der Attaliden eine ideale Folie für die Selbstdarstellung.

Im Hinblick auf die Amethyst-Gemme aus Sint-Oedenrode könnte die Bereicherung des statuarischen Vorbildes um die lorbeerbekränzte Königsbinde auf dem 'klassischen' Kopf des Herakles die Aneignung des Zeus-Sohnes als königlichen Urahn meinen. Vielleicht ist darüber hinaus auch eine Heroisierung des gleichnamigen Alexander-Sohnes intendiert, von dem kein Bildnis bekannt ist, und damit zugleich eine retrospektive Adoption des pergamenischen Prinzen für die eigene Dynastie. Als Auftraggeber einer solchen Verknüpfung wären, in Anbetracht der Datierung der Gemme in das späte 3. bis mittlere 2. Jahrhundert v.Chr., die Könige Attalos I. (r. 241-197) oder Eumenes II. (r. 197-159), den Erbauer des Pergamon-Altars mit Herakles im Zentrum der Gigantomachie, zu erwägen.

Dies bleibt Spekulation, da bei dem Idealkopf auf der Gemme nichts außer dem diademumwundenen Lorbeerkranz auf eine Bildnisangleichung weist. Unter den zahlreichen hellenistischen Gemmen mit Porträts - ein bevorzugtes Motiv in dieser Epoche - gibt es viele qualitätvolle Stücke, die trotz Herrscherbinde nicht oder nicht mit Sicherheit (s. *Abb. 4*) einer historischen Persönlichkeit zugewiesen werden können. Das liegt - selbst bei den auf Münzen und Tonbullen gut vertretenen Dynastien der Ptolemäer oder Seleukiden - zum einen an dem nach dem Tod Alexanders d. Gr. einsetzenden Anspruch auf seine Nachfolge und dem dafür verwendeten 'Alexander-Modell', etwa das über der Stirn aufgebauschte lange Haar (s. *Abb. 7-9*) und der gehobene Kopf; zum anderen wurde - wie auf Münzen - von den Nachfolgern der Dynastiegründer deren Porträts zur familiären Legitimation weiter genutzt.[39] Unter den Attaliden ist einzig der erste König, Philetairos von Pergamon, auf einer Gemme aus Chalcedonjaspis in London anhand der oben erwähnten Münzprägung seiner Nachfolger auch ohne Diadem oder Kranz sicher identifizierbar, was aber die Datierung der Gemme erschwert.[40] Den Anspruch des 'klassischen' Kopfes auf der Amethyst-Gemme aus Sint-Oedenrode können einzig der Bezug auf Herakles und das Zitat eines griechischen Kultbildes entschlüsseln.

In jedem Fall wurde der Edelstein mit dem Brustbild des jungen bekränzten Herakles noch über Jahrhunderte weiter benutzt und geschätzt; offenbar kam die Gemme - wie viele derartige Kostbarkeiten - in der Antike nicht unter die Erde.[41] Ursprünglich war der Amethyst vermutlich in einem schweren hellenistischen Goldfingerring gefasst, der zum Siegeln geeignet war.[42] Seine heutige Fassung erhielt der Intaglio erst sehr viel später: Wie eingangs beschrieben, sitzt der Stein lose in einem goldenen Anhänger, der oben aufgeschnitten und mittels eines kleinen Bleches wieder geschlossen wurde. Er ähnelt Anhängern in Mandel- oder Tropfenform mit Perldraht-Dekor für Ohrringe oder Halsketten - wie etwa dem goldenen Anhänger mit der Büste eines Erzengels in amerikanischem Privatbesitz (*Abb. 12*), die seit dem 6. Jahrhundert mit Goldarbeit in *opus diatretum* oder gepresstem Goldblech, in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit auch mit Darstellungen in Zellenemail gefüllt sind.[43] Der doppelreihig geperlte Randdekor und die breite Bandöse lassen auf eine Entstehung des Amethyst-Anhängers in das 6./7. Jahrhundert n.Chr. schließen; allerdings sind bei den Vergleichen die Ösen stets im rechten Winkel zum Anhänger angelötet. Für die Fassung

Abb. 12. Byzantinischer Goldanhänger mit Erzengel. Sammlung J. E. Ferrell, Houston, Texas (James E. Ferrell Collection, Houston, Texas. Photograph © Bruce M. White 2010).

der uralten Amethyst-Gemme wurde also offenbar ein solcher Anhänger aufgeschnitten, der Edelstein einigermaßen passend eingesetzt und die Lücke oben überbrückt; aber die Bandöse wurde nun umgesetzt, und zwar in derselben Richtung wie die Fassung, und die Verbindung mit je zwei kleinen Granuli vorn und hinten gesichert. Mit Hilfe einer weiteren, in die Bandöse eingehängten glatten Ringöse konnte das kostbare Schmuckstück - auf eine Kette oder ein Band gefädelt - flach auf der Brust getragen werden. Es bleibt offen, wann diese Umarbeitung der Fassung für den Amethyst erfolgte.

Wie aber kam das Kleinod nach Noord-Brabant? Der eingangs erwähnte Burgherr, Arnold I. von Rode, nahm im August 1096 mit zehn weiteren Herren an einem Treffen in Maastricht teil, das Gottfried von Bouillon einberufen hatte, um Gefolgsleute und Geld für den Ersten Kreuzzug nach Jerusalem zu sammeln.[44] Mit einer ca. 20.000 Mann starken Truppe erreichte der Herzog von Lothringen schon im November Konstantinopel; am 15. Juli 1099 drang er als erster in Jerusalem ein. Damit war das Kreuzzuggelübde erfüllt, viele Teilnehmer kehrten nach Europa zurück. Es ist nicht bekannt, aber auch nicht auszuschließen, dass Arnold I. von Rode - wie einige der Herren des Maastrichter Treffens - am Ersten Kreuzzug teilnam. Jedenfalls bezeugt eine Urkunde des römisch-deutschen Kaisers Heinrich IV (1050-1106) vom 1. Juni 1101 in Aachen seine Anwesenheit und seine Beziehungen auf höchster Ebene, einschließlich der Bischöfe von Lüttich und Utrecht.[45] Sowohl diese Kontakte wie auch die mögliche Reise durch den Balkan und die Levante hätten ihm reichlich Gelegenheit geboten, die schöne hellenistische Amethyst-Gemme im byzantinischen Goldanhänger zu erwerben, die dann tausend Jahre später im Wall seiner Burg von Sint-Oedenrode ausgegraben wurde.

Anmerkungen

[1] Kenneth Lapatin, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, machte mich im Herbst 2010 auf die Amethyst-Gemme aufmerksam, deren Foto ihm Andrew Stewart, University of California Berkeley, geschickt hatte; dieser wiederum wusste davon durch Arthur Legger, Dutch Uncle Analyses in Amsterdam, der freundlicherweise den Kontakt zu dem Archäologen Sem Peters bei BAAC in 's-Hertogenbosch herstellte. Ich danke den Vorgenannten, besonders auch der Stadtverwaltung von Sint-Oedenrode für die generöse Genehmigung, das Kleinod studieren und publizieren zu dürfen, sowie Ing. Clemens Kerstholt, Beleid en Ontwikkeling, für die diversen Aufnahmen des Originals. Johannes Laurentius, Fotograf der Antikensammlung Berlin, fertigte die guten Neuaufnahmen vom Silikon-Abguss her. Für Diskussion und Hinweise danke ich Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, Sascha Kansteiner, Hans-Joachim Schalies, Marianne Bergmann, Sem Peters, Bas Aarts und Derek Content.

[2] S. Peters, Een gouden hanger, in H.M.M. Geerts/W.J.M. Willems (eds), *BAAC. 10 jaar door het stof*, 's-Hertogenbosch 2009, 86-87; R. van Genabeek, in *Sint-Oedenrode Kerkstraat. Archeologisch onderzoek*. BAAC-rapport A-05.0339 (S. Peters), 's-Hertogenbosch, oktober 2010, 72-73 Afb. 24-25; S. Peters, St.-Oedenrode, The Castle. The development of an aristocratic site between the tenth and fifteenth centuries, in *Château Gaillard* 25. Publications du CRAHM 2012 (299-306); A. Stewart, Desperately Seeking Skopas, in Katsonopoulou/Stewart 2013, 8 n. 32 fig. 5.

[3] B. Aarts, *Texandrië, van omstreden gouwbegrip naar integratie in het hertogdom* (Tilburgse Historische Reeks 1), Tilburg 1992, 8-42 Anm. 100-108; B. Aarts/R. Gruben (eds), *De vroege burchten*. Neerslag van een symposium. Boxmeer 26 maart 2006, Tilburg, *Het Brabants Kasteel* 28, 2005, 47-74. Das Referat von B. Aarts zur Geschichte der Grafen von Rode beim Symposium in Sint-Oedenrode wurde bisher nicht publiziert.

[4] Zu dem gleichzeitigen Phänomen auf republikanischen Gemmen s. Vollenweider 1972/1974, 33-41 'Das frontale Bildnis' Taf. 26-30.

[5] Plinius, *N.H.* 37.80: '*amethysti fulgens purpura*'.

[6] Zu der Liste bikonvexer Amethyste bei: G. Platz-Horster, *BJb* 201 (2001) 58 Anm. 17, ergänzend z.B. Gulbenkian Museum Lissabon Nr. 2779 (38,9 x 30,8 x 11,3 mm). Plantzos 1999, 62 Nr. 153 Pl. 27. Spier 2001, 29 Nr. 2; Vollenweider 2003, 67 Nr. 72 (Agrippa); ebenda 153 Nr. 192 (Commodus); ebenda 182 Nr. 233 (Caracalla).

[7] Smith 1988, 34-38; Plantzos 1999, 44 Anm. 18.

[8] J.A. Harrell et al., The Ptolemaic to Early Roman Amethyst Quarry at Abu Diyeiba in Egypt's Eastern Desert, *BIFAO* 106 (2006) 127-162; Sidebotham 2008, 115-117.

[9] Berlin, Antikensammlung Inv. 1967.8 (18.3 x 15 x 5.8 mm). AGD II Berlin 97 Taf. 48, 225; Plantzos 1999, 47 Nr. 23 Pl. 4 'Ptolemies, Unidentified'; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 71 Abb. 248.

[10] Hornbostel 1973, 141 Anm. 3, 177, 327 Abb. 68 'Anastole-Typus'; St. Schmidt, Serapis - ein neuer Gott für die Griechen in Ägypten, in *Ägypten Griechenland Rom* 2005, 298-304 Abb. 2-4, Gemmen Anm. 59, 606-609 Kat. 182-185.

[11] Berlin, Antikensammlung FG 1105 (bikonvexer Karneol, 21.8 x 15.6 x 5.2 mm). AGD II Berlin Taf. 45, 213; Hornbostel 1973, 162 Taf. 46, 89; Plantzos 1999, 71 Nr. 181 Pl. 31; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 77 Abb. 294. Zu den Münzen: Mørkholm 1991, 109. Weitere hellenistische Gemmen: Hornbostel 1973, Taf. 46 Nr. 88, 90-93; Plantzos 1999, 72-73 Anm. 65, 119 Nr. 182-186 Pl. 31-32.

[12] Büste des Dionysos: flacher Karneol (12 x 11 mm), Sankt Petersburg. Plantzos 1999, 72 Nr. 190 Pl. 32. Flacher Karneol (12 x 11 mm), Den Haag/Utrecht. Plantzos 1999, 73 Nr. 193 Pl. 32. Siehe hierzu: konvexer Hyazinth, ex Slg. Rhodes. Furtwängler 1900, 164 Taf. 33, 29; Lippold [1922] 169 Taf. 8 Nr. 9.

[13] Berlin, Antikensammlung FG 2305, seit 1445 bekannt (37.2 x 29 x 14.4 mm). AGD II Berlin 169 Taf. 80-81, 456; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 119 Abb. 468 (20-10 v. Chr.).

[14] Wien, KH Museum (28.4 x 22.7 x 9.3 mm). *AGWien* I 1973, 137 Taf. 70, 420; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 120 Abb. 470 (30-20 v. Chr.).

[15] Daktyliothek Antonio Odelli Nr. 32 (16.5 x 13.4 mm),

Besitz und Foto: Derek Content. Publ: *BdI* 1839, 105, Nr. 63: '*Testa di Dioscuro di faccia, distinto da stellato berretto; agata nera di sorprendente lavoro greco nella collezione di Mr. Currié inglese*.' (E. Braun), zu: T. Cades/ M. Odelli, Impronte Gemmarie dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, Centuria V. Furtwängler, 1900, 163 Taf. 33, 27: '*Kopf des Hermes in Vorderansicht mit flachem Petasos, darauf ein Stern. Freundlicher Ausdruck. Die Pupille des Auges plastisch angegeben*.' Lippold [1922] 169 Taf. 11, 4. Erw.: AGWien I 1973, 138 zu Nr. 421 (Merkur). Die Bildung von sichelförmiger Iris und plastischer Pupille unter dem schweren Oberlid ist identisch mit der bei dem Berliner Amethyst, s.o. Anm. 9; siehe unten Anm. 17-18. - Zur Gemmensammlung Currié s. King 1872, I 461; King 1885, 168; Furtwängler 1900, III 426.

16 Janssen 2007, zum Unterschied zwischen Petasos und Kausia 39-40 Anm. 98-104.

17 Violette Glasgemme München (Dm 13.1 x 3.3 mm). AGD I,2 München 106 Taf. 128, 1209: Petasos ebenfalls mit Perlrand; seitlich ein springender Hund. Braune Glasgemme Berlin (13.7 x 13.4 x 3.2 mm). Furtwängler 1896, 94 Taf. 18, 1767: Die Beschädigung an der Nase des Mannes ist in der Glasgemme mitgegossen; sie muss also von der originalen Edelsteingemme stammen. - Auch auf der Gemme ohne Angabe zu Besitz und Material: Furtwängler 1900, 163 Taf. 33, 25; Lippold [1922] 169 Taf. 10, 11 trägt der lang gelockte junge Mann solch einen Petasos, seitlich ein Kerykeion. Eine verschollene Gemme zeigt die frontale Büste des Hermes/Merkur mit ähnlichem Petasos auf kurzen Locken: Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, 83 Taf. 22, 95.

18 Furtwängler 1900, 158 Taf. 32, 24: '*Ptolemaios III. Euergetes als Hermes mit dem geflügelten Petasos; unter demselben erscheinen hinten die Enden des königlichen Diadems.*' Plantzos 1999, 45 Nr. 5 Pl. 2.- Zur Angleichung der Ptolemäer an Hermes-Thot s. Smith 1988, 42.

19 Janssen 2007, 53, 97 Anm. 333, 223, 286 Si 10, 288 Si 15, Taf. 3, Abb. 9 u. 16 (mit früherer Lit.).

20 Im Abguss (der bei den zum Siegeln bestimmten Gemmen das Bild seitenrichtig zeigt) ist der Mantel also auf seiner linken - statt korrekterweise auf der rechten - Schulter gefibelt. Das ist auf Gemmen mit nach links (A) gewandten Bildnissen häufiger zu beobachten, z.B. Plantzos 1999, Nr. 84 Pl. 14, Nr. 153-154 Pl. 27, Siegelabdruck Edfu Pl. 86,1; in römischer Zeit auch für das Paludamentum, s. z.B. Antoninus Pius und Marc Aurel als *capita opposita*: AGWien III 69 Nr. 1725 mit ausf. Vgl. auch zu Münzen (Hinweise E. Zwierlein-Diehl).

21 J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Inv. 70.AA.109 (H 193.5 cm). Stewart 1977, 98-99 Pl. 42a-c; Stewart 1982, 45-56; Kansteiner 2000, 3-18, 113 La 1, Abb. 1-2, 7, 17, 21.

22 Dresden, Skulpturensammlung Hm 132. Kansteiner 2000, 14-16, 115 La 10 Abb. 12, 18; Vorster in *Dresden* 2011, 652-655 Nr. 150, bes. Abb. 3: Neronisch, 3. Viertel 1. Jh. n.Chr.

23 Zuletzt: Vorster in *Dresden* 2011, 655 zu Nr. 150; Stewart in Katsonopoulou/Stewart 2013, 10 Anm. 33.

24 Kopie: 2. Hälfe 2. Jh. n.Chr., nach einem hellenistischen Vorbild. Foto: Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik Köln, FA 1414-05. Oehler 1980, 73 Kat. 66 Taf. 22 '*Kopf eines hellenistischen Herrschers*'; Smith 1988, 65-66 Pl. 10,5-6, 157 Cat.No. 11: '*Roman copy or version of a portrait of a Diadoch*'; Kansteiner 2000, 74 Anm. 567, 118 zu La 21. Zum Statuentypus des Meleager s. Stewart 1977, 104-107 Pl. 44a-d; Kansteiner 2000, 72 Anm. 552; C. Maderna in Bol 2004, 340-341 Abb. 309-311; A. Heinemann, in *Schau mir in die Augen* 2006, 73 Nr. 169.

25 Kansteiner 2000, 15: '*Beim Original des Herakles Typus Lansdowne ist nach Aussage der Mehrzahl der Repliken nicht mit einer Bekränzung zu rechnen.*'; Anm. 99 mit früherer Lit.

26 Kansteiner 2000, 18 mit Anm. 122: '*Anhaltspunkte für die Existenz einer "Zwischenfassung" hellenistischer Zeit sind nicht gegeben.*'

27 Smith 1988, 43; E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *AA* 1988-1989, 550-557, 551 Anm. 62 (Lit.); Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 70-73.

28 Horster 1970, 44-47.

29 Horster 1970, 107-111; G. Platz-Horster in *Polyklet* 1990, 575-578 Nr. 95-98a-c, 581-584 Nr. 101a-b (zur Rezeption der Amazonen-Statuen auf Gemmen). G. Platz-Horster, Der 'Ölgießer' des Gnaios, *Journal of The Walters Art Gallery Baltimore* 51 (1993) 11-21.

30 A. Alföldi, Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser, *RM* 50 (1935) 145. - Siehe oben Anm. 5-6.

31 Ohlemutz 1940, 230-243; Schalles 1985, 111 Anm. 671, 132 Anm. 768; Scheer 1993, 140 Anm. 417, 144, 149; B. Andreae, Datierung und Bedeutung des Telephosfrieses im Zusammenhang mit den übrigen Stiftungen der Attaliden von Pergamon, in Heilmeyer 1997, 67-69; H. Heres, Der Telephosmythos in Pergamon, in Heilmeyer 1997, 99. M. Mathys/V. Stappmann/R. von den Hoff, Das Gymnasion - Architektur, Nutzung und Bildwerke, in *Pergamon* 2011, 273-274.

32 H. Kyrieleis, *BJb* 171 (1971) 166-167 Anm. 13; Kyrieleis 1975, 27; Schalles 1985, 18 Anm. 108 (Lit.); E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *AA* 1988-1989, 551 Nr. 1; H.-D. Schultz, The coinage of Pergamon until the end of the Attalid Dynasty (133 B.C.), in *Pergamon* 1996, 14-15 figs 9-12; *Pergamon* 2011, 14 Abb. 2, 548 Kat. 6.57. - E. Zwierlein-Diehl hatte am 8. Mai 2006 in einer Email an M. Maaskant-Kleinbrink die Vermutung geäußert, der Amethyst von Sint-Oedenrode könne Philetairos von Pergamon darstellen - allerdings ohne einen Abguss gesehen zu haben, der die gerade Nase zeigt (freundliche Mitteilung vom 5. Februar 2012).

33 J.-P. Niemeier, Pergamon und der hellenistische Klassizismus, in *Pergamon* 2011, 327-333, 559 Kat. 8.2.

34 Schalles 1985, 51-152; Scheer 1993, 120-128; H.-J. Schalles, Nochmals zur sog. Kunstsammlung der pergamenischen Herrscher, in *Festschrift Stähler* 2004, 413-428; ders., Wohltaten und Geschenke - Die Kulturpolitik der pergamenischen Herrscher, in *Pergamon* 2011, 118-121.

35 *RE* Suppl. IV, 1924, 731-732 s.v. Herakles Nr. 3 (Schoch); Schalles 1985, 16-19 Anm. 89-92, 99; Scheer 1993, 106 Anm. 206, 110-112 Anm. 232-233; H.-J. Gehrke, Geschichte Pergamons - ein Abriss, in *Pergamon* 2011, 13. - Barsine (ca. 363-309 v.Chr.) war die älteste Tochter des persischen Satrapen von Phrygien, Artabazos II., der 353 nach dem misslungenen Aufstand gegen Artaxerxes III. an den makedonischen Hof von Pella flüchtete; sie kannte also Alexander III. schon als Kind. Sie war zweimal verheiratet, bevor sie 332 v.Chr. bei der Eroberung von Damaskus durch den makedonischen General Parmedion Alexanders Beute wurde. Er nahm sie mit auf den Feldzug durch Persien nach Baktrien, wo Herakles als illegitimer Sohn geboren wurde, da Alexander die baktrische Prinzessin Roxane geheiratet hatte; deren gemeinsamer Sohn Alexander IV. Aigos wurde nach dem Tod Alexanders d. Gr. in Babylon 323 v.Chr. geboren und mit seiner Mutter Roxane 310/309 v.Chr. ebenfalls durch Kassander ermordet.

36 Marcus Iunianus Iustinus, *Epitoma Historiarum Philippi-*

carum Pompei Trogi 15.2.3: *Deinde, ne Hercules, Alexandri filius, qui annos XIV excesserat, favore paterni nominis in regem Macedoniae vocaretur, occidi eum tacite cum matre Bassine iubet corporaque eorum terra obrui, ne caedes sepultura proderetur*. [sepultura - durch Verbrennen des Körpers] Aus: Wikisource s.v. (2006). '*Afterwards, lest Hercules, the son of Alexander, who had nearly completed his fourteenth year, should be called to the throne on Macedonia through the influence of his father's name, he* [Kassander] *sent secret orders that he should be put to death, together with his mother Barsine, and that their bodies should be privately buried in the earth lest the murder should be betrayed by a regular funeral*.' Aus: www.tertullian.org, Übersetzung: Roger Pearse 2003, nach Otto Seel (Zürich 1972) und J.C. Yardley/W. Heckel (Oxford 1997). - Zur falschen Altersangabe bei Justin s. Schalles 1985, 16 Anm. 91.

37 A. Kyriakou, in *Alexandre* 2011, 53-55 cat. 2 Anm. 12-13.

38 Zur fingierten Herakles-Genealogie der Argeaden s. auch Scheer 1993, 46, 112, 114, 228, 299.

39 Siehe z.B. oben Anm. 18 u. Anm. 32. Grundlegend, mit früherer Lit.: Plantzos 1999, 42-65, 60 'Portraits of Alexander and Portraits on the Alexander Model'; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 70-78.

40 Plantzos 1999, 56-57 Nr. 90 Pl. 15; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 72, 377 Abb. 258 (Lit.).

41 Zwierlein-Diehl 1998; Sena Chiesa 2002; G. Platz-Horster, Seals in Transition. Their Change of Function and Value in Late Antiquity, in Entwistle/Adams 2011, 221-228.

42 Als Beispiele seien zwei Goldringe des späten 3. Jhs. v.Chr. mit konvexen Granatgemmen genannt, die Herrscherporträts zeigen: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Inv. 57.1699. Furtwängler 1900, III 167 Fig. 117; Reeder 1988, 240 no. 135; J. Spier, *Journal of The Walters Art Gallery* 47 (1989) 22 Fig. 4; Plantzos 1999, 81 no. 347. - *AGWien* I 42 Nr. 32, *AGWien* III, 316; Plantzos 1999, 49 no. 33 Pl. 6; Zwierlein-Diehl 2007, 71 Abb. 250a-b.

43 Ovaler Anhänger mit doppeltem Perlrand und Bandöse (H mit Öse 6.3 cm, B 5.2 cm), Goldblech mit Brustbild eines Erzengels: Spier 2010, 223 Nr. 160 (s. *Abb. 12*). Ohrring mit tropfenförmigem Goldanhänger in *opus diatretum*, mit Globuli zur Verstärkung der angelöteten Öse: Berlin, Skulpturensammlung MSB, Inv. 9294 (H gesamt 5cm, Anhänger mit Öse 3,7 cm, ohne Öse 3,3 x 2,4 cm). Schlunk 1939, 50 Nr. 79 Taf. 15; Greifenhagen 1975, Abb. 3 Nr. 13. J. Drauschke, Halbmondförmige Goldohrringe aus bajuwarischen Frauengräbern, in *Byzanz* 2010, 182-185. Ferner: Ch. Entwistle, Notes on Selected Recent Acquisitions of Byzantine Jewellery at the British Museum, in Entwistle/Adams 2010, 27 no. 38-42, 29 no. 46; I. Baldini Lippolis, Sicily and Southern Italy. Use and Production in the Byzantine koiné, in Entwistle/Adams 2010, 126 Pl. 10 (alle 6./7. Jh.). Sieben tropfenförmige Anhänger mit Zellenemail, gefasst in Goldblech mit Perlrand und rahmenden Naturperlen, am großen Halsschmuck aus dem Preslav-Schatz. Preslav/Bulgarien, Nat. Hist.-Arch. Museum, Inv. 3381/1. Bosselmann-Ruickbie 2011, 210 Fig. 1-5, 20-33: um 927(?).

44 B. Aarts, De speurtocht naar Boudewijn van 'Oosterwijk' (1096) en zijn kasteel, *Het Brabants Kasteel* 30 (2007) 3-39 (freundlicher Hinweis des Autors).

45 *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae VI. Heinrici IV* (MGH DD H IV,2) 470a: Aachen 1101 Juni 1 (Hinweis B. Aarts). D. von Gladiss/A. Gawlik (Hrsg.), *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV. 1077-1106*, Weimar 1959, T. 2, 637-639.

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Roman Public Baths in Modern Libya

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Abstract

*This article aims to provide an overview of the archaeological research on Roman public baths in modern Libya. Besides a summary of the available literature, it also offers a critical reinterpretation of some of these bath buildings and tries to perceive possible recurrent patterns or remarkable features on an architectural level. The differences between the baths of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica are approached by analyzing the cultural and historical background of both regions. An appendix at the end of the article regroups some of the important information about the separate bath houses in a useful table.**

Bodily hygiene and bathing were not an invention, nor a monopoly of Roman civilization. There are examples of Bronze Age cultures in the Caucasus, the Near and the Middle East that developed bathing habits involving heated plunge baths and sweat chambers.[1] Before the Romans elevated bathing to a communal pastime to be enjoyed in 'palais du peuple' as P. Gros calls them, the Greek civilization made use of public bath houses and even invented a form of floor heating.[2] Recent research has also focused on the possible influence of Punic bathing traditions in the North African region.[3] Modern-day Libya lies at the crossroads of several of these different traditions and makes an excellent example to study how Roman bathing habits were influenced.

The aim of this paper is to give an overview of the known and published public Roman bath houses in Libya, focusing on the timespan between the 1st century BC and the 5th century AD.[4] Not surprisingly, it is also this period of Roman supremacy that has received most attention in archaeological research over the years. This paper will focus on the architectural and technical features of public baths, discussing the most important and best studied examples in both Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.[5] Then a preliminary conclusion will be made about possible peculiarities or characteristics of the bath houses in each province, comparing both regions and assessing the so-called 'African features' of Roman bathing habits.[6] Finally, a list of the known bath houses in modern Libya with bibliographical references, will be presented in an appendix.

Former Archaeological Research

The first archaeological excavations in Libya took place after Italy took possession of the territory in 1911. Starting from 1920, following a Royal Decree of 1914 concerning the organization of colonial archaeology, Italian archaeological missions began research at the sites of Leptis Magna and Sabratha.[7] Needless to say these first 'excavations', if one dares to apply the term, sadly had little or nothing to do with scientific research as we know it, prompting recent studies to ask whether archaeology was not fuelled by political propaganda to illustrate Italy's glorious Roman past, rather than by genuine scientific curiosity.[8] Both in Leptis Magna and Cyrene, the Roman baths were the first major structures to be excavated, with preliminary reports appearing in journals such as *Africa Italiana* or *Rivista della Tripolitania*.[9] As early as 1929, a full monograph about the imperial baths at Leptis Magna was published, focusing clearly on the architectural and decorative aspects of the building.[10] But with classical archaeology evolving fast in the motherland, Italian archaeological missions in Libya also picked up the pace, which resulted in a multitude of sound scientific articles and monographs from the late 1960s onwards.

After the Second World War, the installation of an interim British Military Administration gave birth to a British Archaeological Mission, introducing scholars such as J.B. Ward-Perkins and R.G. Goodchild. Especially in the 1960s and 1970s, several bath buildings were examined, including a comprehensive architectural study of the Hunting Baths in Leptis Magna and a controversial interpretation of the 'Unfinished Baths' in the same city.[11] From 1960 onwards, the Libyan Department of Antiquities also conducted excavations, although concerning bath houses, only the private installation of the '*Villa del Tauro*' in Silin can be mentioned. Unfortunately, no excavation report was ever published, only a preliminary note on the splendid mosaics.[12]

Besides these three 'governmental' players, other international missions have contributed in small or larger extent to our knowledge on Roman Libya. In particular the French Archaeological Mission, led by seasoned Libya-experts such as F. Chamoux, R. Rebuffat and A. Laronde, has been very active in the field of Roman baths. The excavations of the fortress baths in Bu Njem in the 1960s and 70s, a reassessment of the great Roman baths in Apollonia in the 1970s and more recently the Eastern Baths in Leptis Magna and the Roman baths in Erythron (modern Latrun) have been of invaluable significance in completing the picture of Roman bathing habits in Libya.[13] American missions were also active before Colonel Gaddafi's military coup in 1969, with the university of Michigan measuring and partially excavating the bath houses at the ancient port of Apollonia, while the University of Chicago published two bath houses at Ptolemais.[14]

Although a vast corpus of Roman bath houses has been identified, only a minority has been thoroughly excavated and even fewer published. There has never been an actual overview of Roman bath houses in Libya, let alone of its separate regions Tripolitania, Cyrenaica or the Fezzan.[15] Libya's best known and best preserved bath houses have been incorporated in major studies of E. Brödner, I. Nielsen, F. Yegül or Y. Thébert, although always within the framework of North-Africa as a whole.[16] In part, this is of course due to the historical difference between the borders of the Roman provinces and the modern nation-states.[17] One can indeed question the value of studying a modern and artificially delimited region that encompasses various parts of different Roman provinces. Yet, as argued above, it is exactly this junction of three different regions that enables us to compare and contrast various bathing traditions.

Tripolitania

Although Tripolitania only became an independent province under the emperor Diocletian at the end of the 3rd century AD, the region always stood somewhat apart from the old province Africa Proconsularis, due to its specific geography.[18] After the initial colonization by the Phoenicians in the 7th century BC, the history of the coastal region has been thoroughly linked with the growth and prosperity of its main cities, namely Leptis Magna, Sabratha and Oea (modern Tripoli). From 202 BC onwards, when Carthage was defeated by Scipio Africanus and the Tripolitanian cities were 'liberated' from Punic rule, Roman influence slowly expanded, incorporating Punic, Numidian and some Greek elements. Especially the local elite followed the Roman trends and customs, benefitting from the newly established trade routes with the *Caput Mundi*. It is in Tripolitania, a melting pot of different cultures and hence various architectural influences, that we find some of the best preserved examples of Roman bath buildings in the Empire. Keeping the restrictions imposed by past archaeological research in mind, some of the best studied *thermae* and *balnea* of the province will be discussed, and where necessary reassessed, below. With ancient Oea being overbuilt by modern Tripoli, only Sabratha and Leptis Magna offer sufficient evidence concerning bathing habits. The legionary fortress of Bu Njem is an interesting extra-urban example of public bathing.

Leptis Magna

As Tripolitania's biggest and richest city, Leptis probably boasted far more bath houses, both public and private, than the six confirmed examples known today (see the Appendix).

The oldest bath house currently known, called the 'Early Baths' (B1), has unfortunately been overbuilt by the so-called 'Unfinished Baths' during the 3rd or 4th century AD. Interpretation of the old building is also impeded by the lack of an excavation report.[19] Its proposed date of the 1st century AD is based on the use of regular sandstone blocks and its location in the old city center. The ground plan as interpreted by Goodchild is very incomplete and needs further investigation (*fig. 1*).[20] In particular, the rectangular shape of the *frigidarium* seems odd. Except for the rigid rectangular shapes of the rooms and the relatively small heated sector, there is little else to be said about this building at this moment. If we look at the alleged bath building that was built on top (B6), the situation becomes even more complicated (*fig. 2*). The addition of a large hexagonal room to the east of the old building has been interpreted by Goodchild as a newly built *caldarium* which, for reasons he does not mention, was never completed and therefore never functioned.[21] The cold sector should in his opinion be located at the western end, with the tepid rooms replacing the hot sector of the former building.[22] When we take a closer look at this proposed ground plan, several remarks can be made. For instance, the hexagonal structure is built on two levels, the lower one lying 3 meters under the adjacent street level.[23] According to Goodchild, this lower level was

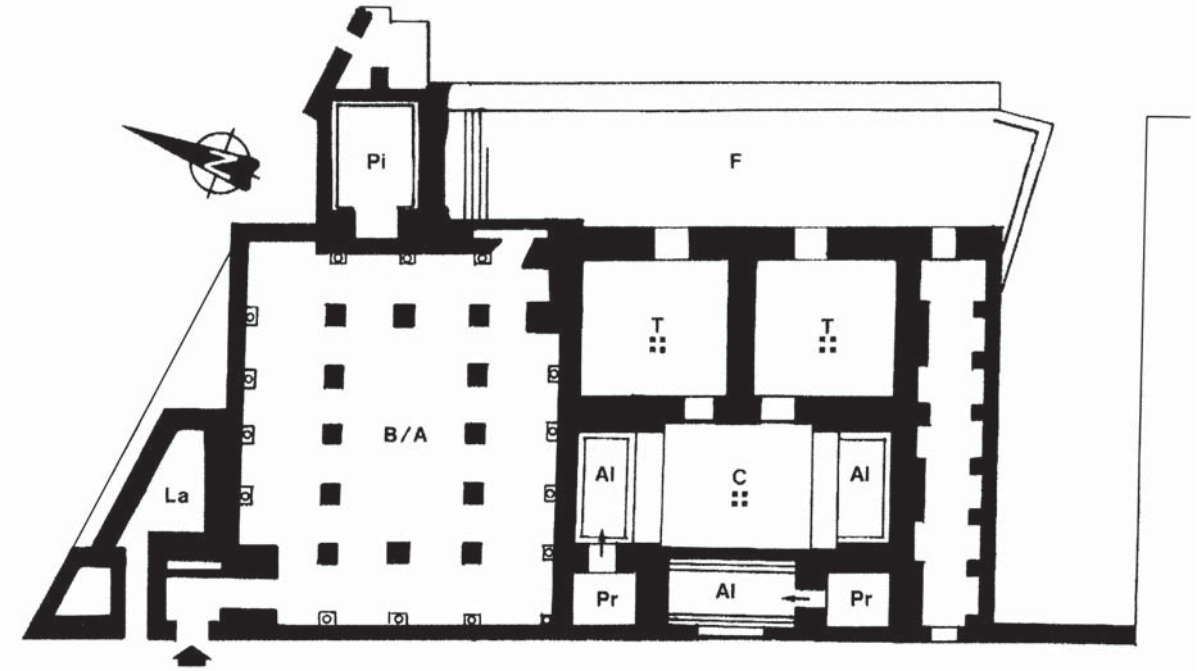


*Fig. 1. Leptis Magna, Early Baths (Nielsen 1993b, 165, fig. 182).***

Fig. 2. Leptis Magna, 'Unfinished' Baths (after Bianchi Bandinelli et al. 1967, 109, fig. 248).

never intended as an actual walking level, but rather as the basis for the hypocaust system. The high arcaded openings in each of the sides should hence be seen as furnace arches.[24] This would mean that if conventional hypocaust pillars were used, these would have been at least 1 meter in height, even if we suppose that the floor on which the pillars rested was artificially raised and we take into account that the different layers of flooring resting on these pillars had an average thickness of 0.20-0.30 meters.[25] The so-called furnace arches are also remarkably wide (around 1 m) and high (2.5 m), looking rather like normal doors.[26] What is more, the location of the *caldarium* in the east and the *frigidarium* in the west seems contradictory, meaning the afternoon sun would only hit the cold sector. The surface areas of the heated sectors would be twice that of the cold ones, exactly the opposite of what was usually found in the Roman baths in North Africa (see below). Other questionable elements worth mentioning are the lack of concrete vaulting over the new cold sector, the fact that there is no connection between the so-called *tepidarium* and *frigidarium* and that the rectangular hall north of the latter, interpreted as new *apodyterium*, is clearly of a different phase, judging from the foundations on a different level.[27] Goodchild explains these anomalies by a sudden abandonment of the building project. An alternative explanation could be that we are dealing with a different kind of public facility, maybe even a private building instead of an unfinished bath complex. The basins in the west could easily be part of a *nymphaeum* or fountain that was added to the existing water supply of the older bath house, explaining also why no concrete vaulting was ever found in this area.[28] The addition of the hexagonal structure in the east and the restoration of the hall of columns in the

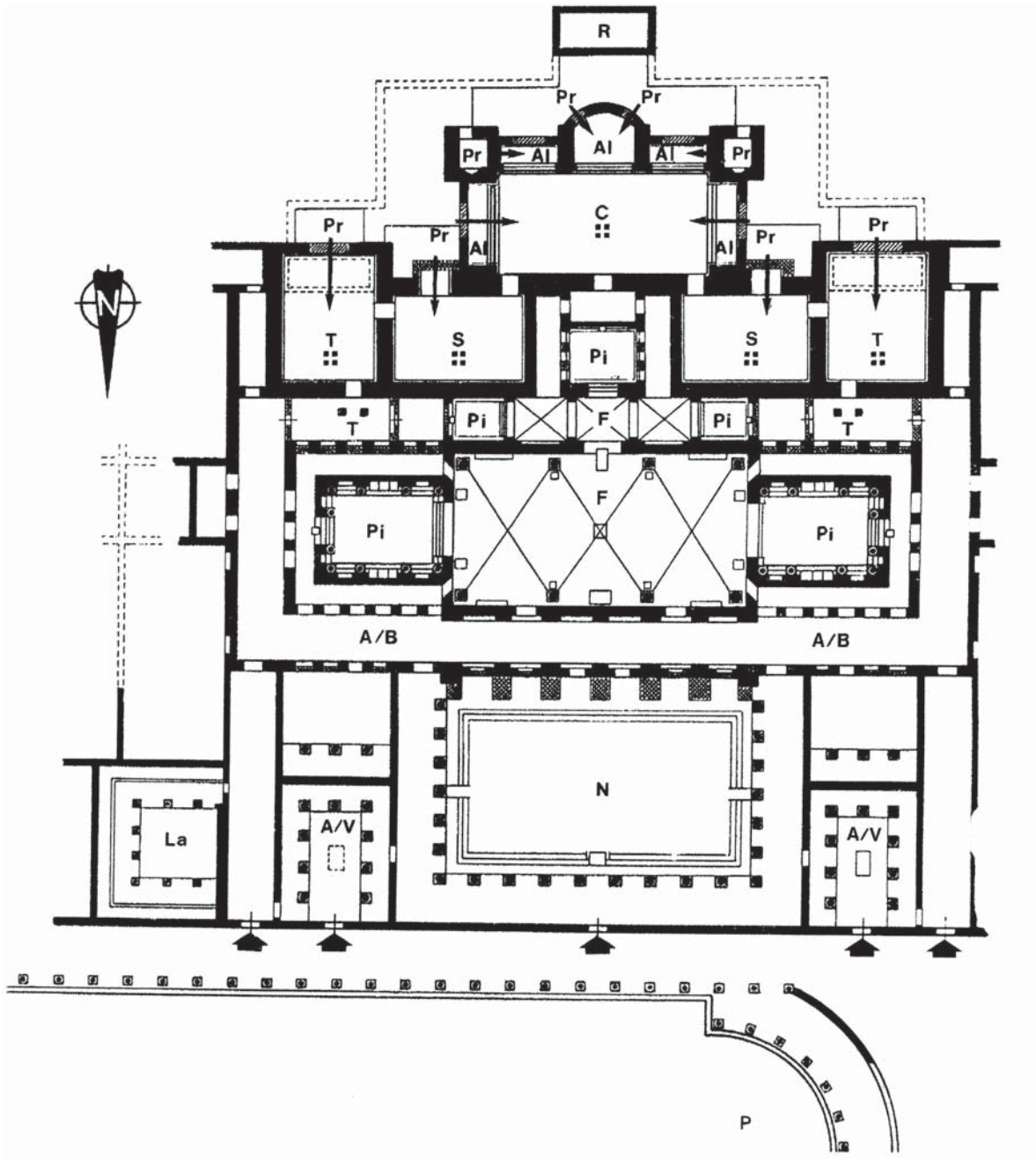


Fig. 3. Leptis Magna, Hadrian's Baths (Nielsen 1993b, 166, fig. 183).

north could point to a public building or assembly hall that incorporated the existing bathing suite.[29] The interpretation as 'unfinished' baths is not supported by hard evidence and hence is only one of the options that could explain the strange articulation of these late Roman additions to an existing bath house. The most important conclusion is that this building never actually functioned as a bath house, meaning caution is called for when including it in the corpus of bath houses of Roman Africa.

The other public baths in Leptis are more suitable for analysis due to their exceptional state of preservation. The imperial *thermae*, also called

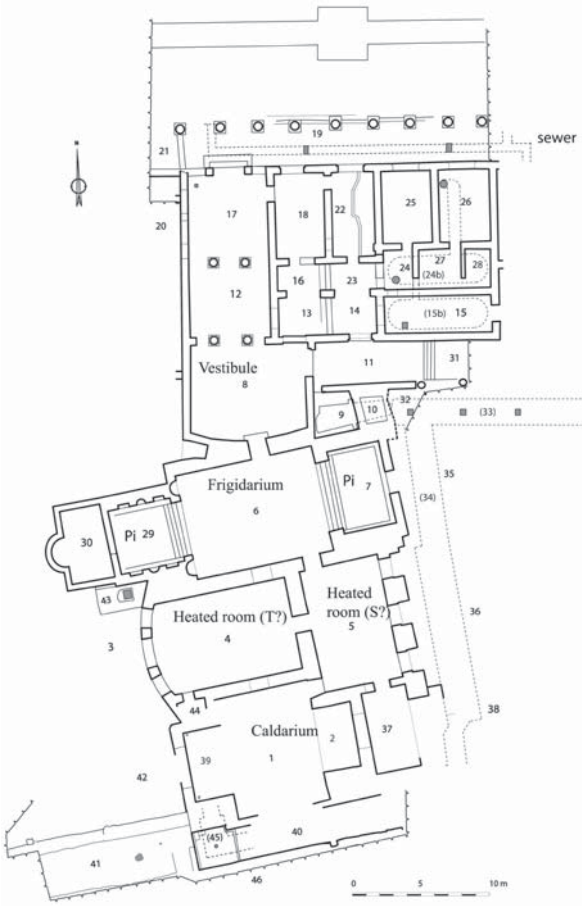


Fig. 4. Leptis Magna, Eastern Baths (after Paulin et al. 2012, 95, fig. 5).

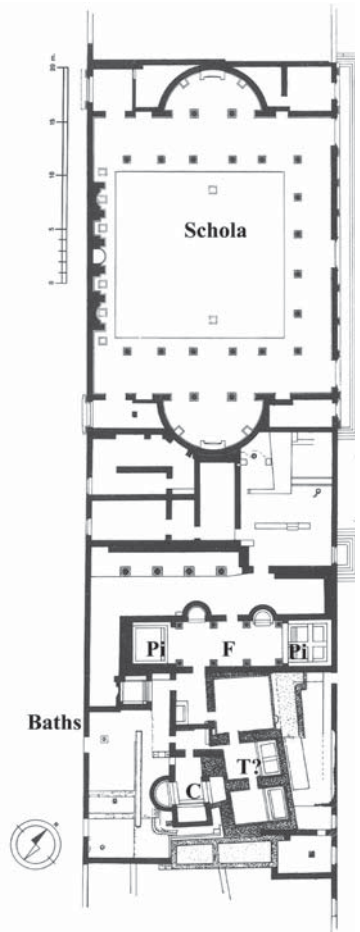


Fig. 5. Leptis Magna, Schola Baths (after Bianchi Bandinelli et al. 1967, 103, fig. 245).

Hadrian's baths (B3), the well-preserved Hunting Baths (B2), the Schola Baths (B4) and the recently excavated Eastern Baths (B5) all display 'African' features of bath buildings, such as the use of *opus Africanum*, a prominent *frigidarium* with two lateral *piscinae*, a relatively small heated sector (around one third of the entire area used for bathing) with a cruciform *caldarium* and a simple linear ground plan.[30] Yet, there are also some elements that bear close resemblance to bath houses in Asia Minor. The very large *palaestra* of Hadrian's Baths (*fig. 3*) has a distinct Greek touch, with its rounded edges and double *exedrae* for exposing statues, leading E. Brödner to describe the whole as a 'Klein-Asiatisches Thermengymnasium'.[31] It is also worth mentioning that the exercise court was not incorporated in the bath complex, as was the case in the imperial *thermae* of Rome and the western provinces (the so-called *basilica thermarum*). Although several imperial baths in Tunisia or Algeria have similar facilities, they 'reveal nothing more than largish colonnaded courtyards lacking all or most of the peripheral rooms, exedrae, shrines and altars typical of proper gymnasia or palaestra' whereas Hadrian's Baths at Leptis do have these features.[32] Other examples of this Eastern influence are the Egyptian motifs in the decorative scheme and the use of a barrel vault over the *caldarium*, 'a structural form favored in Asia Minor'.[33] The classical Roman features in Leptis' bath house architecture are fairly straightforward, certainly from the time of Trajan onwards. Strict axial, linear and symmetrical patterns dominate the ground plans, as is seen in the rigid Eastern Baths (B5) (*fig. 4*). Experimental architecture as put forward by the small baths in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli is best recognized in the Schola Baths (B4) (*fig. 5*) and especially the Hunting Baths (B2) (*fig. 6*), where

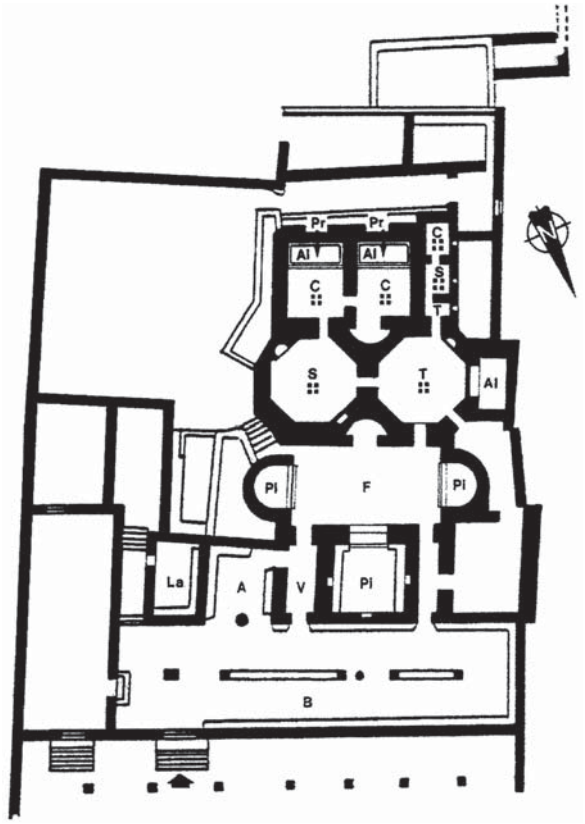


Fig. 6. Leptis Magna, Hunting Baths (Nielsen 1993b, 167, fig. 184).

'an ingenious, and not unsuccessful compromise between the free illusionistic grouping of interiors and external symmetry of classical tradition' can be perceived.[34]

On a technical level, the public baths in Leptis follow the normal Roman layout. *Opus Africanum* is used as the main building technique in Hadrian's Baths, the Eastern Baths and the frequently altered Schola Baths, while concrete and perishable materials (for the structures outdoors) are applied in the Hunting Baths (*fig. 7*). The suspended floors of all baths were heated by classic hypocaust systems, using mainly rectangular *tegulae* for the pillars, while boxtiles (*tubuli*) were preferred for heating the walls (*fig. 8*). The use of *testudines* is accounted for in both Hadrian's Baths and the Hunting Baths.[35] The logistics of water management of course depended of the size of each separate bath. Hadrian's Baths had a water supply that was probably fed by a separate branch of the city's main aqueduct.[36] Two impressive cisterns were incorporated in the perimeter of the bath complex, a feature which starts in Rome only during the reign of Septimius Severus, coincidentally a Leptis' native. Smaller baths such as those of the Schola primarily used a combination of drains and reservoirs to capture rainwater. In fact, all of the four aforementioned baths, including the imperial *thermae*, had rain water storage facilities and in at least two cases (B2 & B3) combined with a water supply by an aqueduct![37] As water was scarcer in Africa than in other parts of the empire, both aqueducts and rain storage were employed to avoid summer shortages.[38] Little is known about water disposal, but one could assume there would have been a connection to the town's sewer system, as is the case for the Hunting Baths (B2) and the Eastern Baths (B5).[39]

Fig. 7. Leptis Magna, Hunting Baths seen from the northeast (photo author).

Fig. 8. Leptis Magna, Hadrian's Baths (hypocaust system) (photo author).

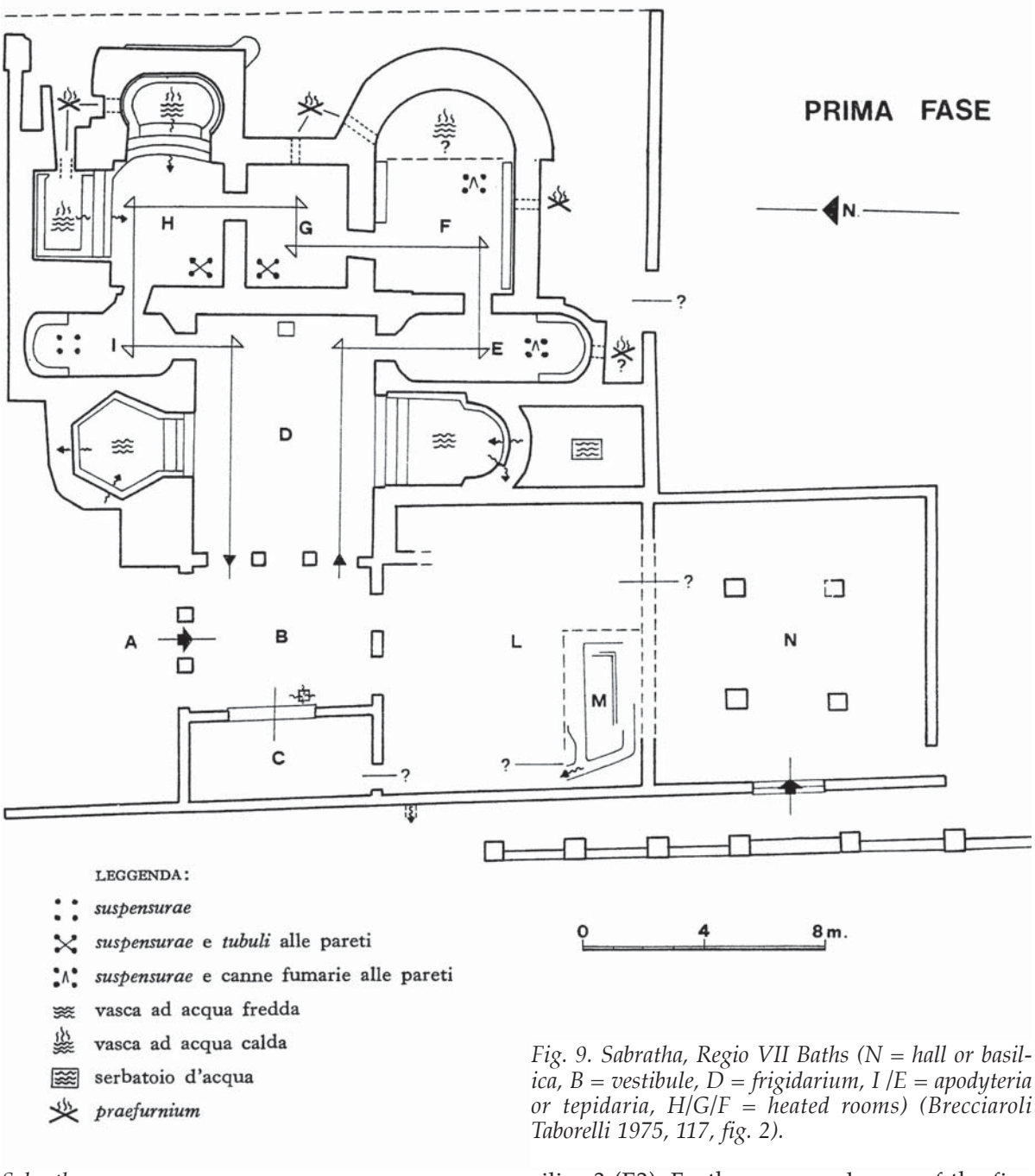


Fig. 9. Sabratha, Regio VII Baths (N = hall or basilica, B = vestibule, D = frigidarium, I /E = apodyteria or tepidaria, H/G/F = heated rooms) (Brecciaroli Taborelli 1975, 117, fig. 2).

Sabratha

Unlike in Leptis, the bath houses in Sabratha have not survived the ravages of time due to the poor quality of the local calcarenite building material. Some buildings have also been partially destroyed by the rising sea level such as the Seaward Baths (E3) and the Baths of Oceanus (E1), while others have been overbuilt, such as the Baths under Basilica 3 (E2). Furthermore, only one of the five known public baths has been excavated and published, even though an Italian archaeological mission under the supervision of N. Bonacasa had initiated a research program aiming to investigate and map all of the bath houses.[40] Except a limited preliminary report, the results still await publication.[41]

Without excavation reports and indeed without

ground plans, it is extremely difficult to examine the architecture and functioning of Sabratha's bath houses. Only the Baths of Regio VII have been properly excavated.[42] Here we can see some of the same peculiarities mentioned for the baths at Leptis. Functionality was again an important factor in contriving the lay out of the ground plan (*fig. 9*).[43] The simple ring type with a strong sense of axial symmetry reminds one of the Hunting Baths, as does the combination of a classical rigid scheme with the experimental hexagonal and rounded forms, features that are characteristic for Hadrianic architecture. The same goes for the Seaward Baths, where the rigidity of a strict north-south and east-west orientated ground plan is counterbalanced with polygonal and rounded rooms. Another 'African' characteristic in Sabratha is the importance of the cold sector of the baths, best expressed by a large *frigidarium* with lateral *piscinae*, found in both the Baths of Oceanus and the Baths of Regio VII. An interesting feature of both baths is also the impressive colonnaded room that precedes the *frigidarium*, not to be confused with ordinary *apodyteria*. A similar arrangement is found in Leptis Magna in the Early Baths, the Eastern Baths and the Hunting Baths. The Hadrianic thermae even have an unusual variation as a sort of long corridor or crypta (*figs 3 and 10*).[44]

The building and heating techniques are basically the same as in Leptis. The hypocaust system also uses square *tegulae* for the pillars and square *tubuli* for wall heating, even if in Ocean's Baths *tegulae mammatae* were found.[45] As another example of practical planning, it is interesting to notice how a lot of the heated sectors are orientated towards the north or the east because the fixed location inside an allotted parcel of the *insula* did not allow a traditional southward orientation. Unfortunately, very little is known about the town's water management. Bonacasa gives an account of different supply systems, including wells, cisterns and the use of aqueducts.[46]

Fig. 10. Leptis Magna, Hadrian's Baths (crypta seen from the west) (photo author).

Bu Njem

A special kind of public bath house (A1) is found in the legionary camp of Bu Njem. The complex is attached to the *principia* and was primarily used by the soldiers based there.

Even if the complex has not been entirely exca-

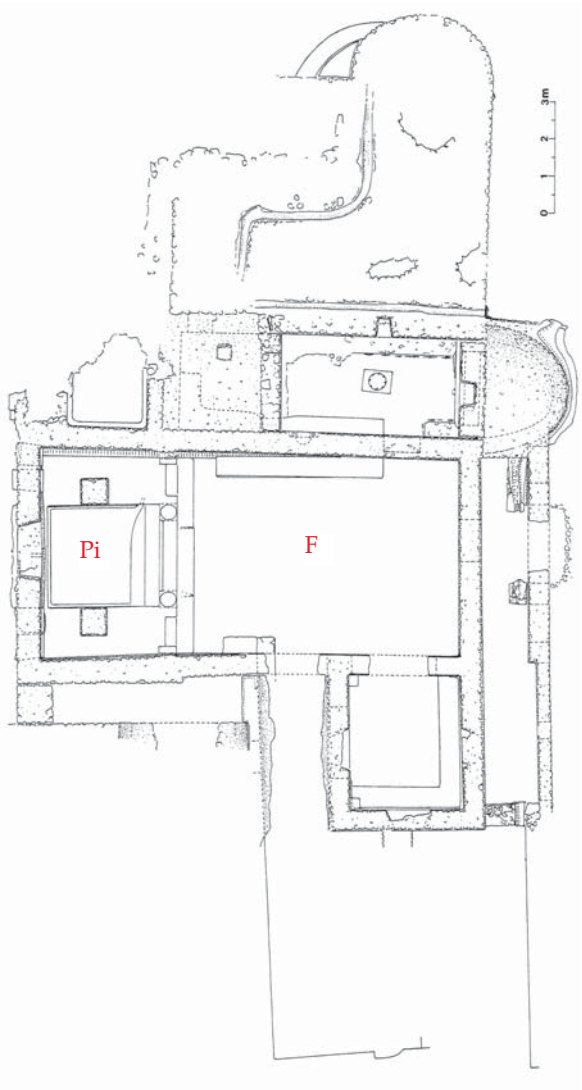


Fig. 11.Bu Njem, Legionary Baths (Rebuffat 1977, 46, fig. 6).

vated, the cold sector is well known thanks to the French archaeological mission (*fig. 11*).[47] The *frigidarium*, having only one cold plunge pool on its south side, is again the architectural heart of the building. The heated part, orientated on an east-west axis, should probably be located southwest of the *frigidarium*, accessible through a flat roofed room where a statue of the goddess Fortuna stood.[48] The use of *tubi fittili* in the vault of a small room east of the *frigidarium* is quite unique.[49] This special vaulting technique is said to be typical for the North African region due to the lack of wood, especially in bath buildings.[50] Nevertheless, the use of *tubi* in bath buildings seems restricted to the Maghreb, this being the only example in Tripolitania. There are no *tubi* reported in Cyrenaic bath houses. On a functional level, not enough is known to interpret the heating system nor the water management. A water tank was built on the roof level, possibly for the collection of rain water, but considering the weight of such a disposition, the underlying space was probably filled in, having merely a supporting function.[51]

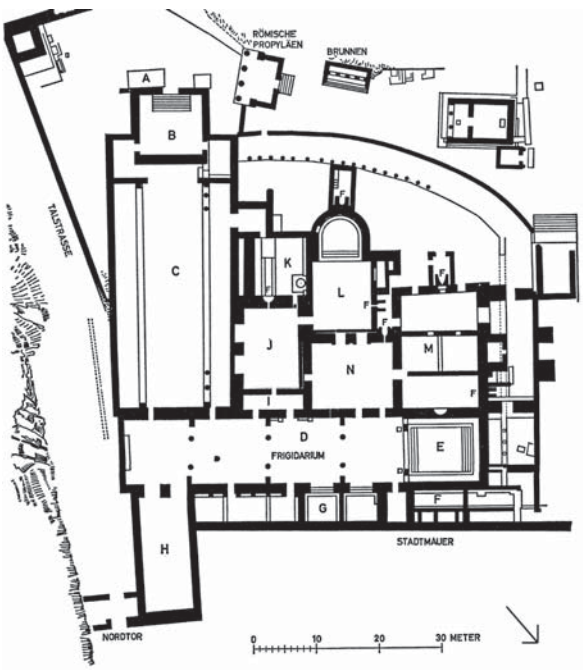
Cyrenaica

The province Cyrenaica has always stood completely independent from its neighbor in the west, rather remaining closely tied with Egypt to the east. The region between the Arae Philaenorum (near modern Maktar) and es-Sallum in modern day Egypt is also different on a geographical level, with the Gebel Akhdar mountains in the north catching more rain than the coastal plains of Tripolitania. Historically speaking, the Greek influence was a lot stronger than in Tripolitania, with the first Aegean merchants frequenting the coast as early as the 14th century BC and the first Greek settlers arriving in the 7th century BC.[52] When the Egyptian ruler Ptolemy Apion bequeathed the province to Rome after his death in 96 BC, the Romans, having important domestic issues to solve, initially showed little interest in Cyrenaica, postponing the attribution of the official title 'province' until 76 BC.[53] From the time of Augustus to the reign of Diocletian, apart from an occasional revolt and a number of documented earthquakes, Cyrenaica prospered.[54] The reforms of Diocletian meant the division of the province in *Libya Superior* and *Inferior*, with respectively Ptolemais and Peraetonium as capitals. In the beginning of the 5th century AD, both became part of the Byzantine Empire. As in Tripolitania, the Arabs invaded the territory in 642-643. Throughout its history, Cyrenaica proved to remain highly influenced by Greek and Egyptian culture.[55] The most important cities of the *Pentapolis* - Berenice (modern Benghazi), Taucheira (Tocra), Ptolemais (Tolmeta), Cyrene (Shahat) and Apollonia (Marsa Susa) - all have Greek origins. The latter three cities take account for most of the bath houses, while the bath house at Erythron will be included as an example of an ongoing excavation project. The baths located in the rural hinterland villages such as Gabu Iunes date mainly from the Byzantine period, revealing links with the subsequent Islamic bathing habits.

Cyrene

As the largest and most prosperous city of the *Pentapolis*, Cyrene, would have had a great number of bathing facilities. The Greek origins of the city are stressed by the presence of a Greek style bath house, the so-called 'Ritual Baths'.[56] Consisting of the two typical round *tholoi* and two more or less rectangular rooms with individual bath tubs, all hewn out in the rock, these baths follow the standard plan for Greek public baths.[57] From the Roman era onwards, three bath houses are known.

The earliest known are the Trajanic Baths (H1)



A. Eingangshalle. B. Vorraum. C. Palästra. D. Frigidarium. E. Kalt-Tauchbad. F. Latrine. G. Kalt-Tauchbad. H. Große Halle. I. Korridor. J–N. Heißräume.

Fig. 12. Cyrene, Trajan's Baths (Myrthussa Baths) (Goodchild 1971, 129, fig. 16).

dating from the High Empire (*fig. 12*). These baths have a long and complex building history, probably going back to the 1st century AD and being remodeled and overbuilt in the subsequent centuries, remaining in use until the Arab conquest in the 7th century AD.[58] A lot of the 'African' elements are absent, such as the lateral *piscinae* of the *frigidarium* or the cruciform *caldarium*, although it should be stressed that both elements are not a *conditio sine qua non*, nor a monopoly of Roman baths in Africa. The impressive long hall preceding the *frigidarium* is again remarkable, while there is also a rectangular room abutting the northeast corner of the second phase *frigidarium*. The preference for these long halls with *exedrae* and recesses can be seen as Greek influence.[59] The Byzantine Baths (H2), overlying the entrance hall of the Trajanic Baths, maintain this same preference (*fig. 13*). The ground plan is of a simple axial row type with a retrograde track. The heated sector is orientated towards the north, while the number and the size of the plunge pools has been reduced to a minimum. Possibly the baths were divided into a male and female sector, which could be in response to Christian criticism of the practice of mixed bathing.[60] The third public bath house (H3) has been overbuilt by the central basilica. Besides the presence of a hypocausted heated sector, little can be said about this building.[61]

On a constructional and technical level, there are some interesting remarks to be made. Both the Trajanic and Byzantine Baths are built in *opus quadratum*, the Greek building technique *par excellence*. Furthermore, the hypocaust pillars of the heated sectors in the Trajanic baths are made with round, square or even helicoidal tiles, whereas the *tubuli* remain square in section.[62] The bottom of a bronze water tank has also been found inside one of the heated rooms.[63] An aqueduct probably supplied water to the Trajanic building, whereas the waste water passed into the *cloaca maxima* of the city.[64]

Apollonia

Apollonia, the old port city of Cyrene, has one of the oldest and most interesting bath houses in Libya. Besides these Roman baths, the University of Michigan excavated a Byzantine bath house, although closer examination reveals some irregularities in this interpretation.

The Roman Baths (F1) were built upon an ear-

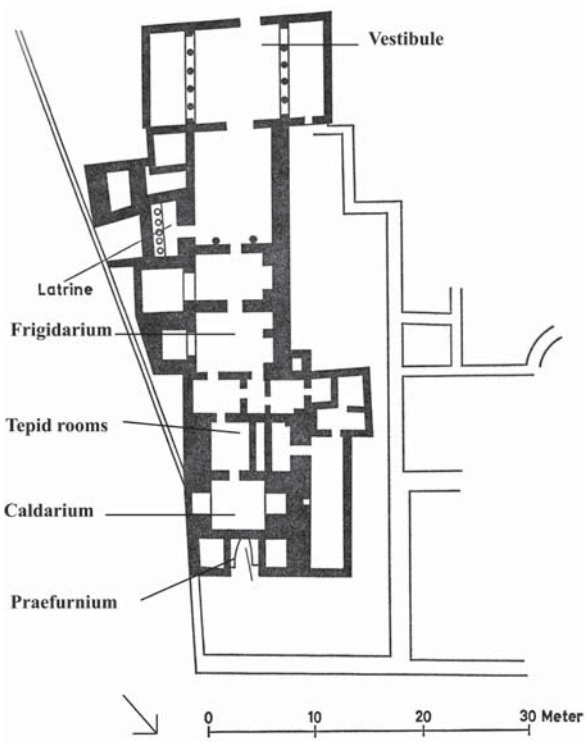


Fig. 13. Cyrene, Byzantine Baths (after Goodchild 1971, 133, fig. 17).

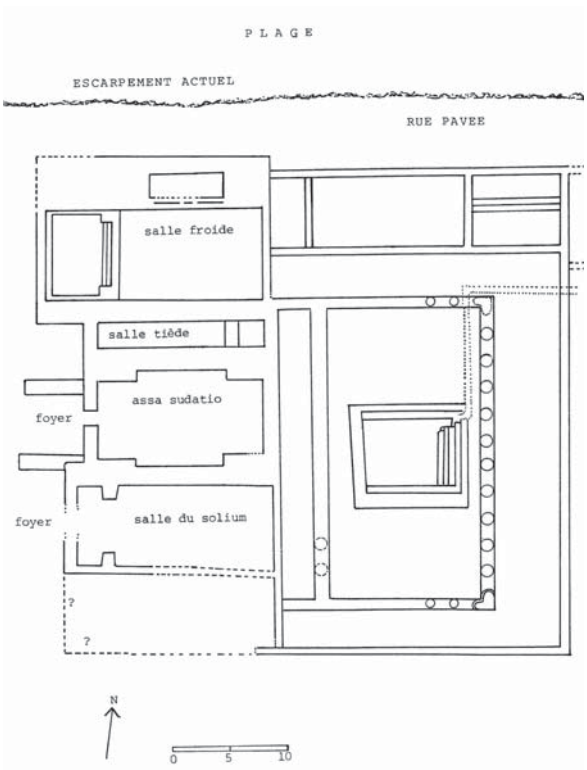


Fig. 14. Apollonia, Roman Baths (Rebuffat et al. 1987, 267, fig. 3).

lier Hellenistic building with the same orientation (*fig. 14*). It probably already had a *peristylium* and a water basin, which could point to some sort of *palaestra* or a house with *peristylium*.[65] The first Roman phase was erected between AD 75 and AD 125 and follows the classic 'Italic' examples of that era, with a straight linear succession of rectangular cold, tepid and hot rooms.[66] The swimming pool and the courtyard to the east make up about half of the total floor area. The ground plan is a perfect example of the early Roman bath house, which we can also recognize in the Stabian and Central Baths in Pompeii, the Neptunus Baths in Ostia, or, closer by, the Trajanic Baths in Cyrene (*fig. 12*).[67] The two plunge pools in the *frigidarium* have no lateral disposition. A reconstruction with two *caldaria* seems unlikely, as this is uncommon in early bath houses.[68] On a constructional level, just as in Cyrene, *opus quadratum* is used. In the first heated room, the hypocaust pillars are made with round tiles. Water was supplied by an aqueduct and disposed by a channel passing through the latrines and emptying in the street's sewer east of the baths.[69]

The second bath house (F2) to be excavated in Apollonia, supposedly dates back to the Byzantine era and is located just west of the Roman baths (*fig. 15*). According to the American archaeologists who excavated this building in the 1960s, these baths were built when the aqueduct supplying the Roman baths stopped functioning.[70] There is nevertheless something strange with the suite of rooms that is interpreted as the heated sector.[71] For instance, there has never been any trace of hypocaust pillars or *tubuli*, which is very odd, even when the building had a second function afterwards. The excavators explained this lack of a hypocaust and construction material by suggest-

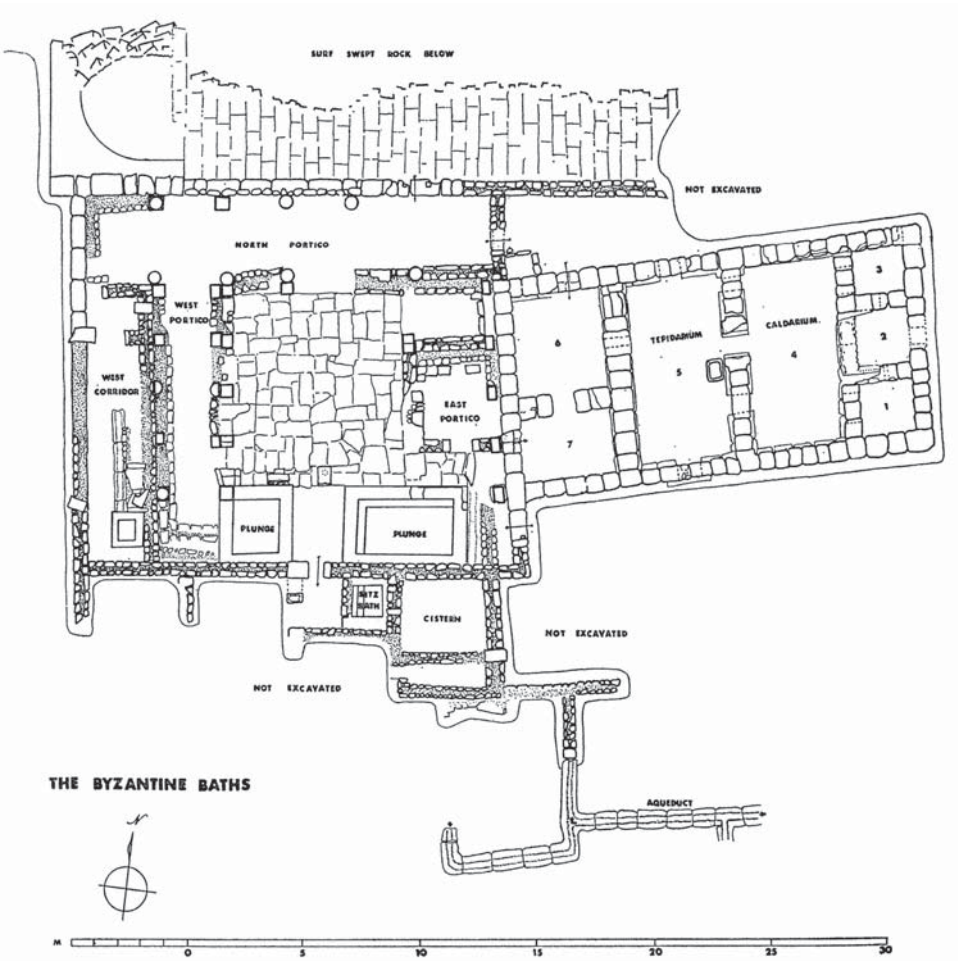


Fig. 15. Apollonia, 'Byzantine' Baths (Pedley 1976, 226, fig. 1).

ing that these baths were never finished. French archaeologists in contrast, have argued that this building probably had an industrial function, such as the processing of leather or textile or the production of fish sauce.[72] There are a number of other reasons to doubt the interpretation as a bath house. First of all, the orientation to the east seems bizarre, especially as there was enough space to direct the heated sector to the south. Secondly, the cemented floor level of the alleged hypocaust is at 1.85 m below the threshold level, which would mean the pillars would have been unusually high. The flues at ground level in the walls that supposedly interconnected the three heated rooms and that would have guaranteed the circulation of the hot air, are also found in the outer walls. If these outer holes were for draught, as claimed by the American archaeologists, such a system would be quite unorthodox. In normal circumstances, chimneys leading to the roof would ensure hot air circulation. From the three plunges at the eastern end of the building, the two outer ones are connected with the central one by way of terra-cotta conduits just above floor level, an arrangement which we would rather expect in basins with an industrial purpose. The same goes for the so-called plunges of the cold sector, especially the '*Sitz*-bath', that have all the characteristics of basins for industrial purpose.[73] The French excavations also showed that the Roman baths were probably still in use in the Byzantine times, thus making it unlikely that an entirely separate building would have been erected just next to it.[74] In conclusion, it is highly questionable that this building actually was intended as a bath house, as all the evidence seems to point to installations for a *fullonica*. It should therefore not be included when discussing characteristics or peculiarities of Roman bath houses in Libya.

Ptolemais

Of the four bath buildings found in Ptolemais, only one has a definite public character. The bathing facilities in the 'Palazzo delle Colonne' and in the 'House of the Triapsidal Hall' are definitely private, while the baths of the public building (P1) possibly evolved from a private to a public facility. Only the City Baths (P2) are clearly of a public nature.[75]

The first phase of the baths in the public building (P1) is poorly known, due to it being overbuilt by Late Roman structures (*fig. 16*).[76] The basic succession of a cold, tepid and hot room was formed into an angular row type of ground plan, mainly dictated by the available space in the *insula*. In Byzantine times a new doorway was constructed in the east corner to give access to the street while passing through the latrines first. Maybe this points to the opening of the baths to the public. It is interesting to notice how the baths were enlarged in the eastern and western directions, but that the *frigidarium* remained largely unchanged as the architectural centerpiece of the building. The other rooms maintained their rigid rectangular shapes, while the plunges, both the hot and cold ones, remained surprisingly small. On a functional level, the hot rooms had a suspended floor heated by a furnace which was surmounted by a boiler. The *piscina* of the *frigidarium* was fed by a water tank that stood on a raised concrete platform in the courtyard.[77] In the last phase of the building, the *caldarium* went out of use and access to it was blocked up, meaning the water for the tubs may have been heated on small hearts, as torch marks on the walls suggest.[78]

The City Baths (P2) probably had an early Roman phase, but the ground plan that is visible today dates from the Byzantine period (*fig. 17*).[79] The large courtyard, interpreted as a *frigidarium* by some scholars, has an impressive *peristylium* with a octagonal *piscina* in its center. The heated sector in the south was probably altered a lot, maybe because the *caldarium* collapsed, thus necessitating the reconversion of the *tepidarium* and the *apodyterium* to a *caldarium* and *tepidarium* respectively. This would explain the haphazard construction of a heated bath tub between the two semi-circular plunges in the east wall of the original tepid room and the two water basins in what probably used to be *apodyteria* or heat locks.[80] In general, the shape of the rooms is again rectangular, with the exception of semi-circular apses and the hexagonal plunge pool. The original *caldarium* was cruciform, with probably three *alvei* in the protruding parts. The construction technique was *opus quadratum*, with repairs in concrete. On a functional level, a hypocaust system heated the tepidarium, using round, square and rectangular tiles for the pillars and *tubuli* for heating the walls. The aforementioned small bath tub stood right above the furnace. A water tank probably covered a heated tunnel just southeast of the *tepidarium*, ensuring hot water for the two semi-circular plunges.[81] A large reservoir west of the courtyard supplied the small basins in the *apodyteria*/heated rooms and probably also the boiler for the *caldarium*. A deep well of 2.50 meters deep was found next to the furnace of the *caldarium* and probably dates back to the Roman phase of

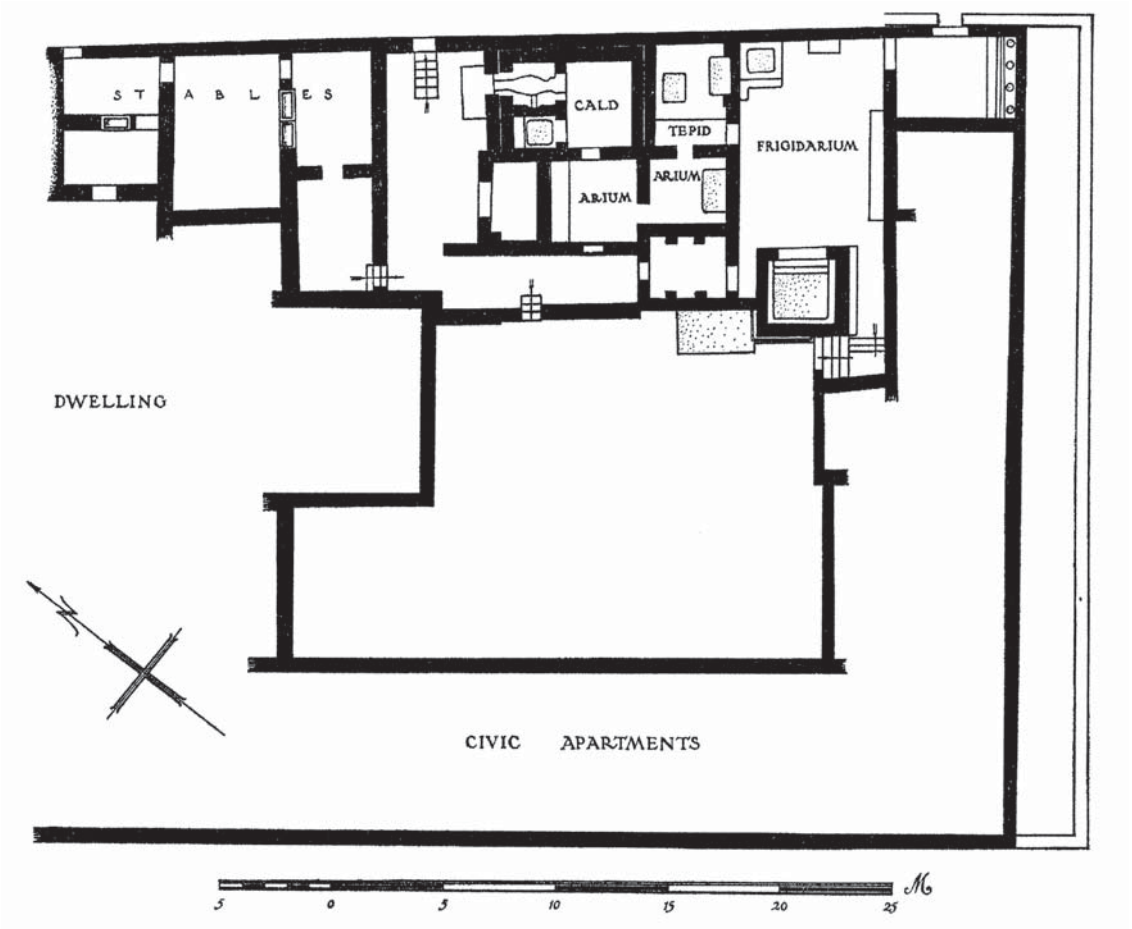


Fig. 16. Ptolemais, Baths of the Public Building (Kraeling 1962, 150, fig. 55).

the building, as it is partially overbuilt by the Byzantine structures. Maybe this well could be related to the bath function of the Roman building?[82] It is not known how the aqueduct reached the reservoirs.

Erythron

Although the excavations in Erythron are still ongoing, the bath house (I1) that has been uncovered already exhibits some interesting features (*fig. 18*). The building probably dates from the 3rd century AD and was in use until at least the end of the 4th century AD.[83] Apparently, an octagonal *frigidarium*, with a round plunge pool at its center and a surrounding portico, is the architectural heart of the building. Two heated rooms using a hypocaust system have already been identified east of the *frigidarium*.[84] A small polygonal room equipped with a suspended floor could have been a heated dressing room or massage-room. It is nevertheless too early to make assumptions about the different functions of the rooms, although it is already clear that we are dealing with a very central and compact configuration of the ground plan with the *frigidarium* in a pivoting role.[85] The construction technique is of high quality and the hypocaust system follows the classical standards, having both round and square pillar tiles.[86] Information regarding the service areas and water management is not yet available.

Cyrene's hinterland

In the hinterland surrounding Cyrene, some small villages that probably date back to the Byzantine period have been discovered. Some of these villages also had small bath houses (J1–O1 and Q1-S1). These baths have little to do with their large and lavishly decorated Roman forerunners, but show an interesting continuation of bathing habits on the one hand and an evolution of the building

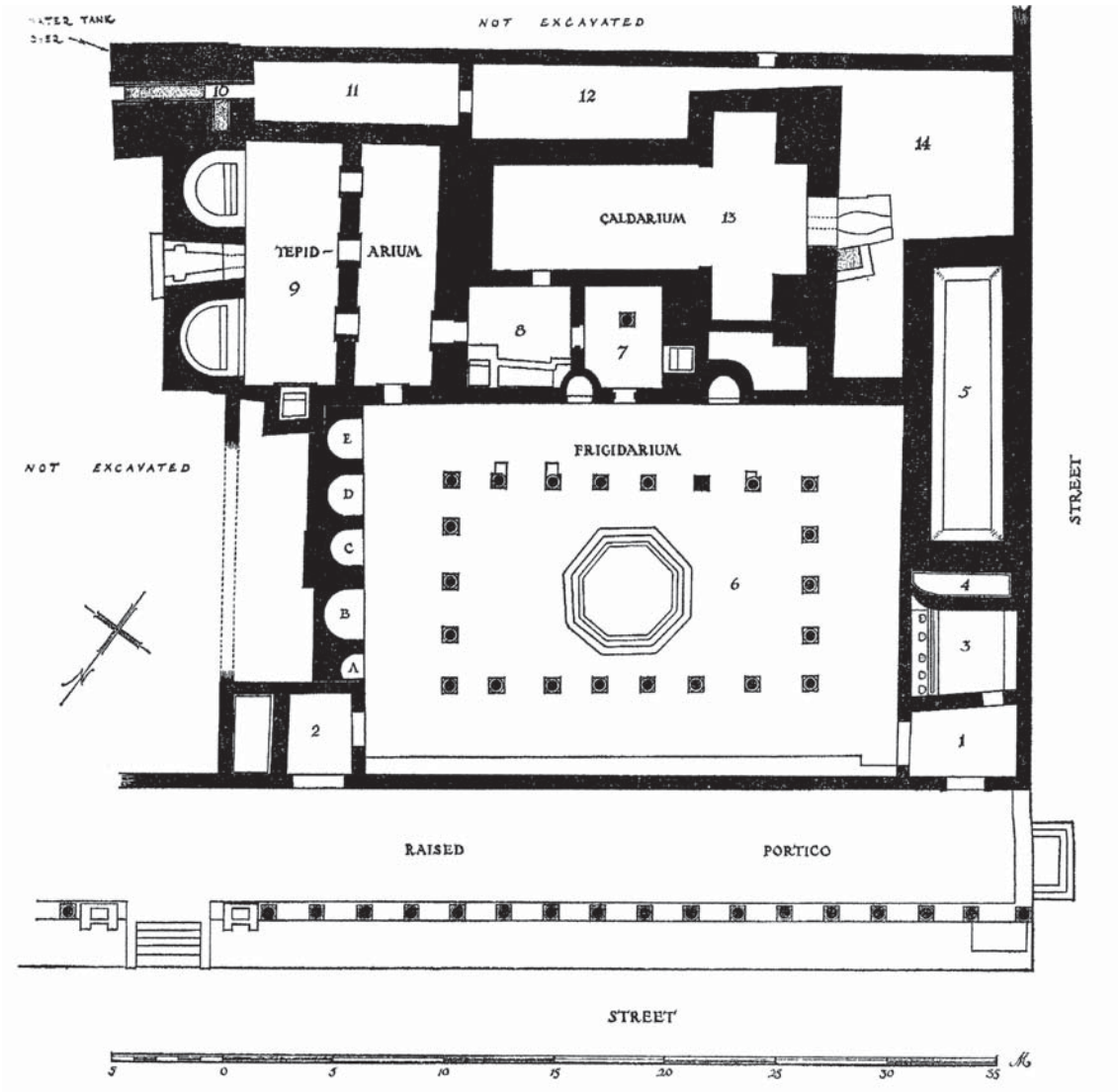


Fig. 17. Ptolemais, City Baths (Kraeling 1962, 161, fig. 56).

type and its functioning on the other. Some of these structures have been described by an Italian archaeological mission in the 1970s which is the only actual documentation we have on these sites.[87] Although it is often very difficult to date these baths, most of them have been found in or near Byzantine settlements.[88] The ground plans look very much alike, consisting of the simple linear succession of rectangular *frigidarium/apodyterium - tepidarium - caldarium* and orientated in a north- south direction with the *caldarium* facing south. In some cases, e.g. in Gasr Mismar (L1) the *caldarium* is cruciform. The doors connecting the bathing suites to the outside are not on the same alignment as the doors inside the bath building in order to minimize heat loss. Probably for the same reason, the heated rooms are very low. The building technique is predominantly *opus quadratum* using blocks cut in Roman feet, maybe as a result of the reuse of older building material.[89] Sometimes, as in Gasr Khuraybah (K1) (*fig. 19*) or Wadi Senab (S1), the building was partially cut out in the rock.[90] On a functional level, it is very important to note the presence of small water basins instead of large plunge pools. These may have served to generate steam inside the small and low chambers, resulting more in 'Turkish vapor baths' than in Roman *thermae* or *balnea*.[91] The hypocaust system seems to fall out of use, while the lack of aqueducts forced these baths to rely on rain water collection.

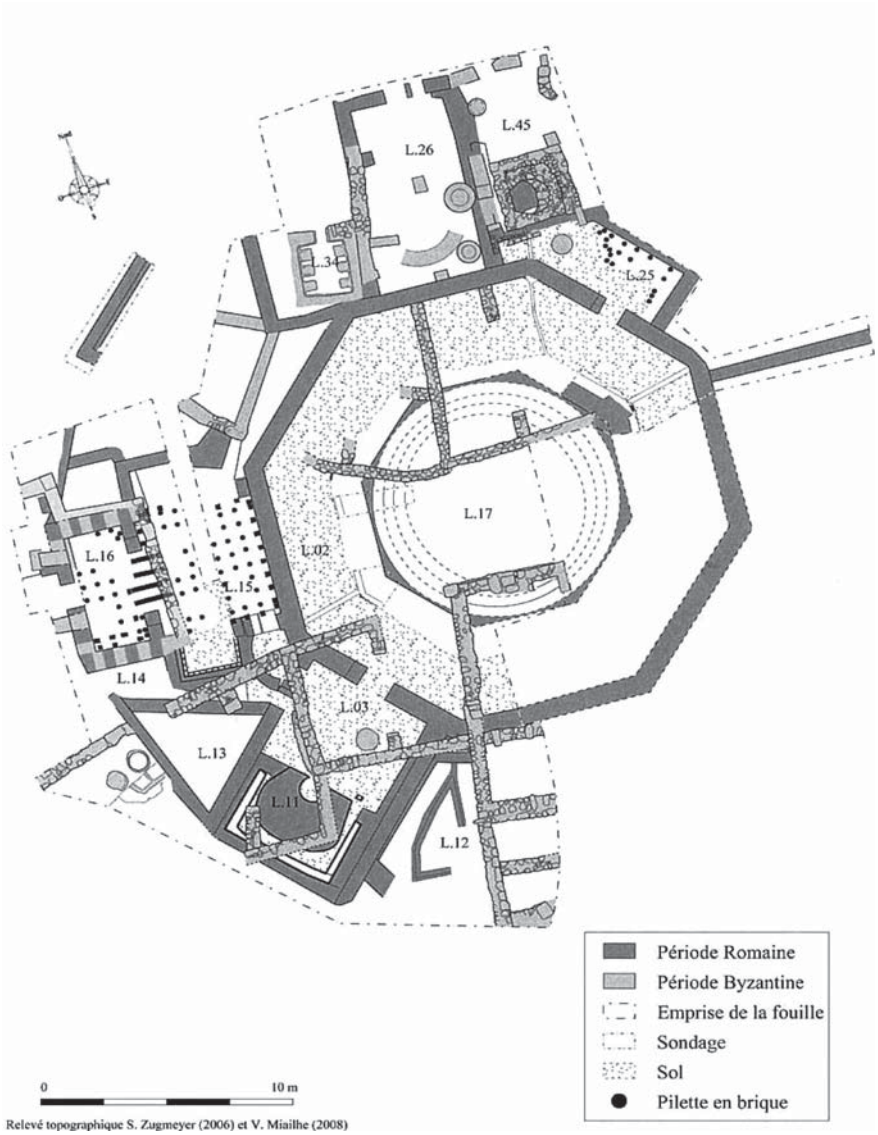


Fig. 18. Erythron, Roman Baths (Laronde/Michel 2009, 182, fig. 4).

Conclusions

On an architectural level, several interesting remarks can be made. It is clear that the difference in the historical and cultural development of both regions was also reflected in the respective architectural traditions. Tripolitania leaned more towards Numidia and Mauretania, while Cyrenaica was more connected with Egypt and the Hellenistic East. When looking at the bath houses, we see that the so-called North-African characteristics are better represented in Tripolitania and less in Cyrenaica. The use of *opus Africanum*, the importance of the *frigidarium* with its lateral *piscinae*, a cruciform *caldarium* and the preference for axial and symmetrical ground plans point to a strong link with bath houses to the west of Tripolitania.[92] On the other hand, the use of *opus quadratum*, a fondness of large halls with exedrae, the importance of the *palaestra* and the use of a barrel vault above the *caldarium* lean more towards examples in the East.[93] Nevertheless, bath houses in both regions show features of each sphere of influence. The best conclusion is therefore that the Roman bath houses in modern Libya are the products of a cross-fertilization between western and eastern

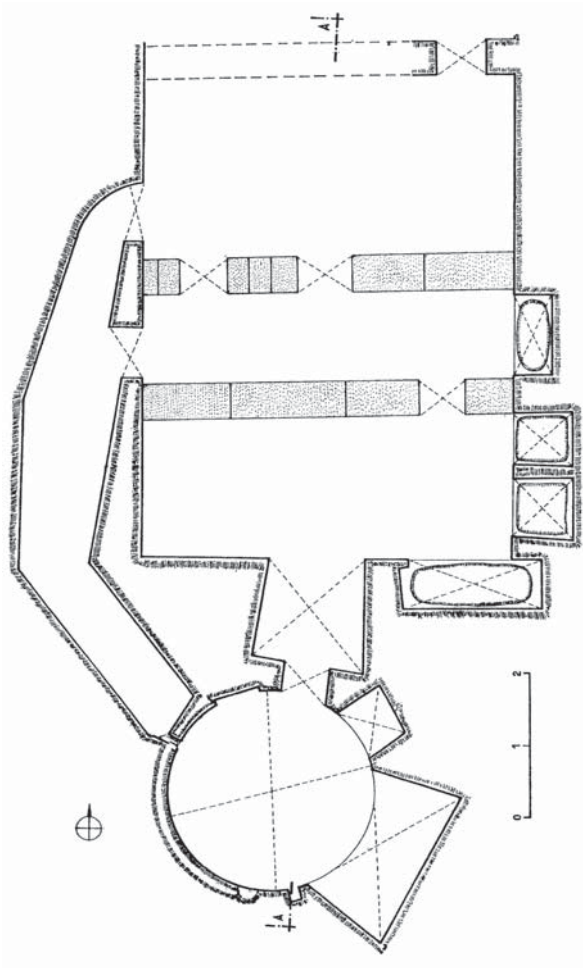


Fig. 19. Gasr Khuraybah, Byzantine Baths (after Gambini/Catani 1976, 454, fig. 7).

elements, with a slight predominance of the former in Tripolitania and the latter in Cyrenaica.

The restricted previous archaeological research into Roman public baths in Libya, which mainly focused on architectural and art historical aspects, limits the scope of the conclusions that can be made about the functional aspects of the baths. Especially lacking is information about water management and how bath houses were embedded in the fabric of a town. Nevertheless, the following can be said concerning the heating techniques and the water management. All examples make use of the standard hypocaust system with pillars made of round or square tiles, and *tubuli*.[94] Most baths were connected to the city's water supply by a separate branch of the aqueduct, although a secondary system of wells or cisterns fed by rain water was frequently added to counter periods of draught. Information about water disposal is scarce, but in some cases it was ensured by a connection with the town's sewer system.[95] The Byzantine baths in the Cyrenaic hinterland are interesting examples of how the bathing habit and subsequently also the architecture and the functioning of baths, changed dramatically after the 5th century AD. These smaller baths already adopted new heating techniques such as vapor heating, bearing close resemblances with Islamic hammams. They show how the bathing habit was a cultural phenomenon that persisted long after the Classical Roman Period and into to the Early Islamic Period.

The Roman bathing habit in modern day Libya was as strongly represented as elsewhere in the Empire and shows the same versatility and adaptability to local circumstances. The historical background and climatological challenges of each region ensured that a common basis was complemented by regional variations. This article has shown what some of these variations could have been, but it is far from clear if these variations could be seen as real 'characteristic elements'. If anything, the conclusions of this article should give an impulse to conduct more in-depth research of the bath houses in Libya, especially concerning aspects of water management and insertion in the surrounding town fabric.

Appendix

Introduction

On the following pages, an overview of the known and published public bath houses dating from the Roman Period in Libya are presented. The different archaeological sites are grouped by province, in an alphabetical order following their Latin or Greek names. If the ancient name is unknown, the modern Arabic name is used. When there are several bath houses within in the same site, they are listed in a chronological order, based on their construction date. Of each bath house the following information is given:

1. Construction date.
2. Type of ground plan following the typology described by Krencker and Krueger 1929.
3. The date of excavation with between brackets the archaeological team responsible for the excavations.
4. Reference to figures.
5. Reference to the original excavation report.
6. State of preservation and additional remarks.

Tripolitania

Site	Construction Date	Ground plan	Excavation Date	Figure	Excavation Report	State of Preservation
A. Bu Njem						
A1. Legionary Baths	Beginning 3rd c. AD	Probably single row	1960-1970 (French Archaeological Mission)	Rebuffat 1977, 46 fig. 6.	Rebuffat 1970a; 1970b; 1975; 1977	Well preserved, but not fully excavated
B. Leptis Magna						
B1. Early Baths	1st c. AD (?)	Angular row type	1955-1956 (Libyan Department of Antiquities)	Nielsen 1993b, 165, fig. 182	No excavation report available. Described by Goodchild 1965, 18	Only partially preserved and built over by B6
B2. Hunting Baths	Second half of the 2nd c. AD	Half axial row type (phase 1), evolved into angular row type	1932-1933	Ward-Perkins/Toynbee 1949, plate XLVII	Ward-Perkins/Toynbee 1949	Very well preserved, but now partially covered by dunes
B3. Hadrian's Baths	First half of the 2nd c. AD	Imperial type	1920's (Italian Colonial Department of Antiquities)	Bartoccini 1929, Tav. X	Bartoccini 1925, 62-64; 1929; Romanelli 1925, 118-140	Very well preserved
B4. Schola Baths	2nd c. AD?	Axial row type	Not excavated	Bianchi Bandinelli et al. 1967, 103, fig. 25	No excavation report available. Mentioned by Vergara Caffarelli 1957, 352	Well preserved despite poor quality of construction technique
B5. Eastern Baths	Probably 2nd c. AD	Axial row type	On-going since 1994 (French Archaeological Mission)	Paulin et al. 2011, 24, fig. 1; 2012, 95, fig. 5	Laronde 1994; 1997; 1998; 2000; Paulin et al. 2011	Very well preserved
B6.'Unfinished' Baths	3rd or 4th c. AD	Imperial type?	1955-1956 (Libyan Department of Antiquities)	Goodchild 1965, plate VIII	No excavation report available. Mentioned by Vergara Caffarelli 1959, 352 and Ward-Perkins 1965	Well preserved in parts, but probably not a bath building
C. Oea						
C1. Baths under Tripoli Castle?	Unknown	Unknown	Not excavated	No figure available	No excavation report available	Only the presence of big marble columns hint towards the existence of a big public building
D. Homs						
D1. Roman Baths	Unknown	Unknown	1970's (Libyan Department of Antiquities)	No figure available	No excavation report available. Mentioned in *LibAnt* 11-12, 29	Destroyed during the building of a local school. The building had several heated rooms and an open courtyard with portico
E. Sabratha						
E1. Seaward Baths	1st c. AD (Flavian)	Angular row type	Not excavated	Kenrick 1986, fig. 123	No excavation report available. Discussed by Bonacasa/Carra 2003, 407-408	Well preserved in parts. The heated sector has been destroyed by the progressing sea level

E2. Baths of Oceanus	2nd c. AD (Hadrianic)	Angular row type?	Not excavated	Kenrick 1986, 317, fig. 125	No excavation report available. Discussed by Haynes 1965, 126	Well preserved in parts
E3. Baths under Basilica 3	2nd c. AD (Antoninian?)	Unknown	Not excavated	Kenrick 1986, fig. 124	No excavation report available. Discussed by Bonacasa/Carra 2003, 406-407	Badly preserved. Built over by a basilica of the 4th c. AD
E4. Theater Baths	2nd c. AD (Antoninian)	Axial row type	Not excavated	Kenrick 1986, fig. 124	No excavation report available. Discussed by Bonacassa/Carra 2003, 409-410	Well preserved
E5. Baths of Regio VII	2nd c. AD (Antoninian)	Ring type	1923 and 1970's (Italian Archaeological Mission)	Brecciaroli Taborelli 1975, 116, fig. 1 (phase1) and 117, fig. 2 (phase 2)	Brecciaroli Taborelli 1975	Well preserved

Cyrenaica

Site	Construction Date	Ground plan	Excavation Date	Figure	Excavation Report	State of Preservation
F. Apollonia						
F1. Roman Baths	1st c. AD	Axial row type	1945-1965 (University of Michigan)	Rebuffat et al. 1987, 267, fig. 3	Goodchild 1976, 177-187	Well preserved in parts
F2. 'Byzantine' Baths	Third quarter of the 4th c. AD	Angular row type	1965-1968 (University of Michigan)	Pedley 1976, 226, fig. 1	Pedley 1967; 1976, 225-243	Well preserved, but only partially excavated
G. Berenice						
G1. Sidi Khrebish Baths	1st c. AD?	Unknown	1971 (Libyan Department of Antiquities and The Society for Libyan Studies)	Lloyd 1977, 108, fig. 20	Tatton-Brown 1972, 7-11; Lloyd 1977, 107-111	Badly preserved. Partially destroyed by modern building activities.
H. Cyrene						
H1. Trajanic (Myrthussa) Baths	1st c. AD (Trajanic)	Ring type (phase 1)	1928 (Italian Colonial Department of Antiquities)	Anti 1927, pianta I	Oliverio 1930	Well preserved in parts
H2. Byzantine Baths	4th c. AD?	Simple row type	1926 (Italian Colonial Department of Antiquities)	Anti 1927, pianta I	Anti 1927; Oliverio 1930	Very well preserved
H3. Baths under the central basilica	Before the 6th c. AD	Unknown	Not excavated	No figure available	No excavation report available. Described by Goodchild 1971, 143.	Badly preserved. Overbuilt by a basilica from the 6th c. AD
I. Erythron						
I1. Roman Baths	3rd c. AD	Ring type?	On-going since 2006 (French Archaeological Mission)	Laronde/Michel 2009, 182, fig. 4	Laronde/Michel 2009; Michel 2011a; 2011b	Badly preserved. Overbuilt by a Byzantine villa

J. Gabu Iunes						
J1. 'Byzantine' Baths	Second half of the 5th c. AD	Row type	Not excavated	No figure available	No excavation report available. Described by Stucchi 1975, 474-475.	Well preserved
K. Gasr Khuraybah						
K1. 'Byzantine' Baths	Between the second half of the 5th c. AD and the 7th c. AD	Simple row type	Not excavated	Gambini/Catani 1976, 454, fig. 7	No excavation report available. Described by Gambini/Catani 1976, 453-458.	Well preserved
L. Gasr Mismar						
L1. 'Byzantine' Baths	5th c. AD?	Simple row type	Not excavated	Gambini/Catani 1976, 451, fig. 4	No excavation report available. Discussed by Gambini/Catani 1976, 449-453.	Well preserved
M. Lamluda						
M1. 'Byzantine' Baths	5th c. AD or later	Simple row type	Not excavated	No figure available	No excavation report available. Described by Stucchi 1975, 473	Well preserved in parts
N. Mechili						
N1. 'Byzantine' Baths	5th c. AD or later	Simple row type	Not excavated	No figure available	No excavation report available. Mentioned by Stucchi 1975, 476.	Unknown
O. Mghernes						
O1. 'Byzantine' Baths	5th c. AD or later	Simple row type	Not excavated	No figure available	No excavation report available. Described by Stucchi 1975, 475	Very well preserved with domes still intact
P. Ptolemais						
P1. Baths of the Public Building	1st c. AD (Roman phase) and 5th-6th c. AD (Byzantine phase)	Angular row type	1950's and 1960's (University of Chicago)	Kraeling 1962, 150, fig. 55	Kraeling 1962	Only the Byzantine phase is still visible
P2. City Baths	4th c. AD	Angular row type	1950's and 1960's (University of Chicago)	Kraeling 1962, 161, fig. 56	Kraeling 1962	Well preserved in parts
Q. Siret Ain Relles						
Q1. 'Byzantine' Baths	5th c. AD or later	Simple row type	Not excavated	No figure available	No excavation report available. Described by Gambini/Catani 1976, 459-462	Only a part of the heated sector is preserved
R. Tocra						
R1. Public Baths	Roman and Byzantine phase	Simple row type?	1965 (Libyan Department of Archaeology)	Jones 1984	Jones 1984. Described by Goodchild 1964, 145; Vickers 1972, 40	Badly preserved

R2. Building south of East-Church	Unknown	Unknown	1980s-1990s (Benghazi University)	No figure available	Bentaher & Dobias-Lalou 1999	Badly preserved
R3. Fortress Baths	Byzantine	Row type	1980s-1990s (Benghazi University)	No figure available	No excavation report available. Mentioned by Buzian 2000, 60	Unknown
S. Wadi Senab						
S1. 'Byzantine' Baths	5th c. AD?	Simple row type	Not excavated	Luni 1975, 267, fig. 1	No excavation report available. Described by Luni 1975 and Stucchi 1975, 477	Well preserved. Was built in an older rock-tomb

Notes

* I am grateful to Prof. E.M. Moormann, Dr. N. de Haan (both Radboud University, Nijmegen), Dr. A. Lane, Dr. D. Keenan-Jones (University of Illinois) and three anonymous reviewers for their useful comments and corrections.

** The abbreviations used in the figures are explained below, unless explained otherwise in the figure itself. Abbreviations: F = Frigidarium, Pi = Piscina, T = Tepidarium, C = Caldarium, Al = Alveus, Pr = Praefurnium, La = Latrinae, B/A = Basilica/Apodyterium, V = Vestibulum, S = Sudatorium.

1 Brödner 1977.

2 Gros 1996, 398. On Greek baths and bathing habits, see Ginouvès 1962, Brödner 1978, Yegül 1992, 17-21, Nielsen 1993a, 6-12, Broise 1994, Trümper 2009. For further reading, see also Manderscheid 1988, 2004.

3 Thébert 2003, 58. On pre-Roman elements in Tripolitanian architecture, see also Ward-Perkins 1971.

4 The beginning of this timespan coincides with Augustus' reforms for Tripolitania and with the event of becoming a province (74 BC) for Cyrenaica, while the invasion of the Vandals in 442 and the transition to Byzantine rule in the 5th c. AD marks the closing limit for both provinces.

5 The private Roman bath houses in Libya will not be touched upon, as they have recently been part of a thorough research by N. de Haan (De Haan 2010, 353-356). The specific code found in the text for each bath house (combination of a capital letter and a number) refers to the appendix included at the end of this paper.

6 Nielsen 1993a, 84-95.

7 Anonymous 1924, 3-8.

8 Munzi 2001, 57-63; Balice 2010, 160-61. For an overview of the Italian archaeological missions in Libya between 1922 and 1937, see Balice 2010, 23-86. See also Altekamp 2000 for a more moderate approach.

9 For example, the excavations at Leptis Magna (Romanelli 1925, Guidi 1933) or Cyrene (Oliverio 1931 and Bartoccini 1925).

10 Bartoccini 1929.

11 Ward-Perkins/Toynbee 1949; Goodchild 1965.

12 Mahjub 1983, 1985, see also Gilbert 1985.

13 Rebuffat 1970a, 1970b, 1975, 1977; Chamoux 1977, 1983; see also Rebuffat et al. 1987; Laronde 1994, 1997, 1998, 2000; see also Paulin et al. 2011; Laronde/Michel 2009; see also Michel 2011a; 2011b.

14 Pedley 1967, 1976; see also Goodchild 1976 (published after the Michigan campaign of 1965-1967); Kraeling 1962.

15 The vast Fezzan region will not be included in this research, as no public Roman bath houses have been identified in this part of the country. For an overview of the archaeological sites discovered in the pre-desert zone of Tripolitania, see Barker/Mattingly 1996, esp. 104-105 (bath of Gheriat el-Garbia).

16 Brödner 1983, 211-213; Nielsen 1993a, 86-95; Yegül 1992, 184-249, 396-413; Thébert 2003, 111.

17 A comprehensive study of baths in Tripolitania should for example embrace a small part of modern Tunisia as well.

18 Mattingly 1995, 1. Tripolitania itself is subdivided from north to south into the coastal plain (*Gefara*), the hills (*Gebel*) and the dessert (*Dahar*).

19 The building is briefly discussed in Goodchild 1965, 18.

20 Goodchild 1965, pl. VIII.

21 Goodchild 1965, 20-21.

22 As Goodchild (1965, 23) points out, there are in fact a lot of resemblances with the ground plans of the imperial thermae of Caracalla, Diocletian and Constantine in Rome.

23 Goodchild 1965, 20, pl. IV a.

24 Goodchild 1965, 20.

25 Most hypocaust pillars in Roman baths had an average height between 0.60 and 0.80m for reasons of stability, see Schiebold 2010, 11.

26 A remark that is also made by Goodchild himself (1965, 20, n. 11). However, he reckons that they were also used as doorways during the construction of the lower level.

27 Stucchi (1975, 469-470) proposes a division of the building in a separate male and female part.

28 Goodchild (1965, 22) himself labeled the round 'plunges' at western end as 'purely ornamental'. The great Severan *nymphaeum* is also located near the great imperial baths of Leptis, thus spatially linking two different but vital aspects of the town's water supply.

29 Squarciapino 1966, 119-120. G. Caputo (Bianchi Bandinelli et al. 1967, 108) interpreted this structure as a Byzantine church dating from Justinian's reign. An example of a public building incorporating a bath house is the schola (see B4) near the arch of Septimius Severus.

30 *Opus Africanum* is a masonry technique consisting of pillars in ashlar or orthostatic blocks framing spaces filled with rubble concrete or mud brick. For some of these 'African' peculiarities in Roman bath buildings, see Stucchi 1957, Yegül 1992, 396-413; Nielsen 1993a, 84-95; Thébert 2003, 287-371.

31 Brödner 1983, 244. F. Yegül (1992, 397) however doubts the sports character, claiming: 'It should be perceived more as a monumental plaza for the town than as an exercise court reserved for the use of the bathers.'

Although it certainly had a social function, its main purpose probably was physical exercise, as holes to attach gymnastic apparatus were found in the paved parts and large open areas fulfilling social needs, e.g. the Severan forum or the nymphaeum, were in the vicinity.

32 For example the Large Baths at Lambaesis (Lambese, Algeria), see Nielsen 1993b, 167, fig. 197; Yegül 1992, 185.

33 E.g. a capital in the form of the head of the Egyptian goddess Hathor (Bartoccini 1925, 64; 1929, 44- 45, fig. 50); for barrel vaulting, see Yegül 1992, 411.

34 Nielsen 1993b, 103, fig. 84; Ward-Perkins/Toynbee 1949, 168. A recent study of the Hunting baths will be available in Bianchi/Musso 2012.

35 *Testudines* are half-cylindrical water reservoirs in bronze used to keep the water of the plunges warm. Bartoccini 1929, 56; see also Ward-Perkins/Toynbee 1949, 177.

36 Romanelli 1925, 139-140, Tav. V-VI.

37 A water lifting device that was connected to two underground cisterns has been found in the recently excavated Eastern Baths (B5) (Paulin et al. 2011, 25; 2012, 107-109).

38 Wilson 2001, 83.

39 Ward-Perkins/Toynbee 1949, 175; Paulin et al. 2012.

40 Bonacasa 1997, 170-171.

41 Bonacasa/Carra 2003.

42 Initially these baths were interpreted as the private bathing facility of a wealthy villa, but the sheer size and the street access make it more likely to follow Y. Thébert (2003, 111) in defining this as a public bath house.

43 Brecciaroli Taborelli 1975, 115.

44 On the inscription naming this corridor, see Di Vita/Evrard 1991. Although she sees it as a unique arrangement, it is clear that it served a very similar function as the colonnaded halls found in the smaller baths.

45 *Tegulae mammatae* are tiles with protruding butts in the four angles to create a spacing with the wall. Haynes 1965, 126.

46 Bonacasa/Carra 2003, 418-419.

47 Rebuffat 1970a, 1970b, 1975, 1977.

48 Rebuffat 1977, 46-47.

49 Rebuffat 1970b, 126.

50 Wilson 1992, 98-103. See also Storz 1994.

51 Rebuffat 1970b, 127.

52 Boardman 1966, see also Schaus 1985.

53 Braund 1985, see also Reynolds/Lloyd 1996, 619-621.

54 Bacchielli 1995, see also Di Vita 1995, Suleiman et al. 2004.

55 Stucchi 1971, see also von Habsburg 1985.

56 Wright 1957, 307-309.

57 On Greek bathing habits, see Ginouvès 1962, esp. 191-192. Stucchi (1975, 479) however dates these baths to the 4th c. AD or later.

58 Goodchild 1971, 130-132. For the alteration of the ground plan from phase I to phase II, compare the plans in Stucchi 1975, 212, fig. 201 and 283, fig. 286.

59 Nielsen 1993a, 94.

60 Stucchi 1975, 469; Bowen Ward 1992, 143-147; see also Schöllgen 1995, 190-191.

61 Goodchild 1971, 143; see also Stucchi 1975, 471.

62 Oliverio 1931, 147-164.

63 Oliverio 1931, 148, fig. 8.

64 Goodchild 1971, 131.

65 Rebuffat et al. 1987, 272-274. Based on pottery finds, a date of 1st c. BC-1st c. AD is put forward, see Chamoux 1977, 16-18.

66 Goodchild 1976, 184-185; see also Rebuffat et al. 1987, 275-276.

67 Eschebach 1979, pl. 37d; Nielsen 1993b, 100, fig. 79; Nielsen 1993b, 93, fig. 66; Rebuffat 1987, 274.

68 Rebuffat et al. 1987, 264.

69 Goodchild 1976, 179.

70 Pedley 1976, 225.

71 For the description of these rooms, see Pedley 1967, 145-146.

72 Rebuffat et al. 1987, 269.

73 The east plunge shows clear traces of cutting in the northern lip that probably held a wooden beam (Pedley 1976, 234 and Tav. XLIIId), as is usual in fullonica-tubs (see Bradley 2002, 26). Pedley (1976, 235) also mentioned 'green-colored sand, a discoloration normally found associated with latrines' in the small sitz-bath, an indication this tub was used for textile color dyeing using urine, see Bradley 2002, 30.

74 A small basin that was previously interpreted as a fountain, turned out to be a small plunge from the Byzantine phase of the building (Rebuffat et al. 1987, 269). The earthquake of AD 365 nevertheless must have had a devastating effect on the proper functioning of the building, especially for the suspended floors in the heated sector. Of course, there is still the possibility that new baths were being built but that for some reason the project had to be stopped and the old Roman baths were renovated instead. A separate building for female visitors could be plausible as well. Nevertheless, these two assumptions cannot erase the other counter-arguments.

75 Pesce 1950, 49-53; see also de Haan 2010, 354-355; Ward-Perkins et al. 1986.

76 For a full description of the building, see Kraeling 1962, 140-160. For a comparison of the Roman and Byzantine ground plan, see 143, fig. 52 and 161, fig. 56.

77 Kraeling 1962, 151.

78 Kraeling 1962, 152.

79 The construction date of the baths is not known, but probably goes back to the 4th c. AD. Through coins and especially the reuse of inscriptions, such as the price edict of Diocletian, the lifespan of the building is estimated to stretch until Justinian, under whose reign the aqueduct was restored (Kraeling 1962, 173-174).

80 Kraeling 1962, 173-174.

81 Kraeling 1962, 169-171.

82 Kraeling 1962, 172.

83 Laronde/Michel 2009, 184.

84 Laronde/Michel 2009, 183-184.

85 This central, distributing role of the *frigidarium* is also seen in for example the baths of *Thenae* (Tunisia, late 2nd c. AD, see Nielsen 1993b, 171, fig. 190).

86 Michel 2011a, 31.

87 Luni 1975; Stucchi 1975, 472-478; see also Gambini/Catani 1976, 449-463.

88 Gambini/Catani 1976, 453. See also appendix, J1-S1.

89 Gambini/Catani 1976, 454.

90 The baths of Wadi Senab were even installed inside an older rock tomb, see Luni 1975 and Stucchi 1975, 477-478 and fig. 492. These 'bagni semitrogloditici' also reduced heat loss to the outside (Stucchi 1975, 476).

91 Gambini/Catani 1976, 462. For the transition of Roman baths to Islamic hammams, see Denoix 2009.

92 For *opus africanum*, see Hadrian's Baths (B3), Schola Baths (B4) & Eastern Baths (B5) in Leptis Magna. For lateral *piscinae*, see the Hunting Baths (B2), Hadrian's Baths (B3), Schola Baths (B4), Eastern Baths (B5) in Leptis Magna and Baths of Regio VII (E5) in Sabratha. N. de Haan (2010, 116) comes to similar conclusions

about the *frigidaria* of private baths in North Africa. For cruciform *caldaria,* see the Early Baths (B1), Hadrian's Baths (B3), the Schola Baths (B4) and possibly the Eastern Baths (B5) in Leptis Magna; the Public Baths (P2) in Ptolemais. Except for the Legionary Baths in Bu Njem (A1), all the public bath houses in Tripolitania have an axial and symmetrical ground plan. In Cyrenaica, especially the Byzantine baths (H2, J1, K1, L1, M1, N1, O1, Q1, R1 and S1) show a simple linear configuration of the most important rooms.

[93] This is the case for all the bath houses in Cyrenaica, but also for the public bath houses in Sabratha (E1-E5). For examples of the large halls in Cyrenaica especially Trajan's Baths (H1) and the Byzantine Baths (H2) in Cyrene. In Tripolitania, this preference is apparent in the Hunting Baths (B2), Hadrian's Baths (B3) and the Eastern Baths (B5) in Leptis Magna and the Seaward Baths (E3) in Sabratha. For *palaestrae* in Cyrenaica, see the Roman Baths (F1) in Apollonia, the Public Baths (P2) in Ptolemais, the first phase of the public baths in Tocra (R1) and possibly the Sidi Khrebish baths (G1) in Berenice. In Tripolitania, the impressive palaestra of Hadrian's Baths (B3) can be mentioned. For a barrel vault above the *caldarium*, see the Hunting Baths (B2) and Hadrian's Baths (B3) in Leptis Magna or the Roman Baths (F1) in Apollonia.

[94] Only in one case, evidence for *tegulae mammatae* have been found, i.e. in the Baths of Oceanus (E1).

[95] The only confirmed examples are the Hunting Baths (B2) and possibly the Eastern baths (B5) in Leptis, Trajan's baths (H1) in Cyrene and the Roman Baths (F1) in Apollonia.

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The Bronze Boxer from the Quirinal revisited: a construction-related deposition of sculpture

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Abstract

*The discovery of the bronze seated boxer during excavations in 1885 on the Quirinal in Rome counts as one of the most spectacular finds in the archaeology of Rome. Initially described by R. Lanciani, it was long assumed that the statue was buried in late antiquity, together with the so-called Hellenistic prince, in order to protect it from danger. This article revisits the case of its discovery in detail, and demonstrates that the statue was in fact deposited during the 2nd century CE to mark the construction of a large building. Subsequently, the case is compared to other examples of construction-related depositions of sculpture.**

Introduction

Traditionally, the study of ancient sculpture has focused on art historical topics such as stylistic development and iconography, leaving little attention for its archaeological context. However, studying the archaeological context as a means of understanding the circumstances of deposition can offer a revealing perspective on the place of sculpture in ancient society, and the value attached to it. This paper will do so by exploring the find context of the monumental bronze statue of the seated boxer on the Quirinal in Rome.

The Discovery

In the spring of 1885, during the work preceding the construction of the *Teatro Drammatico Nazionale*, two monumental bronze statues were found. Only a few years later, R. Lanciani was to describe the spectacular discovery of one of these:

> 'I have witnessed, in my long career in the active field of archaeology, many discoveries; I have experienced surprise after surprise; I have sometimes and most unexpectedly met with real masterpieces; but I have never felt such an extraordinary impression as the one created by the sight of this magnificent specimen of a semi-barbaric athlete, coming slowly out of the ground, as if awakening from a long repose after his gallant fights.'[1]

The importance of this statue, the seated boxer, as well as the peculiar circumstances in which it was uncovered caught Lanciani's attention, and caused him to dedicate the final pages of his 1888 book *Ancient Rome in the light of recent discoveries* to the discovery.[2] Here he describes how the boxer had been found between the foundation walls belonging to a monumental complex, placed on a Doric capital, and surrounded by 'sifted earth.' This led Lanciani to suggest that 'the statue had not been thrown in there, or buried in haste, but had been concealed and treated with the utmost care.'[3] The other statue, the Hellenistic prince, had been found about a month earlier at a similar depth between the adjacent foundation walls. Because the statue had been dug up without Lanciani or, for that matter, any other government official being present, few details are known of its find context. It is generally thought, however, that it had been deposited under the same circumstances,[4] and this article will therefore focus on the boxer.

Assuming that the statues had been buried in later antiquity, Lanciani stated that prior to their deposition, they had been located in the nearby baths of Constantine, 'from which they were removed under the apprehension of danger, to be buried so carefully and at such a depth.'[5] Elsewhere, he identified this 'danger' explicitly as the so-called 'barbarian invasions,' most prominently the sack of Rome by the Goths under Alaric.[6]

Although no additional study of the deposition of the statues has been presented up until now, several of these assumptions and conclusions have found their way into existing scholarship, and have sometimes been accepted as common knowledge. Especially the suggestion, attractive as it is, that the statues had once adorned the baths of Constantine has found resonance in most cases where a mention of the statues' context was made.[7] However innocent such a suggestion might seem, it does imply that the statues would have been

deposited in late antiquity, or in any case later than the construction of the baths, thereby silently placing the deposition in the realm of a late antique decline of Rome.[8] With regard to monumental art, such as sculpture, the responsibility for this supposed decline has often been placed on barbarians and Christian iconoclasts, but in recent years alternative and critical approaches to the place of sculpture in this period have gained ground.[9]

Only a few scholars have been cautious enough to refrain from such suggestions, acknowledging the apparent lack of evidence. M. Maiuro rightly placed the absence of proper documentation of the discovery in the context of late 19th century archaeology in Rome, stating that 'l'archeologia ufficiale si era trovata a lavorare in condizioni inadeguate rispetto all'oggettiva importanza dei ritrovamenti.' According to him, we are left with Lanciani's account in *Ancient Rome*, which, he rightly claims, poses problems of interpretation.[10]

Departing from Lanciani's account, this article aims to revisit the deposition of the boxer, and put forward a new interpretation. In addition to a critical reading of Lanciani that will address the problems mentioned above, it will consider additional information that can shed light on the circumstances and date of the deposition. In order to find such information, we will need to survey the data from the excavations, as well as the topography of the site, allowing us to better understand how different finds and structures relate to each other. First, however, we will address some characteristics of the statues themselves.

Fig. 1. Seated boxer, bronze, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano in Palazzo Massimo (photo author).

The Statues

Both statues (currently in the Museo Nazionale Romano at Palazzo Massimo, *figs 1, 2*) have been extensively discussed in scholarly literature, and there is no need here to add to that. The seated boxer is a Hellenistic Greek work, commonly dated to the 1st century BCE.[11] The wounds in his face, cauliflower ears, and drops of blood on his head and body, accentuated by copper inlays, add to his remarkable and dramatic appearance. However, most peculiar about the statue is perhaps the fact that the windings around his left hand, with their copper inlayed belts, and his right foot were worn down in antiquity as a consequence of frequent rubbing. This has been regarded as a sign of the thaumaturgic nature of the statue, implying that it had been touched as an act of veneration,[12] providing a clear indication of the symbolic and ritual value attached to the statue in antiquity.

The Hellenistic prince is a larger than life-size standing ideal nude, presumably dating to the 2nd century BCE. Scholars have put forward different suggestions, identifying the statue either as a Hellenistic ruler or prince, or as a Roman general, represented in a Hellenistic fashion. All have been criticised, and no consensus exists.[13]

Peculiarly, the statue contains two inscriptions. The small letters MAR, written on the inner right thigh in ligature, have yet to be explained. The other inscription (L.VI.P.L.XXIIX) is located just above the belly button, and has been interpreted as a sort of inventory number for works of art in Republican Rome.[14] Being part of such an inventory system, whether public or not, surely indicates the importance and (possibly public) interest taken in the statue.

As both statues appear to have been the object of public attention and great appreciation, their deposition cannot have been random. Whether

Fig. 2. Hellenistic prince, bronze, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano in Palazzo Massimo (photo author).

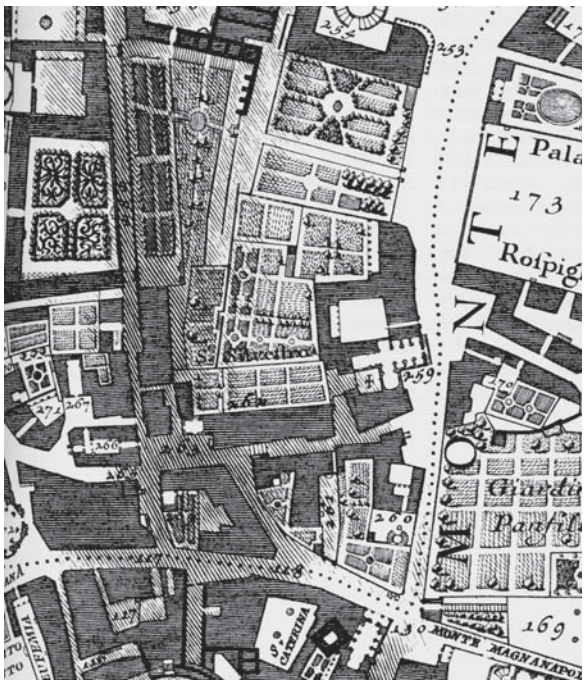

Fig. 3. Fragment of the map of Rome by G.B. Nolli, 1748.

Fig. 4. Teatro Drammatico Nazionale, ca 1900? (Photo private collection Rocchetti/Natalucci).

they were hidden for the purpose of protection or were deposited for whatever other reason, the choice for these particular statues must have been a very deliberate one.

The Excavation

The excavations took place on the planned site of the Teatro Drammatico, located on the western slope of the Quirinal, between the Villa Colonna and the palazzo Campanari.[15] This land had previously belonged to the convent of S. Silvestro al Quirinale, as can been seen on the map of Rome drawn up by G.B. Nolli in 1748 (*fig. 3*). The theatre (*fig. 4*), located on what is today the Via IV Novembre, was demolished in 1929 (*fig. 5*), and the building constructed in its place is still standing there today (*fig. 6*).[16]

In the following section we will treat the different sources pertaining to the excavation in which the statues were discovered, and additional sources that provide a further archaeological and topographical context for the data from the excavations.

Lanciani's Ancient Rome *(1888)*

As mentioned, the most extensive description of the excavation and the discovery of the statues

Fig. 5. Demolition of the theatre, ca 1929.

Fig. 6. Location of the theatre today, Via IV Novembre (photo author).

can be found in Lanciani's *Ancient Rome* from 1888.[17]

The lower part of the slope, he relates, had been occupied by a private house of multiple stories, which was 'beautifully decorated with fresco-paintings, mosaic and marble floors,' and many 'works of art', i.e. sculptures. Based on an inscribed lead *fistula* the owner of the house was identified as the freedman Cnaeus Sergius Crater.[18] As the house appeared to have been left in disarray, Lanciani suggested that it had been destroyed by 'a sudden catastrophe' at the end of the 2nd or early 3rd century CE, a date based on coins from the time of Commodus.[19]

Moving eastwards, towards the upper part of the hill, a fragment of the Servian wall was found, 'and behind it,' meaning directly east of it, the foundation walls were exposed between which both statues were found.[20] Lanciani assumed that these foundation walls had belonged to the southwest corner of the platform of a huge temple complex, whose ruins had been known in the medieval period as the Torre di Mesa, or the Frontispizio di Nerone, and were finally taken down at the end of the 16th century.[21] Lanciani identified this well-known structure as the temple of Sol built by Aurelian, although today most scholars have accepted Ch. Hülsen's competing identification as Caracalla's Serapeum.[22] In any case, the foundation walls uncovered here did not belong to this temple complex, which was located further north and covered the area from the Colonna gardens to the current Piazza del Quirinale (see also *fig. 7*, no 1).

In describing the foundation walls, Lanciani remarks that 'the space between these walls was not empty. I mean it was not used as a vault, or cellar, or crypt, but was entirely filled up with clay and loose earth.'[23] Apparently, he expected the space between these walls to be empty, not fully understanding at that time that the space between foundation walls would always be filled up in order for them to function as such.[24] The superstructure, sometimes containing a vault or crypt, would be built on top of these foundations.

It was, however, between these foundation walls that the statues were found. The first statue, that of the Hellenistic prince, was found 'between the first and second foundation walls, (…) seventeen feet [5.2 meter] below the level of the platform of the temple,' but no further details on its find context were documented.[25] The second statue, the boxer, was found 'between the second and third foundation walls, at a depth of eighteen feet [5.5 meter] below the level of the platform.'[26]

Assuming that the space between the walls would normally have been empty,[27] he proposed a reconstruction of the deposition in which the statue had been lowered into the space between the foundation walls, and this 'trench, which had been opened through the lower foundations of the temple of the Sun, to conceal the statue, had been filled up with sifted earth, in order to save the surface of the bronze from any possible injury.'[28] By thus suggesting that the statues were deposited *after* the construction of the temple, Lanciani provided the grounds for the claim that the statues had been deposited 'under the apprehension of danger,' hoping they would be saved and recovered later, as well as the claim that prior to their deposition they had adorned the baths of Constantine.[29]

Fig. 7. Map of archaeological data referred to in the text, combined with elements from Lanciani's Forma Urbis Romae, *projected onto the current street plan.*

Additional data from the area

Lanciani's account, as presented above, needs to be re-evaluated in the light of additional evidence that can provide a more thorough picture of the archaeology of the site and its direct surroundings. The following part will attempt to draw such a picture by studying additional data from the excavations, together with relevant data from other excavations in the area (*fig. 7*).

In addition to two brief mentions of the statues during the first half of 1885,[30] early reports of the work on the planned location of the theatre mention remains that can be interpreted as belonging to the Sergius Crater house (*fig. 7*, no 2). In January 1884 'muri rovesciati' were found, which, upon demolition, yielded two brick stamps that were later dated to the middle of the 2nd century CE.[31] Not long after, the find of two fistulae referring to Cn. Sergius Crater was reported.[32]

Additional remains presumably belonging to this house, or an earlier phase of this house, had already been uncovered as early as 1878, directly west of the area of the later theatre (*fig. 7*, no 3).

It concerned one large room with a large polychrome mosaic with geometric motives, and some smaller rooms. The lower part of the walls was constructed in *opus quadratum*, using travertine, and the upper part in *opus latericium* (brick), containing some remains of wall paintings.[33] The polychrome mosaic has been dated to the Late Republican period,[34] when the house was first built. The opus latericium walls suggest a renovation in the late first or 2nd century CE.

The presence of such private houses in the area is furthermore indicated by three other *fistula* types, found during the work in the area of the theatre,[35] as well as additional archaeological remains uncovered in the vicinity (*fig. 7*).

Of particular interest, as we will see shortly, are the remains of a private house uncovered under the palazzo Campanari, directly south of the area of the Teatro Drammatico. Like the Sergius Crater house, it was built in the same orientation as the Via IV Novembre,[36] and an inscription on a bronze panel, discovered in 1892 on the same location together with a bronze portrait bust of a man, allowed for the identification of the owner as the 1st century CE figure L. Cornelius Pusio (*fig. 7*, no 4).[37] The use of *opus quadratum* and *latericium* suggests also here a later renovation.

Further remains, presumably of the same house, were uncovered in January 1893 in the courtyard of the palazzo Campanari (*fig. 7*, no 5). At a depth of 1.25 meter, a black and white mosaic with geometric motives was found, aligned by a wall in *opus reticulatum* dated to the 1st century CE, and another wall in *opus latericium* containing fragments of wall paintings.[38] This second wall indicates a later renovation like we have seen above. An annotated plan of most of these remains (*fig. 8*, the *latericium* wall is omitted), drawn up by Lanciani, shows how the mosaic and reticulate wall (*B) were cut off by a 'muraglione di fondamento [*A-A'] simile a quelli scoperti nel teatro drammatico nazionale e rappres. nella nota fotografia dell'atlete sedente.'[39] It can be inferred that the foundation walls, between which the bronze statues were found, must have been built after the house went out of use, dating it to the 2nd century at the earliest.

Additional remains suggesting the presence of private houses were found under a building on the Via della Cordonata, south of the theatre (*fig. 7*, no 6).[40] West of this, under the little square on the corner of the Via delle Tre Canelle and the Via IV Novembre, directly south of the palazzo Campanari, a black and white mosaic was uncovered, also indicating such housing (*fig. 7*, no 7).[41]

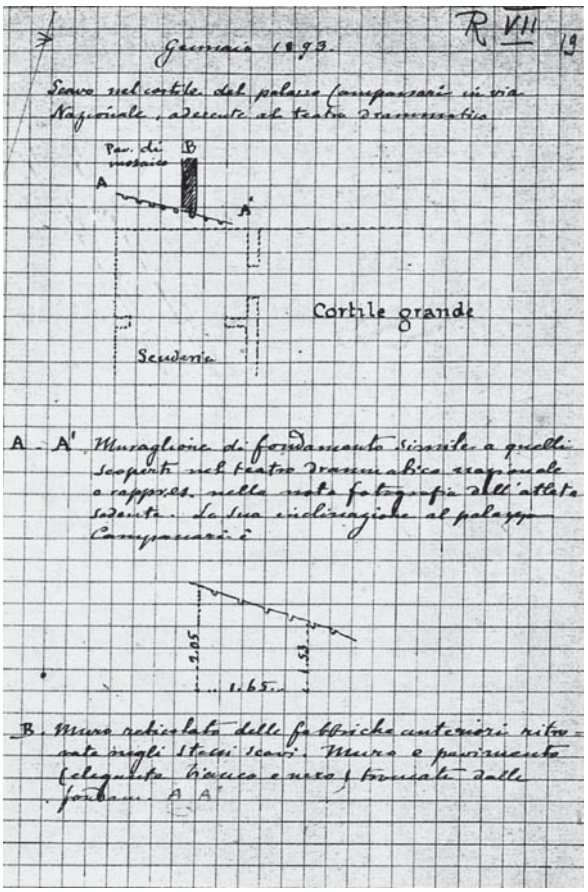
Gennaio 1893.
R. VII
19
Scavo nel cortile del palazzo Campanari in via Nazionale, adiacente al teatro Drammatico
Cortile grande
Scuderie
A - A' Muraglione di fondamento simile a quelli scoperti nel teatro Drammatico nazionale e rappres. nella nota fotografia dell'atlete sedente. La sua inclinazione al palazzo Campanari è
2.05
1.52
1.65
B. Muro reticolato delle fabbriche anteriori ritrovato negli stessi scavi. Muro e pavimento (alquanto bianco e nero) travisati dalle fondam. A A'

Fig. 8. Plan of the excavations from the palazzo Campanari, 1893 (after Buonocore 1997, 147).

Besides the earlier mentioned *fistulae*, the find of another *fistula* type, of which five examples were found at the location of the theatre, sheds light on the topography of the area. The *fistula* refers to the *decuria sacerdotum bidentalium*, and has for that reason been associated with the temple of Semo Sancus, a Sabine deity connected with lightning.[42] This sanctuary, known from written sources to have been located on the Quirinal (Ov. *fast*. 6.213-218; Liv. 8.20.8-9; Var. *ling*. 5.52), was identified with the site of the S. Silvestro convent, based on a monumental inscription found there in 1584 that records both the *decuria sacerdotum bidentalium*, the priestly college, and *Semo Sancus Dius Fidius*.[43] The location of the sanctuary on this part of the Quirinal, the collis Mucialis, is further supported by the identification of the Porta Sanqualis, the Servian city gate located close to the sanctuary (Paul. *ex Fest*. 465 L), with the remains uncovered at the nearby piazza Magnanapoli and the adjacent palazzo Antonelli (*fig. 7*, no 8).[44] Monumental

remains, uncovered in 1880-1881 in the area of the convent (*fig. 7*, no 9),[45] were initially interpreted as belonging to this temple,[46] but were left unmentioned in Lanciani's account in *Ancient Rome*.[47] The epigraphic finds suggest that the sanctuary was in use at least until the 3rd century CE, and possibly later.[48]

Aside from these structures, other remains that could possibly be associated with the aforementioned foundation walls were uncovered in 1893 close by, at the location of the former convent of S. Silvestro, directly northeast of the theatre (*fig. 7*, no 10). During the excavations 'avanzi di una grandiosa fabbrica dei primi secoli dell'impero' were uncovered, with under it 'una grandiosa platea in travertini.'[49] Among the finds were many pieces of sculpture, a lead fistula of an unknown type, and four brick stamps with dates from the second half of the 1st and the first half of the 2nd centuries CE.[50] Although it is difficult to interpret the scarce evidence preserved, and even pinpoint the exact location of these remains, the large structure could perhaps be associated with the foundation walls between which the boxer was found. Similarly, the travertine platform under it recalls the platforms found in 1880 nearby.

As to the work and finds in the area of the theatre, additional documentation has been preserved in the form of a list of finds compiled in 1888.[51] The ample quantity of sculptural finds suggests that we are most likely dealing with multiple luxurious private houses. Part of these finds could, however, also have come from a public building, such as the temple of Semo Sancus.

Lanciani's Forma Urbis Romae *(1893-1901)*

Part of the data that we have discussed so far relating to the area of the Teatro Drammatico Nazionale was used by Lanciani in compiling his *Forma Urbis Romae* (1893-1901). The area of the theatre is shown in reasonable detail, providing a helpful source of information and a tool to better understand the topography of the area (*fig. 9*; cf. *fig. 7*).[52]

Starting west of the Teatro Drammatico, we see the medieval Via Biberatica running approximately north south. On this street, at the east end of the (former) Via de Colonnesi, we can see a red/black square, indicating the room with the polychrome mosaic. The structures directly east of it (walls, stairs, three columns) can be identified as the Sergius Crater house. Behind it, to the east, we see a stretch of the Servian wall. Running approximately from the Piazza del Quirinale southwards,[53] it makes a turn here and is reconstructed in the direction of Piazza Magnanapoli, where we can see the city gate, incorrectly marked as the *Porta Fontanalis*.[54]

Directly east of this stretch of wall (or as Lanciani described, behind it), a structure is drawn up, consisting of three parallel walls with notches, and two walls running perpendicular to the others. Between them we can read the inscriptions from four of the *fistulae* found during the excavations, each underscored by a double blue line.[55] To the southwest of this structure, in the area of the palazzo Campanari, we see a stretch of the foundation wall in the same orientation, cutting another wall that has the same orientation as the Sergius Crater house. These are the remains uncovered in January 1893. Northeast of the foundation walls, the approximate find spot of the Semo Sancus inscription, and the remains uncovered in 1881 are marked.[56]

There can be no doubt that the foundation walls indicated on the map are the walls between which the bronze statues were discovered (*fig. 7*, no 11).[57] When compiling this map, Lanciani must have surely realised that the monumental complex identified by him as the temple of the Sun was in fact located further to the north.[58] In addition to this, we should wonder what the basis was for his drawing of the foundation walls, considering the fact that neither the reports mentioned above, nor his notebooks in the Vatican library contained any such material.[59] Also Lanciani's private library (the *Fondo Lanciani*), now under custody of the Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, contained no plan or drawing that could have provided a basis for his reconstruction of these remains. Although we cannot rule out the possibility that Lanciani nonetheless had such material at his disposal, L. Borsari noted already in an article on the Servian wall from 1888 (predating the publication of the *FUR*) that the drawings of the structures found in the area of the Teatro Drammatico had been lost.[60]

Although it is very difficult to substantiate any possible suggestion, it seems likely that Lanciani reconstructed the foundation wall based on his memory, supported by the famous photograph of the bronze boxer, taken at the time and site of its discovery.

The photograph (1885)

Recording the boxer during the excavation, sitting between the foundation walls, this famous photo is possibly the only direct evidence of its discovery (*fig. 10*). Although the photo appears perhaps

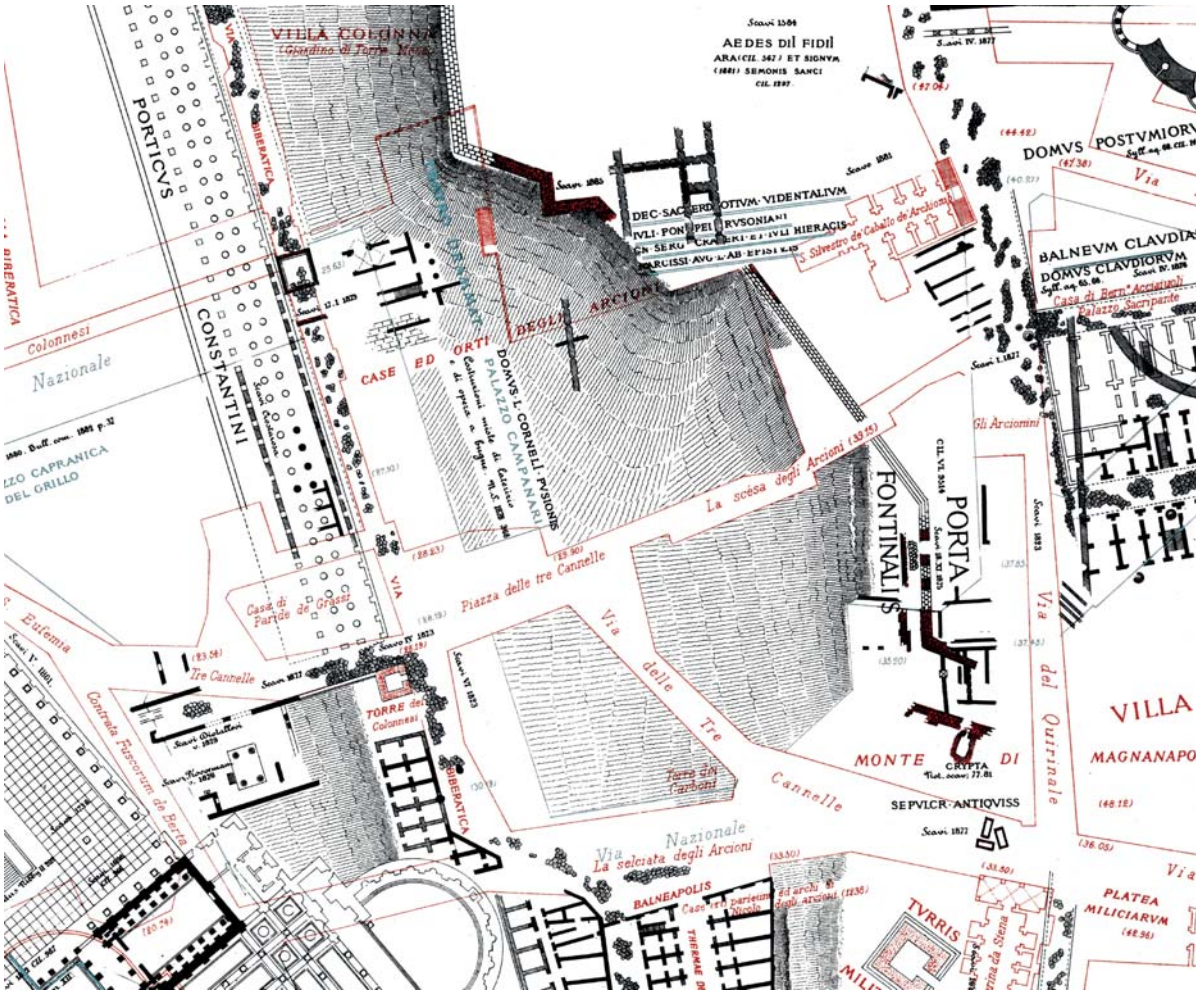

Fig. 9. Fragment of the Forma Urbis Romae*, map 22 (Lanciani 1893-1901, 22).*

staged, according to Lanciani, who was present when the statue was uncovered, it was 'taken at the moment of the discovery.'[61] We cannot be sure however as to whether the statue was still in situ on the photo. Since documenting finds in situ by means of photography had not yet developed, the photo should not be regarded as meant to serve that specific purpose. More likely, its purpose was to capture this spectacular discovery, and reading back Lanciani's description, we can understand why the need for this was felt.

Regardless of the question whether the statue was technically in situ or not, we can observe that the photo largely fits the details of the find context, as we know them from the written reports treated above. Although the wall on the statue's right was mostly taken down, we can identify both foundation walls on the photo. The depth can be estimated based on the statue's size, proving the recorded depth of 5 to 6 meters roughly correct, and the Doric capital can be observed sticking out of the ground under the statue (*fig. 11*). It follows that in any case the photo records the site of discovery.

Continuing from here, two additional observations can be made. First of all, we can clearly see the *opus caementicium* foundation walls, with their long vertical slits and horizontal lines (left behind by the wooden casing in which the mortar was poured). All the way on the lower right, we can see that the foundation walls go about as low as the level on which the statue is sitting, indicating that the statue was placed at the bottom of the foundation trench. The second observation is however the most important. On top of the foundation walls we can see *opus latericium* walls. Enclosed

Fig. 10. Discovery of the seated boxer, Archivio Fotografico Comunale, ACR, Rome.

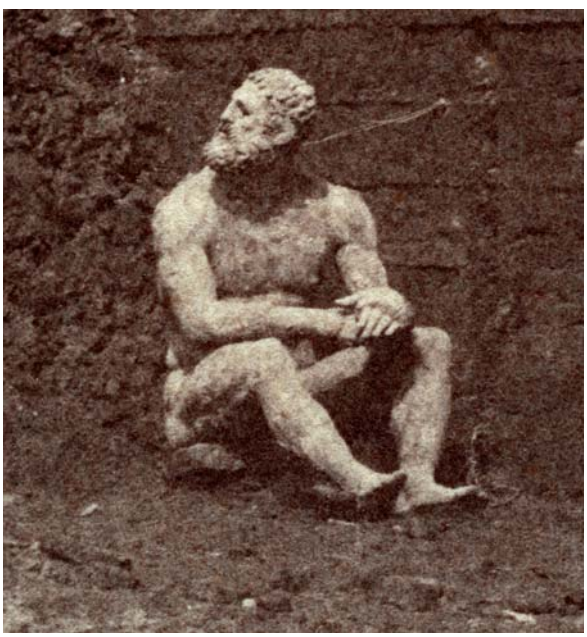

Fig. 11: The boxer seated on the capital. Enlarged fragment of Fig. 10.

Fig. 12: A fragment of opus reticulatum. *Enlarged fragment of Fig. 10.*

by the *opus latericium*, two patches of *opus reticulatum* can be identified on the long back wall (*fig. 12*). This combination of *latericium* and *reticulatum*, conventionally known as *opus mixtum*, signifies the transition from reticulate to brick as the dominant form of masonry. It is testified from the middle of

the 1st century CE on, with the patches of reticulate disappearing slowly in the course of the second and perhaps dawn of the 3rd century CE.[62] This provides a terminus ante quem for the construction of the foundation walls around 200 CE.

The Deposition

Now that we have surveyed the sparse evidence concerning the excavation and finds from the area of the Teatro Drammatico, we can proceed to the interpretation of the evidence with regard to the deposition of the statues.

Both the written reports and the photo confirm with clarity that the statue of the boxer was buried between the foundation walls of a large complex. The size and function of this complex are unknown, although a very cautious identification could be made as a post-Claudian building phase of the sanctuary of Semo Sancus, which must have been located in the direct vicinity.[63] The construction of this complex can be dated on the basis of two pieces of evidence. The house that was cut by the foundation wall in the area of the palazzo Campanari (given that this wall belonged to the same structure) suggests a date no earlier than the early 2nd century CE; the *reticulatum* on top of the foundation walls, visible on the photo, suggest a date no later than around 200 CE.[64] As the boxer was placed between the foundation walls, its deposition cannot predate the construction of the complex. From this observation two possibilities arise: either the deposition took place during the construction, or, as Lanciani reconstructed, the statues were buried at a later date by opening up the foundation trench through the lower level of the building.

This last possibility poses some problems. As both statues were buried at a considerable depth, at the bottom of the foundation walls, we should wonder why there would have been a need to dig two ditches of such depth, if a single ditch of lesser depth would have been sufficient for the deposition. If the purpose of the deposition, as suggested by Lanciani, had been to hide them and retrieve them at a later date, this does not seem logical. However, as noted, Lanciani did not expect the space between the foundation walls to be filled up at all, leading him to assume that it had been filled in at a later date, on the occasion of the deposition of the statues. Considering the evidence put forth, this reconstruction appears unlikely.

It seems more probable that the statues were deposited during the construction, as was suggested before by M. Donderer.[65] Although stratigraphic evidence for this was never recorded, it is likely that after the construction of the foundation walls, the statues were placed carefully at the bottom of the trench between the walls that was subsequently filled up.

In addition to the use of fine sand or earth to cover the boxer, the placement of the statue on a Doric capital is another peculiarity that attests to the deliberateness and care with which the deposition was made. The placement of the statue on a capital cannot be understood as having had a practical function, and it appears even more peculiar when considering the fact that Doric capitals were very rare in Imperial Rome.[66] The use of this capital must have added special significance to the deposition, suggesting that it was deliberately contextualised as something special.

By placing the statues in this manner between the foundation walls, before filling up the space between the walls, the deposition was staged as part of the construction of the complex. The special significance attached to this potentially ritualised marking of the construction is indicated by the special value of the statues themselves, as well as the deliberate use of the capital and the burial with sand or fine earth.

This allows us to draw two important conclusions. First of all, the statues were not buried to hide them from any kind of imminent danger; they were rather deposited carefully during the construction of the building. Secondly, our dating of the foundation walls by a *terminus ante quem* of ca 200 CE suggests that the deposition took place in a period much earlier than has long been assumed. The deposition must be dated during the 2nd century CE, and can therefore not be associated with the decrease in the production and popularity of sculptural arts, witnessed during later antiquity. Additionally, assumptions such as that the statues had adorned the baths of Constantine, or that Christian iconoclasm or 'barbarian invasions' could have provided a pretext for the deposition should be rejected.

Once we accept the above conclusions that the statues were deposited during the construction of a building in the 2nd century CE, we should try to put forward a tentative explanation for this deposition. Since further clues as to the how and why of the deposition appear to be lacking, this has to be done by examining different cases of sculpture depositions that can be related to construction work. Hopefully, such a survey will help us to confront the different understandings and problems connected to the interpretation of sculptural

depositions in the context of foundation or construction practices, and put the deposition of the boxer into perspective.

Construction-Related Deposition of Sculpture

Foundation or consecration rites performed in the framework of construction are well attested in the archaeological record. These can appear in the form of sacrificial remains (ashes and/or bones), drinking vessels, votive gifts, or other objects such as coins. Ritually marking the foundation or consecration of a building such as a house or a sanctuary, these sacrificial deposits are commonly made in a pit, foundation ditch, or under a threshold or floor, thereby asking divine approval or meeting a divine demand.[67] In many ways, this can be regarded as a transitional ritual, a rite of passage, marking the end of one phase and the start of another, whether a construction phase or the use.

Although not attested in scholarly literature,[68] it might be worth asking whether there are examples of sculpture finds that could be interpreted in relation to (possibly ritualised) construction or foundation practices. The identification of such cases is, however, difficult for several reasons.

For instance, the deposition of sculpture cannot easily be compared to the deposition of sacrificial remains and drinking vessels in the framework of such a rite. Contrary to the latter, a statue itself never forms the material reflection of an enacted ritual. This makes the idea of the ritual fundamentally different: the presence of ashes and bones can be easily explained as the remains of the feasting that took place, but how does one explain the presence of a statue under the floor?

Another problem is posed by the fact that there has been relatively little, if any, attention for the archaeological and stratigraphical context of sculpture finds until recent decades. Because the documentation of such context information has often been restricted and insufficient, it is in most cases very difficult to draw conclusions regarding the reasons of deposition. An example of this is the bronze portrait head found between the ruins of the Apollo temple in Cyrene in 1861. The head was located on the original temple floor, under a Roman mosaic, together with several fragments of bronze horses with possible traces of fire on them.[69] Although the head and associated finds could reflect a ritual that took place before filling up the space and laying out the mosaic, a lack of information on the dating of the remains and the stratigraphy of the finds and the fill keeps us from drawing any specific conclusion.[70]

An additional problem in the identification of a ritual deposition of sculpture for the purpose of foundation or consecration concerns the fact that also when we know that sculpture was deposited during construction work, this does not necessarily imply a ritual marking of the construction. Statues or, most often, sculptural fragments were used as building material or in a fill, without there being special value attached to the deposition.[71] For example, the left thigh of the great Isches kouros from the Samian Heraion was reused in the foundation of a Hellenistic structure, and the lower left arm, split in two, was used in a late antique cistern.[72] Once dedicated to the deity, the statue could presumably not be taken outside of the temenos, and was reused in a functional way. More problematic is the case of the late 2nd or early 3rd century CE Isis statue that was found in 1961 in the nymphaeum of Laodikeia on the Lykos in southwest Anatolia. It was uncovered, together with other decorative elements of the nymphaeum, on the floor of the basin, as part of the fill under an early Christian structure.[73] Although the deposition appears at first sight as a simple fill, we have to take into account that the deposition of a pagan cult statue prior to the construction of a Christian building could be understood as an iconoclastic act, symbolically ending the pagan cult, and as such marking the foundation of the new cult.[74] A comparable case of 'closing off' the cult can be seen in the destruction of the statues and subsequent deposition of a fill around 400 CE in the temple of the imperial cult in Narona, Croatia, although in this case the site was not reused until much later.[75]

In other cases of sculpture deposition the ritual nature of the deposition, as well as its connection to architectural remains, is more clear, but the deposition need not have been made in the context of a foundation or consecration rite. This can be the case with votive or cult statues that were buried in or next to a temple. Possible examples are the Mercury statue buried in the cella of the Mercury temple at Regensburg,[76] or the statues from the so-called Perserschutt on the Athenian Akropolis.[77]

Despite interpretative problems, there are examples of sculpture depositions that can be understood as part of foundation or consecration practices in a broad sense. We know, for instance, of cult statues that were replaced during temple renovations, whereby the old cult statue could be buried under the new building. As the cult statue was dedicated in the sanctuary, it could not be relocated and was deposited in a *favissa*, a sacred

depot. A probable example of this can be seen in the Minerva acrolith that was uncovered in the left cella of the Capitol temple in Avenche. The statue had been carefully placed in this grave during the renovation of the temple at the end of the 2nd century CE.[78] Similar elements can be observed in the case of the deposition made in the so-called Walbrook Mithraeum in London during the early 4th century CE. Here, the heads of Mithras (being damaged), Serapis, and Minerva, a Mercury statuette, and a colossal hand were buried into the fifth floor (of a total of eight floors). The deposition has been connected to a renovation of the sanctuary, possibly following a violent clash between Christians and pagans.[79] In both cases, the ritual deposition of the old cult statues appears to have formed an integral part of the changes in the sanctuary, thereby marking a new phase of construction or use.

Another interesting case is the bronze head of Augustus from Meroë, currently in the British Museum. The head was discovered in a pit, directly in front of the entrance to a building that has been interpreted as a monument or temple for the victory of the Ethiopian kingdom against Rome, between 25 and 20 BCE.[80] Any person entering the building would step on the buried head of the defeated ruler, symbolically emphasizing the victory. With the function of the building in mind, it is likely that the deposition was made either during its construction or its dedication.[81]

We can infer from this short survey that the deposition of sculpture could serve as a meaningful and intentional way to mark, or even ritualise, the construction or foundation of buildings. Although the circumstances under which such practices took place often differ, as do the reason and meaning of these depositions, a proper study of the archaeological and historical context can be conducive to a better understanding of these cases. Considering our own case in the light of this framework, we should start with the observation that the boxer was deposited during the construction of a large building. This deposition appears to have marked the construction in an intentional way, and could therefore point towards a foundation rite. However, as long as the identification of this building remains unknown, we can only speculate as to the specific reason and nature of the deposition.

The deposition could, for instance, have been dictated by a certain *omen*, as appears to have been the case with the so-called Hercules Mastai, the colossal bronze statue that was found in 1864 in the area of the theatre of Pompey. It had been buried around 200 CE in a tomb-like structure, made up of stone slabs, with the inscription FCS on one of the sides. C. Pietrangeli argued for a reading of this inscription as *Fulgur Conditum Summanium*, suggesting the possibility that the statue had been hit by lightning, and was consequently buried on the *bidental*, the location where the lightning had struck.[82] This also appears to have been the case with the so-called Filatrice di Monaco, a headless bronze statue that was found in Vulci in a tomb-like structure with the letters F.C. (*Fulgur Conditum*) carved on the travertine slabs.[83]

Despite the attractive possibility of an association between these *bidentalia*, and Semo Sancus, the god of lightning, and his priests, the bronze boxer does not appear to have been deposited in a *bidental*. Not only are we at this point unable to securely identify the building to which the foundation walls belonged, the find context of the boxer appears very different from the two cases cited above. We are dealing with a kind of foundation deposit; that much seems likely. However, further details of the deposition are likely to remain the subject of speculation.

Conclusions

Starting in the Late Republican period, but mostly during the course of the 1st and early 2nd centuries CE, the southwestern slope of the Quirinal (the area between the Villa Colonna and Piazza Magnanapoli) was being used for the construction of private houses. The luxurious character of these houses is indicated by the presence of inscribed fistulae, as well as mosaics, and a large quantity of sculpture.

We have seen that a complex with large foundation walls was constructed on part of the slope and possibly on top of the hill in the course of the 2nd century CE. Except for the foundation walls uncovered, we have no further knowledge of its size or layout. Furthermore, its function is unknown, although the sanctuary of Semo Sancus is a potential candidate based on literary sources and epigraphic finds made in the direct vicinity.

During the construction of this building, the bronze statue of the boxer (and presumably that of the Hellenistic prince as well) was deposited at the bottom of the trench between the foundation walls. This must have happened around 200 CE at the latest. The peculiar circumstances of the deposition, with the boxer placed on a capital and buried in fine earth/sand, strongly suggest that it concerns a ritual deposition that served to symbolically mark the construction.

Despite the fact that such cases of construction-related sculptural depositions have remained mostly unexplored, it appears that more examples can be identified in scholarly literature. Some of the examples described in this article are similar to the case of the boxer in that these depositions were in a way meant as a ritual marker of the construction of (monumental) buildings, although under different circumstances and in different appearances. They testify, however, to an existing practice that can be noted in the archaeological record, and that provides a new and unconventional perspective on the diverse ways in which sculpture was appreciated and used in antiquity. The surprising case of the boxer is an excellent example of that.

Notes

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1 Lanciani 1888, 305-306.

2 Lanciani 1888, 297-307.

3 Lanciani 1888, 304-305.

4 Following Lanciani 1888, 304; Williams 1945, 330; Zanker 2005, 49; Ambrogi 2011, 535-536.

5 Lanciani 1888, 307.

6 Lanciani 1899, 64-70; 1988, 178; cf. Coates-Stephens 2007, 174-175.

7 Helbig 1963-1972, no 2273; Himmelmann 1989, 18-20, 126, 150; Richardson 1992, 390-391; Ridgway 2000, 308; Zanker 2005, 31, 49; Ambrogi 2011, 535-536, 558-561; Capanna 2012, 465. Williams even states that the statues were *found* in the Baths of Constantine (1945, 330).

8 Some even suggested explicitly that the statues were hidden during that period (Zanker 2005, 31, 49; Ambrogi 2011, 535-536, 558-561).

9 See Lanciani 1899. For a critical reappraisal of some cases, see Coates-Stephens 2001; for a more general approach to statue re-use and deposition in Late Antiquity, see Coates-Stephens 2007; Jacobs 2010; Ambrogi 2011. For a new study on the influence of Christianity on sculpture deposition, see Anghel 2011; cf. Stewart 2003, 290-298.

10 Maiuro 2004, 56-57.

11 Ridgway 2002, 84-86, 107-108, with bibliography; Himmelmann 1989, 150-174; Stewart 1990, 225; for earlier dates, see Moreno 1994, 61-62; Smith 1991; Vasori in Giuliano 1979, 198.

12 Himmelmann 1989, 151, 202-203; Moreno 1995, 98; Zanker 2005, 48-49.

13 De Lachenal in Giuliano 1979, 198-201; Himmelmann 1989, 126-149; cf. Ridgway 2000, 305-309, 325-327, and Papini 2002, both with bibliography.

14 Two parallels exist, supposedly belonging to the same inventory system, and also examples for a similar practice in later periods have been noted (Himmelmann 1989, 205-207; Ridgway 2000, 308, 327-328).

15 This plot of land was allocated to the National Dramatic Society 'on condition that whatever should be found in clearing it should become the property of the state' (Lanciani 1888, 297). Lanciani describes that the application for the construction of the theatre was submitted in the spring of 1884, but as work on the site was first reported as early as January 1884 (*NSc* 1884, 40), this must have been made no later than 1883.

16 Reference is made to the demolition of the theatre in *BCom* 1933, 238. Additionally, a short report, headed 'Via IV Novembre, 1930', describes the remains uncovered 'durante gli sterri eseguiti nell'area dell'ex Teatro Nazionale per la costruzione della sede Assicurazioni Generali.' Pratiche di tutela 20/7, id.399. Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma, Archivio Storico a Palazzo Altemps, Rome.

17 This account was mostly based on an earlier description of the case, published by Lanciani on December 26, 1885 in the English journal *The Athenaeum* (Lanciani 1988, 177-179; Lanciani's contributions to *The Athenaeum* have been collected in a volume, edited by A.L. Cubberley: Lanciani 1988). Aside from some small changes, this account largely provided the basis for the more elaborate text in *Ancient Rome*.

18 Lanciani 1888, 298-299. This *fistula* was first reported in *NSc* 1884, 103. In Lanciani's account in *The Athenaeum* he refers to the owner of the house by the name M. Ulpius Exhodus (Lanciani 1988, 177), but this must have been a mistake. As far as I have been able to check, there is no record of anyone by that name. The only name coming close is that of a M. Ulpius Euhod[us], known from a grave stele that was published early in 1886 by Lanciani himself (*NSc* 1886, 53; *BCom* 1886, 87, n.1117; *CIL* VI, 29360). Possibly he was working on both publications simultaneously and confused the names, with the x in Exhodus presumably being a typo.

19 Lanciani 1888, 298-299.

20 Ibid., 302.

21 Few, but immense, architectural fragments of the temple remain today in the gardens of the Villa Colonna, and 16th century drawings by Maarten van Heemskerck and Étienne du Pérac offer an impression of what the temple and its monumental staircase had looked like (Hülsen/Egger 1913-1916, I Fol. 36 r., II Fol. 81v., 82 r.; Santangeli Valenziani in *LTUR* iii, fig. 18).

22 Lanciani 1888, 298-301; in *BCom* 1894, 285-308; *contra* Hülsen 1894; in *BCom* 1895, 39-59; Coarelli 1974, 220; cf. Taylor 2004, who argues that the Serapeum was originally constructed under Hadrian. Other suggestions have also been made, such as the temple of Hercules and Dionysus (Santangeli Valenziani in *BCom* 1991-1992, 8-16; in *LTUR* iii, 25-26) and the Aedes Salus (Richardson 1992, 341-343); cf. Capanna 2012; Lichtenberger 2012, 38-40.

23 Lanciani 1888, 302-303; cf. the article in *The Athenaeum*: 'The space between each wall was not empty; there were no subterranean galleries or hypogaeum' (Lanciani 1988, 177).

24 Lugli 1957, 385-387; Wright 2009, 200-201. In the case of vaulted foundations the space between the walls could be (partially) left open, creating a subterranean vault (Wright 2009, 201).

25 Lanciani 1888, 303.

[26] Lanciani 1888, 304; cf. Lanciani 1988, 177-178: the article in *The Athenaeum* does not record the depth at which the boxer was found, nor was such a measurement recorded in *NSc* 1885, 223; cf. *NSc* 1885, 42. It is possible that Lanciani kept this information in his personal documentation, but that does not explain why he did not use it in both entries in *Notizie degli Scavi*, or in *The Athenaeum*. The more likely possibility is that, when editing the text for *Ancient Rome*, he estimated the depth based on the other statue, or based on the photograph (see below).

[27] 'This circumstance makes more curious and interesting the discovery which I am going to relate.' Lanciani 1888, 302-303.

[28] Lanciani 1888, 304-305.

[29] Lanciani 1888, 307; cf. Lanciani 1988, 178: the article in *The Athenaeum* was more explicit as to the nature of this danger: 'There is no doubt that both statues were placed in the Baths of Constantine close by, and they must have been buried in the substructions of the Temple of the Sun, just across the street, under the apprehension of the storming of the city by barbarian hordes.'

[30] The Hellenistic prince was mentioned in February, stating that it was found 'a metri 6,00 sotto il ciglio del Quirinale, in un fabbricato composto di spaziosi vani' (*NSc* 1885, 42). The boxer, found 'poco discosto dall'altro [bronzo],' was only shortly referred to in June (*NSc* 1885, 223).

[31] *NSc* 1884, 40-41; *CIL* xv, 1084b and 430.

[32] *NSc* 1884, 103; 1887, 16; *BCom* 1884, 51; 1887, 10; *CIL* xv, 7553. The *fistula* also mentioned the name of a Iulius Hierax, suggesting that he possessed property nearby (Eck in *LTUR* ii, 121).

[33] *NSc* 1878, 368; 1879, 14. The mosaic floor of the room was located on the corner of the Via de Colonnesi and the Via degli Archi della Pilotta (now the corner of the Via IV Novembre and the Via della Pilotta), at a depth of 6.00 meter below the level of the modern street, under a pavement in *opus spicatum*, with on top of this the polygonal slabs of the pavement of the medieval Via Biberatica. The detailed account of the work has been preserved in the reports of A. Pellegrini from January 1879. Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome. See also Pratiche di tutela 20/10, id. 402. Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma, Archivio Storico a Palazzo Altemps, Rome.

[34] Blake 1930, 72-73; Werner 1994, 60. The mosaic is located today in the *sala dei fasti* of the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome.

[35] *BCom* 1887, 8-10; *NSc* 1887, 15-16; *CIL* xv, 7475, 7500, 7611. The first *fistula* was dated to the 2nd or 3rd century CE, the second to the 1st century CE, and the third was given a date in Late Antiquity. For additional sources regarding the presence of such houses, see Hülsen 1894, 390; Coarelli in *LTUR* iv, 184; Eck in *LTUR* ii, 121-122, 143.

[36] *NSc* 1878, 368.

[37] *CIL* vi, 31706; *NSc* 1893, 194; Lanciani 1893-1901, 22; Eck in *LTUR* ii, 88. For the bronze head and the inscription, see Lahusen/Formigli 2001, 157-161.

[38] *NSc* 1893, 30.

[39] Cod. Vat. Lat. 13036, f. 199; Buonocore 1997, 147. The comment below describes: 'B: Muro reticolato delle fabbriche anteriori ritrovate negli stessi scavi. Muro e pavimento (elegante bianco e nero) troncate dalle fondam. A A'.' Lanciani's identification of this stretch of wall as part of the same structure as the walls, between which the boxer was found, is also suggested by the *Forma Urbis Romae*, where both structures are indicated in the same orientation.

[40] *NSc* 1900, 219; the finds included a brick stamp dating to 134 CE (*CIL* xv, 1030).

[41] *BCom* 1932, 223-224.

[42] *BCom* 1887, 8-9; *NSc* 1887, 15-16; *CIL* xv, 7253. *CIL* suggests a date in the 3rd century CE.

[43] *CIL* vi, 568; Hülsen 1894, 409-410; Richardson 1992, 347; Coarelli in *LTUR* iv, 263-264; Capanna 2012, 451. *CIL* suggests a tentative date in the 2nd century CE.

[44] Säflund 1932, 88-98; Richardson 1992, 309, 347; Coarelli in *LTUR* iii, 332; iv, 263, cf. Capanna 2012, 451, who claims that this gate should have been located further to the north. Cf. Lanciani (1893-1901, 22), who identified these remains with the *Porta Fontanalis*, based on a fragmentary inscription (*CIL* vi, 9514), although it is interesting to note that he labelled this gate 'Sanqualis?' on a drawn map of part of the Servian wall preserved in the codici Lanciani (Cod. Vat. Lat. 13044, f. 22; Buonocore 2001, 21). See also Middleton 1888, 511; 1892, 129-130.

[45] A travertine platform (possibly a stylobate) with marble decorations and two smaller platforms were partially uncovered in the area bordering the Villa Colonna and the Via del Quirinale (now the Via 24 Maggio), where the *Genio Militare* took up its headquarters. Reports were published by Lancani in *BCom* (1881, 4-6), and *The Athenaeum* of April 1881 (1988, 95-97); the text of the latter was reused in Lanciani 1892, 104-6. Furthermore, an unpublished report and schematic drawings are preserved from A. Pellegrini (rapp. n. 67, 16-4-1880, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome) and Lanciani (Cod. Vat. Lat. 13035, f. 160v; Buonocore 1997, 59-60). These structures are also visible on Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae*, directly north of the church of S. Silvestro (1893-1901, 22).

[46] This identification was based on the earlier mentioned inscription and another similar inscription on a base (*BCom* 1881, 4-6; Lanciani 1988, 95-96; *CIL* vi, 30994). Being of unknown origin, it surfaced on the Roman antiquity market around the middle of 1880, and Lanciani suggested that it was likely to have come from the excavations (it appeared together with an Apollo statue that was initially thought to represent Semo Sancus, see Helbig 1963-1972, no. 532). An (early) 3rd century CE date was suggested based on the letterforms (Dressel in *Bdl* 1881, 38; Helbig in *BdI* 1881, 38).

[47] Lanciani 1888; cf. Lanciani 1892, 106.

[48] *CIL* vi, 568, 30994; *CIL* xv, 7253.

[49] The large structure (quote taken from the list of finds mentioned below) was supposedly found at a depth of ca 4 m, with the travertine platform at a depth of 5.50 m (*NSc* 1893, 238-239). Additional records of this excavation have been preserved: a list of finds (Pratiche di tutela 20/7, id. 399. Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma, Archivio Storico a Palazzo Altemps, Rome) and a schematic plan (Busta D, fasc. 924. Archivio della ex-Soprintendenza per i Beni Ambientali e Architettonici di Roma).

[50] This *fistula* with a diameter of 20 cm has only been recorded in *NSc* 1893, 238: [V]ETVLENIVS BALERIANVS FEC. For the brick stamps, see: *CIL* xv, 1152 (Flavian period); *CIL* xv, 69 (unknown date); *CIL* xv, 319 (123 AD); *CIL* xv, 708a (138 AD).

[51] The list was part of the administration of tutelage, and records (many of) the 'Provenienti dall'area del Teatro Drammatico in via Nazional[e].' Pratiche di tutela 20/7, id. 399. Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma, Archivio Storico a Palazzo Altemps, Rome. It almost exclusively contains stone sculpture, sculptural fragments, and statue bases (with the exception of some

fistulae): of the 28 entries on the list, 27 concern stone sculpture or bases. Some entries list multiple objects or fragments, such as n. 8: 'n. 42 frammenti di gambe, piedi, mani [e] braccia di marmo.' N.b. the two bronze statues are not on the list, possibly because they had already been passed on into the state's custody when it was compiled.

52 Lanciani 1893-1901, 22.

53 See Lanciani 1893-1901, 16.

54 Cf. *BCom* 1888, 14-15; Säflund 1932, 88; *BCom* 1933, 238.

55 Presumably, the fifth (*CIL* xv, 7611) was not considered relevant due to its late date.

56 *CIL* vi, 568, incorrectly marked as 567.

57 Cf. Carandini/Carafa 2012, tav. 191H

58 See Lanciani 1893-1901, 16.

59 These codici Lanciani contained several folders under the title 'effosiones svb theatro dramatico nation<ali>,' but outside of the note on the excavation in the courtyard of the palazzo Campanari mentioned above, these contained no information relating to the excavation or its finds (*Cod. Vat. Lat.* 13036, ff.198-204v; Buonocore 1997, 146-147).

60 *BCom* 1888, 15.

61 Lanciani 1888, 304-305, where he also published a drawing of the photograph.

62 Lugli 1957, 487-526, spec. 523-524; Anderson 1997, 145-165, spec. 154-155; Lancaster 2008, 263; Wright 2005, 193.

63 Cf. Platner 1929, 469-470. Although the Servian wall had fallen out of practical use by the time of Augustus, the Pomerium was finally relocated during the reign of Claudius (Richardson 1992, 294-295; Andreussi in *LTUR* iii, 321).

64 Although the Sergius Crater house can supposedly be dated more precisely based on coins from the period of Commodus, we have no evidence that the foundation walls were constructed over the remains of the house. It is therefore possible that the Sergius Crater house remained in use after the construction of the foundation walls.

65 However, Donderer follows Lanciani's identification of the building as the temple of Sol, leading him to date the deposition shortly before 274 CE (1991/1992, 254-255).

66 The only public building known for its use of the Doric order was the Republican temple of Spes on the Forum Holitorium that can still be seen in the south wall of the S. Nicola in Carcere. In addition to this, Doric capitals could have been used in peristylia of private houses, and indeed, rare finds of Doric capitals have been made in the vicinity, at the foot of the Quirinal (*NSc* 1879, 14, 39). One such capital can be seen today in the courtyard of the palazzo Antonelli, on the Piazza Magnanapoli.

67 Lambrinoudakis et al. in Balty et al. 2005, 337-346.

68 Cf. Lambrinoudakis et al. in Balty et al. 2005, 337-346; Donderer 1991/1992; cf. Ambrogi 2011, 558-559.

69 Murdoch Smith/Porcher 1864, 42; Houser 1987, 1774-1777, with bibliography.

70 A similar case of insufficient evidence within the evidently ritual context of a temple is the torso of an Artemis priestess that was found in 1910 under the pteroma floor of the Artemis temple in Sardis (Butler 1922, 53; Hanfmann/Ramage 1978, 90).

71 Cf. Coates-Stephens 2001.

72 Kyrieleis 1996, 1-5.

73 Des Gagnier et al. 1969, 34, 131-132; Tinh 1980, 339.

74 Cf. Jacobs 2010, 285.

75 Marin 2001, 86-92.

76 Dietz et al. 1979, 265.

77 Stewart 2008, with bibliography.

78 Bögli 1975, 43; Drack/Fellmann 1988, 222-223.

79 Toynbee 1962, 132-135, 141-145; 1986, 1-4; cf. Stewart 2003, 290-298; Jacobs 2010, 290-291.

80 Haynes 1983; Walker/Higgs 2001, 272-273.

81 The case of the colossal statue recently discovered at Tayinat in southeast Turkey might be regarded in a similar way. The statue, presumably that of a local ruler, appears to have been 'ritually buried' when the area was transformed into a sacred precinct following the Neo-Assyrian conquest of the region in 738 BCE (see the University of Toronto press release: www.eurekalert.org/pub_releases/2012-07/uot-aue073012.php).

82 Köhler in *BdI* 1864, 227-230; Lanciani 1888, 287, 297; 2000, 380; Pietrangeli 1951, 44-52; Coates-Stephens 2007, 174; Ambrogi 2011, 530-534, with bibliography. The statue had been buried close to the foundations of the theatre. However, the discovery of a coin from the time of Commodus in the statue dates the deposition to the late 2nd or early 3rd century CE.

83 Haynes 1989, 1401-1404; Buranelli 1989; Colonna 1991; cf. Blanck 1968, 552. I am grateful to Dr. Chrystina Häuber for bringing this example to my attention.

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Reviews

THOMAS HUFSCHMID mit Beiträgen von Philippe Rentzel, Noémie Frésard und Michel E. Fuchs. *Amphitheatrum in Provincia et Italia. Architektur und Nutzung römischer Amphitheater von Augusta Raurica bis Puteoli*. Band 1: Texband, figs. Band 2: Abbildungen und Beiträge, 325 Abb., 8 Taf., 8 Tab. Band 3: Planbeilagen. Augst: Römermuseum, 2009. 578 pp.; 30 cm. (Forschungen in Augst 43). – ISBN 978-3-7151-0043-2.

This book originated as a Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Basel in 2007. Published a mere two years later, it is the product of many years of careful research on amphitheatres at Augst and their larger urban context by its author, who is joined here by three other contributors with two scientific reports of great interest. The new data presented and the scope of the research make the book of intrinsic interest to all who study Roman spectacles. However, that interest is amplified by its presentation in three volumes that are generously illustrated, immaculately edited and handsomely produced.

The first volume has three sections. The first part begins with a brief introduction that surveys earlier literature on Roman amphitheaters and their spectacles (17-18). This is followed by a short explanation of the organization and approach of Hufschmid's own contribution (19-20). The next part (21-55) is arranged alphabetically as a lexicon and investigates forty three *termini technici* associated with the architecture of the amphitheater. These terms are also illustrated in the second volume (Abb. 6-7). Despite the seemingly clear-cut presentation of the terms, Hufschmid concludes that their use in the ancient sources is often anything but.

The second section of the volume studies the characteristic features and inner workings of the two amphitheaters in the colony of *Augusta Raurica*. This includes discussions of the research history, architecture, metrology, and architectonic elements of the amphitheater of Augst-Sichelengraben (57-156). This is followed by a brief summary of the theater-amphitheater at Augst-Neun Türme (157-160), which is to be the subject of its own monograph in the *Forschungen in Augst* series. The chronology of both structures is then compared (161-170). The construction of the theater-amphitheater at Augst-Neun Türme is dated to 110 CE, which fits with the wider pattern of amphitheaters constructed in Switzerland, *Germania* and *Gallia Belgica*. Construction on the second amphitheater of Augst-Sichelengraben likely began around 170 CE, meaning that it was built before the demolition of the earlier amphitheater and thus that the colony's residents were never without an entertainment venue. This second amphitheater was likely abandoned around 270/280 CE. Both buildings are subsequently considered within the larger urban armature of Augst (171-196), where Hufschmid emphasizes their strong connection to neighboring sanctuaries.

The third and final section of the first volume uses evidence of the Augst amphitheaters as a launching-off point for a wide-ranging consideration of the Roman amphitheater's 'functionality'. This term is understood in its broadest sense: architectural, political and religious. Attention is paid first to the following elements (even though the amphitheaters at Augst do not provide evidence for all of them): arena, carceres, animal boxes, basements, elevators, stage pits, and *sacella* (197-239). Hufschmid discusses the worship of particular deities within the amphitheater setting, and argues that these deities have a strongly chthonic aspect. He concludes that arenas must have been symbolically understood as a liminal zone between the worlds of the living and the dead.

This final section continues with a useful summary of the two primary forms of activities staged within the amphitheater, gladiatorial combats (*munera*) and animal hunts (*venationes*). The latter are divided into seven different categories, ranging from the simple display of rare and exotic animals to active hunts and executions against elaborately staged backdrops (239-251). His work here could have profited from consultation with the synthetic work of M. MacKinnon (e.g. Supplying Exotic Animals for the Roman Amphitheatre Games: New Reconstructions Combining Archaeological, Ancient Textual, Historical and Ethnographic Data, *Mouseion* Ser. III Vol. 6, 2006, 137-161), and C. Epplett (*Animal Spectacula of the Roman Empire*, Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 2001). Gladiatorial duels are then discussed (252-258), beginning with practical matters (e.g. the rules of engagement) and concluding with their symbolism (as displays of key Roman virtues).

Continuing the discussion of imperial amphitheatres, the following part turns its attention to Pompeii, with a lengthy excursus on the painted decoration of the podium wall of the amphitheater there (259-266) and the ideological significance of that decoration and the arena form in general (266-274). Careful reconstruction of the wall decoration from Pompeii, which are preserved today only in a series of watercolors, leads the author to conclude that its repetitive and seemingly banal imagery (herms, *victoriae*, candelabra with shield busts) in fact borrow from Roman victory symbolism. The imagery of this podium wall then, which also includes scenes animal and gladiatorial combat, is seen as making a larger ideological statement about the celebration of Roman imperial victory. This leads to a convincing discussion of the *political* function of the amphitheater as a building, where the arena mirrored the outside world (e.g. life-and-death struggles against the enemy, redemption through *virtus*) and the *cavea* mirrored Roman society itself (e.g. social stratification, religious worship). The volume concludes with summaries of the volume's content in German, French, Italian and English (275-300).

The bulk of the second volume consists of illustrations (many in color and reproduced at a very high resolution), including site plans, line drawings, pho-

tographs, 3-D CAD reconstructions, and tables and plates. This volume concludes with two site reports: in the first (539-568), N. Frésard and M. Fuchs conclude that the podium walls of the amphitheaters at Augst provide the first evidence of ornamental décor with a carpet-like pattern in an amphitheater; in the second (569-577), P. Rentzel looks at the geoarchaeological evidence for the amphitheater at Augst-Neun Türme, which provides evidence for the killing of animals in the arena there and for the regularly raking of the sandy floor. The third volume includes fifty inserts, most of which are plans of the amphitheaters at Augst. Again, many of these are reproduced in color and at a high standard.

In summary, Hufschmid's work is no mere site report, for it presents and analyzes a mass of rich new data from one remarkable site *and* clarifies our knowledge of amphitheatral structures and displays across the Roman world. Scholars of the Roman amphitheater, and spectacles in general, stand on much more solid ground now as a result of this landmark work.

Sinclair Bell

PATRICIA KÖGLER, *Feinkeramik aus Knidos vom mittleren Hellenismus bis in die mittlere Kaiserzeit (ca. 200 v.Chr. bis 150 n.Chr.)*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2010. 2 Bände, 623 S., 88 Abb., 69 Taf.; 29.9 x 20.8 cm. – ISBN 978-3-89500-715-6.

In Antiquity, Knidos was an active centre for the manufacture of pottery, reflected by the widely-exported Knidian amphorae and the 'Knidian carinated cup'. This book, rich in text and illustration and with a neatly arranged bibliography, discusses decorated and undecorated tableware pottery from Knidos, both locally manufactured and imported and mostly wheelmade, datable between roughly 200 BC and AD 150. Despite the regrettable but unavoidable lacuna around the mid-1st century BC, it will nevertheless be of much use to specialists and non-specialists. It particularly focuses on the morphological developments in the locally-made repertoire, more specifically in what ways these developments signify changes regarding the exchange and taste for tablewares.

The framework of the book is introduced in chapter I, followed by a description of the visual characteristics of Knidian tableware pottery (ch. II); here, (detailed) colour photographs of fabric, surface finish and decorative elements would have been very useful for those working in the field. Whereas scholars interested in socio-economic history and material culture studies of the Hellenistic and early imperial periods, yet unfamiliar within the field of pottery studies, might refrain from Kögler's book, they should in fact find chapters III-VI, IX and the 'Liste der exportierten knidischen Feinkeramik' (53-59) more readily accessible and most to their interest. These chapters discuss Knidian tableware pottery within the wider context of the Mediterranean: the diachronic development of the Knidian 'industry'; the local repertoire and the absorption of morphological and decorative styles; its export; and the import of non-Knidian tablewares. In particular, attention is given to the connection between these four elements that reflects local tastes as well as broader socio-economic trends. Here, a table providing an overview of the developments per phase would have been helpful. Chapter VII discusses the dating parameters for each of Kögler's *Fundkomplexe* A to J. The book, however, largely consists of a detailed typological discussion (ch. VIII) and the catalogue (ch. X), the latter accompanied by a practical, separate volume that contains all illustrations (drawings, maps and pictures). These two chapters, with their detailed typological descriptions, will be mostly of interest to pottery specialists.

Kögler's chronological focus spans a period that was marked by profound changes in tableware production, distribution and consumption, in Knidos and elsewhere. These are discussed within a four-phase chronological framework, each phase characterised by certain changes: aspects of manufacture; the typological repertoire (changes fuelled by both local developments as well as external influences); and the proportion of imported tablewares. The author thereby makes a number of interesting and thought-provoking observations: the possible existence of 'standard sets' (29); the (dis)appearance of 'new' shapes and the supposed origin of influences (29-30); complementary functions between the local and imported repertoire (39); the scale of production and its possible effects on the finished products (42). Aided by this book, which obviously reflects the (published) record, the number of findspots of exported Knidian tableware pottery will increase in the future. Consequently, a better understanding will emerge of the action radius and intensity of its distribution, as well as its relation to the dispersion of Knidian amphorae.

Yet, besides some typographical errors (e.g. the import of Eastern Sigillata B, a major class of early imperial terra sigillata from the Ephesos/Maeander Valley region in the mid-1st century AD, not BC (39); catalogue entry C.46 listed as Form XXIV-B yet not illustrated in Tafel 5, which shows C.45 (436), yet in Abbildung C C.46 is classed under Form XXII-B), some observations may be made. First is the thorny matter of the direction and intensity of morphological and decorative influence. Kögler hypothesises that 'die Übernahme fremder Stilelemente […] ebenso wie diejeniger fremder Gefäßtypen' (39) reflects the Knidian response to imported *Feinkeramik*. This, however, implies a very linear relationship between imported pottery and the reaction of local potters. Whilst Kögler certainly does not ignore the influence of metalware and glass for instance (e.g. 30, 34), the exchange and influence of material and immaterial ideas and decisions, surely operated within a complex framework.

Even if Kögler rightfully stresses the complicated matter of treating a non-typical shape as a variant or form in its own right (82-83), I do not find it easy to perceive some of the logic behind her typological framework (Abbildungen A-E). Whereas Kögler's Formen and Typen VII, VIII and IX were probably used for the same or similar functions, these show such marked variety that, in my opinion, one cannot speak of a typologically homogeneous framework. For instance, why is Form IX, Typ C not grouped with Form VI, Typ B, which is particularly close morphologically? In the same vein, Formen XIII and XIV share some basic mor-

phological characteristics that would have allowed them to be combined under one typological heading.

Furthermore, although the author started from less than ideal circumstances (63-79), some dating and stratigraphical issues may require more attention, at least theoretically. For example, nearly no attention is paid to the crucial issue of residual and intrusive material. *Fundkomplexe* E and Hb, for instance, both contain intrusive fragments. These issues should have been given more thought, because besides a recognisable category as Late Roman C, others do not lend themselves to easy detection: weathering patterns, fragmentation, sherd weight and completeness of a vessel are methodological ways of tracing possibly residual or intrusive fragments.

Interestingly, in terms of ceramic material culture, the potters of Knidos did not operate in isolation. Some of their products connect well with what was being manufactured elsewhere, with the mould-made bowl as a known and obvious protagonist. This apparent duality in ceramic material culture is one of the interesting topics that moves beyond the merely descriptive and is also studied elsewhere. All in all, Kögler's *Feinkeramik* is innovative and welcomed with open arms: rather than focusing on one particular aspect of tablewares, she succeeds in providing a synthesis that incorporates thoughts on the socio-economic context of manufacture and distribution. Kögler is to be praised for her important contribution that adds an important chapter, not only to pottery production at Knidos proper, but with wider significance to the field of Hellenistic and Roman pottery studies.

Philip Bes

WOLFRAM MARTINI, *Die Akropolis von Perge in Pamphylien. Vom Siedlungsplatz zur Akropolis*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010. 91 S., 47 Abb., 1 Karte; 24 cm (Sitzungsberichte der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main Bd. XLVIII Nr. 1). – ISBN 978-3-515-09702-4.

Die Untersuchung der antiken Siedlung Perge ist ein bilaterales Projekt, das seit den frühen 1990er Jahren unter der Leitung sowohl türkischer als auch deutscher Archäologen durchgeführt wird und in dieser Zeit zugleich Teil des Schwerpunktprogramms 'Formen und Wege der Akkulturation im östlichen Mittelmeer- und Schwarzmeergebiet' war, das von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft gefördert wurde. Der vorliegende kleine Band resultiert aus einem Vortrag des Autors, der federführend an den Ausgrabungen in Perge beteiligt war.

Explizit wird die Geschichte der '*Akropolis von Perge in Pamphylien*' nachgezeichnet. Der Autor folgt ihrer Entwicklung, wie sie sich durch die archäologische Erforschung rekonstruieren lässt und gliedert den Beitrag in neun Kapitel, die den entsprechenden kulturhistorischen Stufen Rechnung tragen. Den Ausführungen vorangestellt ist eine Einleitung (S.2-8), bei der das methodische Vorgehen und die Forschungsgeschichte zum Ort dargelegt werden. Vor dem Hintergrund der günstigen Voraussetzungen, die auch die strategische Bedeutung des Standorts prägen, wird anhand der materiellen Hinterlassenschaften die Siedlungsgeschichte nachgezeichnet. Man beschränkte sich bei der Dokumentation nicht nur auf Oberflächenbefunde, sondern legte auch Sondagen an. Ergänzt wurden die beiden Teilaspekte noch durch eine punktuell durchgeführte, geophysikalische Prospektion. Die Summe dieser wissenschaftlichen Einzelbeobachtungen wird in dem vorgestellten Band zusammengeführt.

Der früheste Beleg für eine dauerhafte Nutzung des Platzes reicht nach Meinung des Autors in chalkolithische Zeit zurück (S. 14-15). Ob diese Befunde allerdings tatsächlich im 5. Jahrhundert anzusetzen sind nicht eher in das frühe 3. Jahrhundert weisen, und damit in die frühe Bronzezeit, wird weder diskutiert noch als Problem angesprochen, obgleich die genauere Bestimmung des Zeitpunkts der ersten Besiedlung eine Frage von enormer Tragweite ist für die Bewertung des Tafelbergs in seinem weiteren kulturellen Umfeld. Es ist ein Manko des Beitrags, dies nicht zu klar darzulegen und auszusprechen. Gesellschaftliche Struktur und bauliche Gestaltung des Areals bleiben für diese Phase gleichfalls unbeantwortet. Einzig anhand einer kunsthistorischen Auswertung der Keramik werden kulturelle Beziehungen zur südwestanatolischen Keramik angenommen.

Den ersten Zeichen menschlicher Anwesenheit folgen materielle Hinterlassenschaften der frühen und mittleren (S. 17-20), sowie der späten Bronzezeit (S. 27 35). Exemplarisch wird auf Fundensemble, wohl hethitischer Provenienz aufmerksam gemacht, was auf eine kultische Nutzung des Areals hinzuweisen scheint, so dass entsprechend die zeitgleichen baulichen Reste als Zeugnisse eines Kultbaus gedeutet werden. Die im Westen der Anlage angrenzenden Architekturreste werden als Beleg einer gleichzeitig profanen Nutzung gedeutet. Die Bewohner importierten in SH III C zypromykenische Waren. In den submykenischen Siedlungshorizonten sind Waren aus Tarsos belegt. Die Importe sind der Küstenlage der Stadt geschuldet, die an der Handelsroute von Ägypten, Al Mina kommend an der Levante entlang zog, während Perge gleichzeitig auch für die Handelswege zu Lande eine günstige Verbindung darstellte. Außerdem prägen Importe verschiedener Herkunft die lokalen Produkte. Wie man sich allerdings diese Akkulturationsprozesse vorzustellen hat, referiert der Autor nur kurz in der vorliegenden Publikation. Auch in der Folgezeit (S. 37-49) ist die Stadt unterschiedlichen kulturellen Strömungen ausgesetzt. Es sind Funde aus angrenzenden Produktionszentren auszumachen, die zeitweise nicht nur in Kleinasien, sondern im gesamten ägäischen Raum das Formenspektrum und die Zusammensetzung der Keramik beherrschten. Die Rede ist von rhodischen Tongefäßen, aber auch Reliefamphoren, syrischen und assyrischen Waren, die Perge erreichten.

Am Anfang der frühklassischen Zeit (S. 50-67) werden mehrere, alle eindeutig religiösen Aufgaben zugedachte Bauten errichtet, die beide Flächen des Bergplateaus einschließen. Die importierte Keramik stammt vor allem aus Attika und zeigt die soziokulturelle Ausrichtung der Polis im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr. Die Marktdominanz Athens, die man auch in hellenistischer Zeit

am Fundmaterial ausmachen kann, wertet der Autor im folgenden Kapitel (S. 68-74) ebenfalls als Zeichen einer fortschreitenden Einbindung in die griechische Koine, die von mächtigen Bauvorhaben begleitet wurde, die auch ein Mittel der Selbstdarstellung der Stadt sind.

Es gibt evidente Hinweise darauf, dass die Akropolis von Perge in römischer Zeit (S. 75-81) fester Bestandteil der Stadt blieb. Die religiösen Bauten, die man zuvor auf dem Plateau errichtet hatte, wurden in römischer Zeit in weitere Baumaßnahmen einbezogen. Ob es sich hierbei um Reparaturarbeiten handelt oder um eine Um- bzw. Neugestaltung des religiösen Zentrums, wird nicht weiter ausgeführt, wenn auch eine Erweiterung des städtischen Pantheon zu erwarten ist Die Statue des Augustus, die auf der Akropolis entdeckt wurde, könnte beispielsweise im Kontext des neu eingeführten Kaiserkultes dort aufgestellt worden sein. Die kaiserlichen *Euergasiai* hielten sich auf jeden Fall bis in die erste Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts n.Chr., als die Stadt durch ein Erdbeben stark erschüttert wurde, was vom Autor wohl zu Recht mit dem langsamen Niedergang der Stadt verbunden wird. Ein letztes Mal wird die Akropolis von Perge in früh- und mittelbyzantinischer Zeit (S. 82-87) genutzt. Die antiken Bauten werden durch drei 'fast gleichmäßig über die Akropolis verteilte Basiliken' überlagert. Eventuell diente einer der Bauten auch als Bischofssitz. Insgesamt jedoch stehen diese Bauten für die Phase des Niedergangs der Stadt und mit der seldschukischen Eroberung Phamphyliens 1207 n.Chr. wurde der Ort aufgegeben. Ein kurzer Rückblick (S. 86-87) schließt die Ausführungen ab.

Martini bietet eine Fülle an Informationen zum Tafelberg von Perge. Allerdings stehen die einzelnen Ausführungen, die jeweils den einzelnen Kulturstufen menschlicher Anwesenheit an diesem Ort entsprechen, parataktisch nebeneinander und vermögen kein zusammenhängendes Bild zu vermitteln. Schon die vordringliche Frage, ob man in dieser langen Zeit von einer Siedlungskontinuität ausgehen kann, bleibt unbeantwortet. Daran knüpft auch die Frage an, welche Art der Nutzung man in der Frühzeit annehmen kann. Die Frage der Kontinuität bzw. ihre Fragwürdigkeit ergibt sich schon aufgrund der großen zeitlichen Lücken, welche die einzelnen Kulturstufen voneinander trennen, wie auch der Tatsache, dass die materiellen Relikte im Laufe der Entwicklungsgeschichte unterschiedlichen Kulturzentren verpflichtet sind, so dass man vielleicht auch von einer wechselnden Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung ausgehen muss. Eine kontinuierliche Entwicklung und eine klarer fassbare Funktionsbestimmung sind erst seit der späten Eisenzeit anzunehmen. Bauformen und Gliederung des Areals erlauben, auch im Vergleich zu anderen griechischen Städten, eine präzisere Deutung des Tafelbergs. Man muss aber hierzu betonen, dass die Akropolis unterschiedliche Bedeutungsebenen für die jeweilige Polis einnehmen konnten, so dass die von Perge nur im direkten kontextuellen Zusammenhang mit der Siedlung zu entschlüsseln wäre. Dies allerdings ist nicht das Anliegen dieser kleinen Monographie, die trotz einiger unbeantworteter Fragen einen ersten Überblick zu diesem Thema gibt.

Maria Deoudi

JOHN MCK CAMP II & Craig A. Mauzy (eds), *The Athenian Agora. New Perspectives on an Ancient Site*. Princeton/Mainz am Rhein: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens/Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2009. 144 pp., 88 colour + 75 b/w figs; 31 cm. – ISBN 978-3-8053-4082-3.

JOHN MCK CAMP II, *The Athenian Agora Site Guide*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2009[5]. 192 pp, 73 plans, 13 colour and 45 b/w figs; 21 cm. – ISBN 978-0-87661-657-4.

In 2006 a conference was held in Athens to celebrate 75 years of excavations at the ancient Agora by the American School of Classical Studies. The anniversary presented a timely opportunity to look back at what the project had achieved, to pay homage to the work of past Agora scholars, and to reflect upon the new directions that research at the site was now taking. The volume *The Athenian Agora. New Perspectives on an Ancient Site* resulted from this conference. Most of the papers presented then are included here. The book is divided into two halves, the first comprising articles by scholars who have worked on issues concerning interpretation of the site, the second contributions by members of the excavation's permanent staff. Production values are high and the book is sumptuously illustrated.

The book opens with a reflection on the Agora's various public functions by the site's current director John Camp. In contrast to both his 1986 book, *The Athenian Agora* (updated edition 1992), which traces the Agora's development chronologically and his *Site Guide* (see below), where the monuments are treated topographically, the approach here is thematic, considering in turn issues such as politics, commerce, religion, public building etc. The emphasis is firmly on the Classical period. There is little here that cannot be found in Camp's other writings, yet this is a highly readable introduction to the site.

Part one proper consists of contributions by Susan Rotroff on commerce on the agora, Barbara Tsakirgis on Classical houses, Lee Ann Riccardi on Roman sculpture, Mark Lawall on amphora research, Kathleen Lynch on interpretations of the supposed Persian destruction deposits and James Sickinger on ostraka. Much of the scholarship presented here can be found elsewhere, and in more detail, so these chapters are probably best thought of as introductions to their respective subjects. Perhaps most interesting are the insights these chapters offer into changes in research priorities and archaeological methods at the site over the last three quarters of a century. We are also clearly shown the important influence that scholarship at the agora has had, particularly through the determination of pottery chronologies, on the wider field of Mediterranean archaeology.

Part two begins with a photographic history of the excavations by official site photographer Craig Mauzy. Essentially a condensed version of the book that he published to coincide with the anniversary in 2006 this is a photographic history in two senses. Firstly it tells the history of the site *through* wonderfully evocative

images captured on film. Secondly it traces the development of photography as a research tool from the earliest days of the daguerreotype, through the introduction of the handheld compact camera and into the digital age. Both stories are equally fascinating. The other three chapters in Part two discuss various ways way in which modern scientific methods are transforming work at the site. The insights we are given into the work of Amandina Anastassiades (conservator), Richard Anderson (architect) and Bruce Hartzler (IT specialist) show how crucial that work is, not only for preserving and documenting discoveries, but also for arriving at new interpretations.

The papers gathered here are, for the most part, accessible to a non-specialist readership. This seems to have been a conscious aim because the decision has been taken not to include footnotes. References to earlier publications are provided in the form of short lists of further reading at the end of the book. Ancient historians and archaeologists are unlikely to find much that is new in the chapters on their own areas of expertise but should find the book a useful entry point to less familiar topics. Above all, the volume reminds us of the valuable contribution that Agora scholarship has made to our understanding of life in ancient Athens and in the wider ancient world. The affection that the authors clearly feel for the site is infectious and their contributions make it is easy to see why the Agora has inspired such commitment in successive generations of scholars.

It is hard to imagine how the new fifth edition of the *Site Guide* to the Athenian Agora could be improved. After short histories of the Agora and the excavations, we are taken on a tour of all of the major, and most of the minor, monuments visible at the site today. In total there are 73 entries, all numbered and easy to find on the accompanying fold-out map. For each monument the entry describes the remains and discusses its historical and cultural significance. Attention is paid not only to the Classical but also to earlier and later periods. The descriptions are lucidly written and should bring the site vividly to life for the interested tourist. Readers of a more scholarly background are well served by the bibliographic references beneath each entry. The book's use as an academic tool is increased by the inclusion of areas and monuments (e.g. the Royal Stoa, Library of Pantainos) that are normally off limits to the public. The book is brimming with reconstruction drawings and ground plans. There are also many photographs (for the first time in colour, taken by Craig Mauzy) of the monuments, reconstruction models and important finds. This visual material will certainly be a great aid in making sense of the visible remains which, for a first time visitor to the site, can be quite bewildering. At 21 x 13.8 cm the guide is the perfect size for use on site. The companion guide to the site museum, announced here as in preparation, is to be eagerly anticipated.

C.P. Dickenson

MARION MULLER-DUFEU, *«Créer du vivant». Sculpteurs et artistes dans l'Antiquité grecque*. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Septentrion. Presses Universitaires, 2011. 381 pp.; 24 cm (Collection: Archaiologia) – ISBN 978-2-7574-0208-5.

Das vorliegende Buch stellt eine Auswertung des vor knapp zehn Jahren erschienenen Bandes derselben Verfasserin dar (M. Muller-Dufeu, *La sculpture grecque. Sources littéraires et épigraphiques*, Paris 2002), der eine mit französischen Übersetzungen versehene Neuedition des vor ca. 150 Jahren publizierten Buches von J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen*, Leipzig 1868; Neudruck Hildesheim/New York, 1971, darstellt; allerdings verzichtete die Verfasserin dort auf die literarischen Nachrichten zur Malerei, zumal dazu bereits ein Quellencorpus mit französischen Übersetzungen vorliegt (A. Reinach, *Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne*, Paris 1921, Neudruck Chicago, 1981), erweiterte die Sammlung zur Skulptur jedoch um einige neuere Inschriftenfunde. M(uller)-D(ufeu) betrachtet im hier anzuzeigenden Buch dieses Material unter verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten, die zugleich die Gliederung des Werkes bestimmen. Auf ein Vorwort (9-10) und eine Einführung in die Thematik (11-19) folgen vier umfangreiche Kapitel, die jeweils in Unterabschnitte unterteilt sind.

Das erste Kapitel (21-91) ist der Überlieferung der antiken Plastik gewidmet, die nicht nur durch Originale und Kopien, sondern auch durch Beschreibungen in griechischen und lateinischen Schriftquellen erfolgte, auch wenn die Identifizierung mit erhaltenen Stücken angesichts des meist allgemein gehaltenen Charakters der Texte sehr oft problematisch ist. Geschildert wird außerdem, wie die materielle Hinterlassenschaft seit der Renaissance von den Gebildeten und Wissenschaftlern aufgenommen worden ist. M.-D. geht anhand der Schriftquellen der Frage nach, wie die Zeitgenossen und jüngeren Generationen der Antike zu den Werken und den Künstlern von der Archaik bis zum Hellenismus eingestellt waren. Wichtig für die Wertung ist dabei der wechselnde Wertekanon im Verhältnis von Autoren zu den Vertretern der Bildenden Kunst, der von Verachtung bis Bewunderung oszillieren konnte. Andererseits wird überliefert, dass einzelne Künstler nicht nur dichterisch tätig gewesen sind, sondern auch wissenschaftliche Traktate über Einzelprobleme ihres Metiers verfasst haben.

Im zweiten Kapitel (93-175) beschäftigt sich M.-D. mit der Arbeitsorganisation in Bildhauerwerkstätten. Quellen zum Schüler-Meister-Verhältnis und zur Ausbildung als Lehrling werden angeführt. Weitergegeben wurde das handwerkliche Wissen und Können vor allem in Familienbetrieben, die oft über Generationen bestehen konnten. Diese waren die Keimzellen für 'Schulen', in denen bestimmte Stiltraditionen gepflegt wurden. Zwangsläufig nahm mit der Zeit die Spezialisierung im Arbeitsprozess zu. Ein Problem bieten immer noch die Signaturen, da bis heute nicht nachzuvollziehen ist, nach welchen Kriterien die Wahl für oder gegen eine Künstlerinschrift getroffen worden ist. Darüber hinaus wird einerseits die Karriere einiger Bildhauer unter die Lupe genommen, andererseits wird nach den öffentlichen und privaten Auftraggebern gefragt, die politische, religiöse, repräsentative oder ästhetische Motive für ihre Stiftung haben konnten.

Nicht zuletzt die Nachfrage auf dem Kunstmarkt regelte den Preis für einzelne Künstler und ihre Werke. Gerade wohlhabende Ateliereigner widmeten sich zunehmend der Politik und übernahmen Leistungen für die Gemeinschaft. Exkursartig werden Bildhauer der Vorzeit und ihre Schutzgottheiten, Handwerker, die in verschiedenen Fachgebieten Leistungen vollbrachten, sowie weibliche Vertreter unter den Kunsthandwerkern besprochen.

Im dritten Kapitel (177-263) ordnet M.-D. die literarisch überlieferten plastischen Werke nach Themengebieten: Erinnerungsmale, mythologische Gruppen, Götter-, Menschen- und Tierdarstellungen, Reliefs, Architekturplastik sowie - nicht zur Systematik passend - Kopien und Varianten. Es folgt ein Abschnitt über die in den Schriftquellen verwendeten *termini technici*. Zudem kommen Kriterien für die Funktion und Wertschätzung der Skulpturen zur Sprache.

Das letzte und kürzeste Kapitel (265-279) gilt nochmals dem Urteil der antiken Autoren über die vormaligen und zeitgenössischen Künstler. Eine Zusammenfassung (281-284), ein in alphabetischer Reihenfolge nach den griechischen und lateinischen Autoren gegliederter Anhang mit 164 ergänzenden Texten - auch einigen zur antiken Malerei - samt französischer Übersetzung (285-356), die größtenteils nicht in Overbecks Sammelwerk enthalten sind bzw. alle im genannten Quellenband der Verfasserin fehlen, und eine Bibliographie (357-377) beschließen das Buch.

Fragt man nach dem Sinn der Publikation, so soll die als Habilitation eingereichte Arbeit gemäß Aussage im Vorwort (9) die zuvor zusammengetragenen Schriftquellen kommentieren. Einen wissenschaftlichen Mehrwert, der über den bisherigen Forschungsstand hinausginge, kann der Rezensent jedoch nicht feststellen. Die aus den Quellen abgeleiteten und hier vorgelegten, meist allgemein gehaltenen Aussagen sind bereits aus Publikationen anderer moderner Autoren bekannt. Divergierende Forschungsmeinungen zu einzelnen Problemen werden nirgendwo ausführlicher diskutiert. Überhaupt fehlen in der Bibliographie etliche einschlägige Bücher und Aufsätze, deren Heranziehung die Diskussion hätte bereichern können; sie können hier in Anbetracht ihrer Zahl nicht aufgeführt werden.

Es soll aber auf zwei methodische Grundfehler der Studie hingewiesen werden. M.-D. versteht alle herangezogenen Texte, unabhängig von Zeit und Gattung, wörtlich. Dies ist jedoch nicht zulässig, zumindest hätte in zahlreichen Fällen auf das Faktum hingewiesen werden müssen, dass manche Forscher begründete Bedenken gegen die Glaubwürdigkeit bestimmter Passagen vorgebracht haben. So werden z.B. die Nachrichten über die Malerinnen Helene (174. 336 Nr. TC 124) bzw. Kallo (175. 297 Nr. TC 45) von der Mehrheit der Spezialisten angezweifelt: M. Pfrommer, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Komposition des Alexandermosaiks auf antiquarischer Grundlage*, Mainz 1998, 16-18 (Lit.) bzw. R. Vollkommer in: *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* I, München/Leipzig 2001, 397 s.v. Kallo (Lit.). Gleiches gilt auch für das angebliche Selbstporträt des Pheidias auf dem Schild der Athena Parthenos (114. 248): F. Preißhofen, Phidias-Dädalus auf dem Schild der Athena Parthenos? Ampelius 8, 10, *JdI* 89 (1974) 50-69.

Ein weiteres Manko ist zudem der fast vollständige Verzicht auf das Heranziehen von Inschriften, die trotz ihrer Kürze und Formelhaftigkeit zu manchen literarischen Aussagen ein Korrektiv hätten darstellen können. Denn es ist davon auszugehen, dass der Inhalt der Texte dem ausführenden Bildhauer in vielen Fällen (Signaturen, eigene Votiv- und Grabinschriften) näher stand als die oft aus gattungsspezifischen oder soziologischen Gründen geäußerte Meinung der meisten Literaten. Angesichts der geschilderten Sachlage ist denn auch das Fehlen von Indices, die eigentlich in keinem wissenschaftlichen Buch fehlen sollten, zu verschmerzen.

Michael Donderer

THOMAS BRISART, *Un art citoyen: recherches sur l'orientalisation des artisanats en Grèce proto-archaïque*. Bruxelles: Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres, 2011. 352 pp., figs.; 25 cm (Mémoires de la Classe des Lettres. Collection in-8°; 3e sér. t. 54). – ISBN 978-2-8031-0278-5.

In his first book, Thomas Brisart (Université Libre de Bruxelles - École Française d'Athènes) explores orientalising phenomena in the Greek world during the early archaic period (late 8th-7th centuries BC). *Un art citoyen* draws upon his earlier PhD research, conducted at the Free University of Brussels.

Central to Brisart's thesis, is the observation that orientalising phenomena, in contrast to oriental objects and behaviour, became particularly popular at the end of the 8th and throughout the 7th century BC. This is the period in which substantial changes in the social and political organisation of Greek societies took place, traditionally called polis-formation. Brisart seeks to correlate the two phenomena, and explains the one through the other: orientalising art provided a useful tool for the emerging groups, the citizens, to contrast themselves with the earlier warrior-elites. In the new egalitarian society of citizens, there was no room for individual distinction based on wealth or military bravery. Brisart divides his book in three parts to illustrate his idea: *têchne*, *âgon* and, *polis*. In each part one aspect of the main theme of the book, orientalising art and its social context, is explored.

In the first part, Brisart sets out to explore the concept of art, or *têchne*. He points out that what we, in our modern European society, call 'art' was unknown to ancient Greek society. Greeks could appreciate well made or beautiful objects, but l'art pour l'art did not exist as such. Objects were meant to be used, they fulfilled a certain role in daily life, in cult, or in funerary ritual. Brisart furthermore insists on distinguishing between oriental objects - objects imported directly from the Near East, and orientalising objects - objects produced in the Greek world and following oriental prototypes, but not necessarily close imitations of it. Oriental objects were important in the Greek world throughout the early 1st millennium BC, for example evidenced in the necropoleis at Lefkandi or Knossos. The production of orientalising objects, however, became particularly abundant from the late 8th century BC on, and it is this phenomenon that Brisart studies, as well as the social context of this particular production.

In the second part of the book, *âgon*, Brisart discusses early archaic Greek society. This period is marked by what is, traditionally, called the rise of the *polis*. Too often, as Brisart stresses, Greek society is perceived as dual, with a division in elites versus non-elites. As Brisart convincingly argues, boundaries were not clearly defined and were certainly permeable. Being part of the elite in early archaic Greek society was not exclusively a matter of belonging to a political class (the citizens), to an economic one (the wealthy) or a social one (noble descent of heroes). Being part of the elite meant a constant struggle for outshining the others by means of adopting several strategies. Brisart suggests that the use of orientalising objects was one of these strategies. As former methods for distinction and competition, such as weapons, violence, or warrior behaviour, were no longer tolerated in the egalitarian Greek citizen-societies, people had to search for new spheres of competition. Competition moved to other spheres of life, such as cult, physical training, funerary ritual and the banquet. Brisart indicates that the occurrence of orientalising objects can, in the fist place, be related to these new arenas of competition. The public life of the citizen-societies was a new sphere for display. He illustrates this thesis amply, with examples from Argos and Athens. With the rise of the extra-urban sanctuary for Hera and of sumptuous burials Brisart illustrates the new egalitarian mood at Argos. The development of the most elaborate orientalising proto-Attic wares can equally be linked to sumptuous burials in Athens. Corinthian orientalising pottery seems especially centred around the consumption of wine (banquet) and athletic competition. Brisart (p. 194) suggests that the *aryballoi* did not contain perfume, as scholars have always assumed, but that they were used to carry the oil, used by men after training. However attractive, at least in the necropolis at Pithekoussai *aryballoi* occur frequently in woman's graves, which indicates that Brisart's suggestion cannot be withheld in all cases.

In the last part of the book, entitled *polis*, Brisart studies several Cretan contexts in order to illustrate in detail the functioning of orientalising art in its social context. He argues that most Cretan *poleis* were particularly egalitarian, more than other *poleis*, like Argos or Athens, and to this extent that orientalising objects were used for the purpose of promoting the citizen corpse as a whole, rather than for individual display. This idea is convincingly illustrated with the finds at the andreion and the necropolis of Aphrati.

The book ends with a brief concluding chapter, summarising the ideas and results of the case-studies.

Overall, Brisart's thesis is highly convincing and well illustrated with extensive discussion and case-studies. The ample use of footnotes with vast bibliographical references indicates the depth of understanding of early archaic society and the contexts discussed. Brisart offers a highly fascinating reading of orientalising art. Although referring to more theoretic works produced in the context of post-processual and contextual archaeology, he avoids the use of jargon.

One minor consideration is Brisart's assumption, throughout the book, that Greeks adopted oriental models because of the fact that they thought that the orient was rich, and that orientalising objects were therefore a useful tool for display. Couldn't it be that the perception of the Orient in the Greek world was more nuanced and varied than just 'rich'? Perhaps the Orient was thought of as sophisticated, mysterious, advanced, luxurious, with room for a middle class, and the like? However, as Brisart is more concerned with the application, rather than the perception of oriental models, his orientalism does not really matter.

The book has a few illustrations, in black-and-white. This, the absence of plans and maps, as well as the sophisticated treatment of the subject make that this book is more intended for specialists, rather than a general public. Scholars with an interest in early archaic Greek society, the social context of art or in orientalising phenomena will certainly enjoy reading *Un art citoyen*.

Lieve Donnellan

Margarita Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology; Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past* (Oxford Studies in the History of Archaeology), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. xii+486 pp. – ISBN 978-0-19-921717-5.

The history of archaeology as a separate field of research has for a long time been dominated by archaeologists. Generally this resulted in books with a so-called 'internalist' perspective, in which the process of developing knowledge of the remote past was leading. The 'birth' and the later development towards an 'grown-up' academic discipline was often described as a triumph of science whereas only during exceptional moments - like when dealing with totalitarian regimes - the relations between archaeology and the political, social or cultural context were acknowledged. When Margarita Díaz-Andreu speaks of an 'alternative account of the history of archaeology in the nineteenth century', she aims to overcome these limitations, not only by connecting all archaeological activities with the socio-cultural and historical framework in which they took place, but also by stressing the multivocality of the meaning of archaeology. To quote the author: 'There are many possible histories of archaeology, as many as understandings of what archaeology is.'

In 1996 Díaz-Andreu made name when she, together with T. Champion, published a groundbreaking collection of essays under the title *Nationalism and Archaeology in Europe*. Following the wake of the post-modern focus on subjectivity the book analysed the constitutive role of nationalism had played in various European countries for the development of archaeology. The scope of her book is much wider. Díaz-Andreu now adopts a world-historical perspective in which, for the 19th century, not only the links between archaeology and nationalism are explored but also those between archaeology and colonialism/imperialism. It is indeed, like the author states, the first attempt to analyse the development of the archaeological discipline as a whole on a world scale. In order to reach this goal the book is divided in four sections. It starts with an overview of the European interest in the material remains of 'great civilisations', then it describes the archaeological activities in and beyond

Europe in the context of informal imperialism, which is followed by an analysis of colonial/imperial archaeology. The last section of the book returns to Europe and offers a new perspective on the national archaeologies of that continent in which the different aspects of the archaeological encounter with the outer-European world are merged. Díaz-Andreu thus succeeds in describing the ways archaeologists dealt with the material remains of the early past as part of world-historical developments. Especially her comparing of archaeological practises in different parts of the world - for example the archaeology of Latin America during the revolutions with the archaeology of Greece during the struggle for independence - leads to new and fascinating insights. The wide scope of the book however sometimes also leads to an certain overstretch, in that sense that details that are essential to understand the complexities of colonial/national archaeology are overlooked. She, for example, calls the museum of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in Batavia already in the 19th century 'The National Museum'. Thus the complex process in which a colonial museum in the Dutch-Indies, that in the first place was supported by citizens of Batavia, after decolonisation became a national Indonesian museum, is obscured.

Although the book successfully adopts an 'externalist' perspective on the history of archaeology, there are nonetheless traces of the 'internalist' approach the author aims to get rid of. Díaz-Andreu is well aware of the fact that the study of material remains of the past has never been a homogeneous academic field, but at the same time she accepts she is writing a teleological account of an academic discipline that, as such, emerged in the 19th century in Europe. This results in a strong 'first in Europe then elsewhere in the world'-focus of which the author seems to be well aware - she discusses in detail post-colonial studies - but she is not really able to get beyond. Whereas some global historians nowadays stress that nationalism is a product of global processes (S. Conrad/A. Eckert, Globalgeschichte, Globalisierung, multiple Modernen: Zur Geschichtsschreibung der modernen Welt, in S. Conrad/A. Eckert/ U. Freitag eds, *Globalgeschiche. Theorien, Ansätze, Themen*, Frankfurt/New York 2007, 7-49, esp. 35) Díaz-Andreu states that colonialism can only be understood as one of the manifestations of nationalism. The colonies inherited, according to the author, the forms of thinking about the past developed in the European nations and made subsequently political use of them. She finally concludes that the discourse about the past created by the imperial powers in Europe became hegemonic throughout the world. It was not uncontested but, so Díaz-Andreu argues, local archaeologists had no choice but to become 'complicit' in the discourse authorized by the imperial authorities. It is however the question to what extent archaeology really excluded other accounts about the past. Different voices on the early past - not necessarily those of archaeologists - are one of the most pending research questions to be addressed in the history of archaeology in the colonized world. It could lead to the insight that the supposed hegemony created by archaeology had actually a smaller base in colonial society than suggested by Díaz-Andreu.

Martijn Eickhoff

COLIN RENFREW/CHRISTOS DOUMAS/LILA MARANGOU/GIORGOS GAVALAS (eds), *Keros, Dhaskalio Kavos* 1. *The Investigations of 1987-88*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2007. 475 pp., 294 figs, 29 cm (McDonald Institute Monographs). – ISBN 1902937430.

This well-edited volume represents the first volume in an intended series on the excavations at Dhaskalio and Dhaskalio Kavos on the Cycladic Island of Keros. In it, the excavation efforts of the 2006 and 2007 seasons are presented, as well as the material that was collected in the course of those two seasons. The excavations were part of the Inter-University Project for Research on Amorgos and Keros (Athens-Ioannina-Cambridge) and directed by Christos Doumas, Lila Marangou and Colin Renfrew.

The site of Dhaskalio Kavos was extensively looted during the 1950's. Rescue excavations by Doumas in 1963 and by Photeini Zapheiropoulou in 1967, as well as the project under discussion here, defined the extent of the looted deposit, assigned to the early bronze age Keros-Syros culture (Early Bronze II, ca 2800 to 2300 BC). At the beginning of the 2006 field season (not treated in this book) a separate and unlooted deposit (styled the 'Special Deposit South') was located at the southern end of Kavos. The excavation of this deposit brought to light thousands of fragments of marble vessels and potsherds, as well as hundreds of broken marble figurines. After having been broken elsewhere, they were brought to the site and deposited in what appears to be a ritual context. Dhaskalio island is generally acknowledged as a major settlement of the Keros-Syros culture and the largest known from the E Cycladic period with a combined excavated surface of ca 7,000m^2. The chronology established at Markiani on Amorgos places this phase (Dhaskalio phase A) at ca 2800-2500 BC. Phase B is dated on the basis of imports of the so-called 'Kastri Group' to ca. 2500-2200 BC. During the first phase, the buildings on the summit were erected, and remodeled during phase B. The final abandonment of the settlement falls in phase C, tentatively dated to ca 2200-2000/1900 BC, based on imports (i.a. of the Phylakopi I culture). The settlement housed a wide range of activities, including the production of obsidian tools. Several marble figurines of the so-called Dhaskalio variety were recovered. These are of fine white marble and in some cases unscathed. The second site treated in this volume, Kavos, lies immediately opposite on the island of Keros, and itself consisted of two separate areas of structured deposition of high status materials, brought from a wide range of sources in the Cyclades and possibly beyond, apparently already in fragmentary condition, and placed there in a series of deposits for which a ritual context has been inferred. The excavators claim that Dhaskalio Kavos represents 'the first major symbolic centre of the early Aegean'.

The volume is consistently complete in its treatment of the various aspects of the settlements on Keros and Dhaskalio. Marangou has prepared a broad overview of the wider archaeological context of these sites within the Cyclades and admirably brings together all extant knowledge of them from antiquity to the present (chap-

ter 2). Also, the results of the preliminary rescue excavations from the sixties, which were not comprehensively published before, are presented here, serving as an introductory chapter (3) to the central sections of the book. Todd Whidelaw presents the objectives and methods of his 1987 survey at Dhaskalio Kavos (chapter 4), which forms a natural concomitant to the excavation effort. Results of the survey will form a separate volume in this series. Renfrew gives a brief overview of the excavation itself in the 'disturbed area of the "Special Deposit"' (5).

The main course of this book is, of course, the treatment of the material remains, especially the pottery, which is extensively dealt with by Cyprian Broodbank (6) and shows, aside from the expected types known from Naxos, Amorgos and the 'Small Cycladic Islands' in between, imports from further afield (Siphnos, Melos, Attica and Euboea), that this was once a significant hub within the Aegean. A small side essay handily relates of the inter-relations between pottery and marble vessels. Further classes of objects are treated in chapters 8 and 9 (stone finds), 10 (other finds of clay) and 11 (metal finds). One of the most exciting contributions is Renfrew's chapter (7) on the figurine fragments. While only a few dozen in total, these objects loom large in the final conclusions drafted in chapter 13, where Renfrew hypothesizes on the nature of Dhaskalio as a regional center where conspicuous consumption (and destruction) were practiced in a ritual context of periodic feasting, including displays of weapons and performative acts. These final observations hark back to Renfrew's past work in archaeo-anthropology and are illustrative for the great variety of disciplines combined in this project.

This publication is the result of one of the most important and methodologically advanced excavations conducted in recent years and will no doubt find a place among the stock references of E Cycladic scholarship.

Floris van den Eijnde

JÜRGEN FRANSSEN, *Votiv und Repräsentation: statuarische Weihungen archaischer Zeit aus Samos und Attika*. Heidelberg: Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte, 2011. 440 pp., 19 pls, 1 CD; 30 cm (Archäologie und Geschichte 13).– ISBN 9783935289368.

Franssens book discusses the monumental freestanding statuary dedicated as votives in sanctuaries on Samos and in Attica. It represents a reworking of his 2004 Heidelberg dissertation and includes a thorough analysis of all freestanding votive statues from the sanctuaries of Hera on Samos, of Athena Polias in Athens and of many rural sanctuaries throughout Attica. While his analysis leads the author to discuss matters of attribution, finding spots, possible dedicators and the architectural context of these sculptures, the ultimate goal of this book is to draw historical conclusions from these dedications. The book thus represents a departure from the work of Keesling, Kyrieleis and others and illustrates once more the maturation of archaeology as a historical discipline. The book is amply referenced with footnotes including all the latest bibliography. In itself it represents a valuable source of reference through the exhaustive catalogue on the cd-rom that is included. The omission of good photography of the statues is disappointing and especially confounding given the possibility of its inclusion on the digital disc.

While the decision to focus on the body of monumental marble votive statues at the sites under discussion may seem defendable from the point of manageability, the general approach leads the author to a number of difficulties. Contrary to what the title implies, the book does not deal with the Archaic period as a whole, but rather narrowly focuses on the sixth century as the heyday of freestanding votive statuary. In excluding the pre-history of monumental votives, the work invites the feeling of jumping on a moving vehicle. In particular, the bias on one type of material seems forced, when much could have been learned from a discussion of these statues within the wider range of votive types. The terracottas in particular come to mind, such as the dazzling, but understudied 'Bejewelled Lady of the Acropolis', a life-sized female figure dated to the first half of the 7th century BC and variously interpreted as a cult statue, a votive or an akroterion. A second point of critique is the random choice of these particular sites. While the inclusion of the rural sanctuaries in Attica adds much to the author's historical interpretation of the Acropolis votives, the addition of Samos seems a rather loose fit. It is true that both regions represent a large proportion of extant statues from this period, but they are by no means unique (let alone representative for all archaic statues), nor do they bear any intrinsic relation to one another. This poses the question why both studies, admirable projects in and of themselves, are here combined in one book.

There is, however, a lot to be learned from the author's meticulous scholarship even if one may at times disagree with his historical analysis. He plausibly connects the initial successes of the young Athenian democracy with a peak in monumental votive dedications just before 500 BC when the elite became hard pressed to assert their excellence in the face of an up and coming *demos*. The subsequent decline, especially in the consecration of *korai*, is attributed to a growing uneasiness at this type of self-aggrandizement. After the combined effort of the entire polis in repelling the Persians, such direct reference to personal excellence became altogether unacceptable. Political leaders of the new era sought to acquire personal prestige through the advancement of the interests of the polis.

Franssen is able to show that, while large marble votives were initially set up throughout the Attic countryside, they gradually became concentrated on the Acropolis in the course of the 6th century. While the outlying sanctuaries (and graves) were deprived of their monumental votives, the sanctuaries at Sounion were now endowed with publicly funded building projects. Franssen rightly takes this as evidence that the Athenian polis became more centralized during this period. However, he misses the point when he downplays the importance of local autonomy by insisting on the influence of 'Athenian aristocrats' at Sounion throughout the 6th century. Not until the end of Peisistratid rule and the rise to power of the Alcmeonid Kleisthenes - a proponent of the coastal faction heavily centered in the south -

were southern wealth and autonomy transferred from Sounion to Athens. As the inhabitants of the south became fully integrated in the political system at Athens, they began to use their new-found influence in a variety of ways, such as voting for the public funding of the first temple of Poseidon.

Throughout the book, Franssen struggles with gender-related issues. He argues that large-scale *kouroi* were deliberately set up outside of the city center (at Samos as at Athens) because their inherent notion of 'aristocratic competition' was perceived to be incompatible with the cooperative spirit of the polis within the city. While the sample base is probably much too small to come to any such conclusion, the argument takes its origin from a misguided view of the city as somehow being more part of 'the polis' than the more peripheral areas that are presumed to have been controlled by 'the aristocrats'. It also does little justice to the fact that both *kouroi* and *korai* stem from the same type of elite competition, advertising an influential family's most prized possession: its adolescents, the choice for either presumably being determined by the sex of the deity.

In general, the author makes too much of the supposed inclusion of women in the laws of Solon. We know very little about the true nature of Solon's laws and the possibility that women were included into the law (as adjuncts to men) does not help to explain their prominence. A more realistic historical factor, little used in the discussion, is the establishment of the Panathenaia some decades later, providing the wealthy with a suitable stage to showcase their daughters. This also brings to light the problematic temporal scope of this work, since this practice surely extends back to pre-Solonian days, as is shown by the Dame d'Auxerre and the Bejewelled Lady of the Acropolis mentioned before. Strangely, Franssen does not mention the obvious connection between the *korai* and the young female cult attendants of Athena. In the Hellenistic period, many inscriptions on the Acropolis state the fulfillment of cult-duties by aristocratic girls. These inscriptions serve the same self-promoting purpose as the *Korai* - significantly such direct statements relating to individual *oikoi* are lacking in the democratic period.

The main problem of the historical analysis centers on the author's undefined 'aristocrats'. The problem, as he himself admits, lies in the fact that there is no clear contemporary equivalent of this term, which in itself represents a coinage of the 4th century. *Agathos* and *Kalos* appear in the dedicatory descriptions, but what do they invoke but an ideal of excellence and beauty. They should not be taken as wholesale labels for the landed aristocracy that Hesiod decried a century or more before. While wealthy landowners may have thought of themselves as *kalokagathoi*, this does not imply that others could not aspire to the label. Significantly, Franssen has difficulty dealing with the not inconsiderable number of artisans showing up in the dedicatory inscriptions. He rightfully refutes Raubitschek's thesis, which holds the establishment of democracy in Athens responsible for their emergence in the records. The author's fine scholarship notably eliminates over half of Raubitschek's attestations, including the famous Nearchos dedication, and shows that the remaining cannot be assigned as a class to the period after 508/507. Indeed, the percentage of artisans to the whole seems to stay the same before and after the Kleisthenic reforms. Nevertheless, we are left with a good number of certain attestations (including sculptors, potters, 'builders' and even tanners and fullers) which is multiplied if one takes into consideration that many statues have yielded no or only partially intact dedicatory inscriptions on their bases. So how do the artisans fit into this picture? Rather than downplaying their importance, as Franssen does, we are forced to concede that (wealthy) artisans claimed and acquired access to the 'aristocratic ideal' that is presumed to have been prevalent with wealthy landholders, money being the only distinctive qualification.

These misgivings notwithstanding *Votive und Repräsentation* is an important book, not least because of the meticulous scholarship it presents. While not all of the book's historical interpretations may remain unchallenged, its true significance lies in the fact that it opens up a valuable new set of data to work with. Thus, the book will become stock reading for anyone dealing with the quagmire that is called archaic history.

Floris van den Eijnde

MARIA GIUSEPPINA CANOSA, *Una tomba principesca da Timmari*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2007. 234 pp., figs, 61 pls; 34 cm (Monumenti Antichi, Serie Miscellanea, XI, Serie Generale LXV). – ISBN 978-88-7689-224-9.

Tomb 33 of Timmari (Prov. Matera) can undoubtedly be considered a great princely burial despite its state of preservation at the moment of its discovery in August 1984. It is located in an area marked by a high concentration of rich Italic settlements, along a route once dominated by the élites related to the increasing power of Taranto. The tomb had already been badly plundered before, with great damage to the spot where the body and the weapons were lying. Although the tomb was not entirely cleared out in the looting, evidence of the destruction of the grave goods was clearly visible by the presence of ceramic fragments outside the tomb and by the fact that the main part of the metallic panoply was missing.

The necropolis to which the tomb belongs reveals an evident local character despite the rise of Taranto as the author remarked by stressing its outstanding features. Yet its significance is well represented by the unusual number of reviews: F. Marucci *RdA* 31(2007); M. Costanzi *REA* 110.2 (2008) 710-712; F. Silvestrelli *JRA* 23 (2010) 449-455; F. Van Worterghem *Latomus* 70 (2011) 1213-1215.

What are these outstanding features?

An important group of pottery for the banquet was placed in the tomb. Particularly large is the number of *skyphoi* (p. 131), viz. 103 pieces. The repetition of some ceramic shapes is recurrent: 20 shapes are attested by just one individual, 24 by two or more. 19 vases were used to serve, 29 to drink and 23 have an open shape, probably for pouring (p. 151).

The panoply - as far as preserved - consists of fragments of a bronze anatomical cuirass, a spearhead, a fragment of a Chalcidian helmet, probable remains of a

cheek-guard and fragments of a sword. Only the spearhead was found *in situ* (p. 26), while the other weapons were scattered in the tomb. The author brings to attention the absence of the shield and the greaves, and ascribes it to either plunder or to a decision at the time of the burial ceremony (p. 153). The presence of the greaves would rather be plausible, although it is unusual to find them in similar tombs together with large anatomical cuirasses. Even the lack of one or more wide belts could be the result of plunder; its presence would have been incompatible with large anatomical cuirasses. Nevertheless, we know of seven tombs with an anatomical cuirass associated with a wide belt (Cariati, Canosa - hypogeum Rossignoli Monterisi, Canosa - hypogeum Scocchera A, Canosa - hypogeum Varrese, Conversano t.10, Lavello t.669, Alfedena t. 169).

Several fragments of a metal foil can be identified as parts of a large anatomical cuirass, especially the lower rolled edge (pp. 119-122). Some fragments allow for identifying the cuirass as a specific variant with shoulder pads (*spallacci*). This is a peculiar type of cuirass and there is no evidence of other examples in Southern Italy. Only the iron cuirass from Prodomi could be a comparison.

Obviously the cuirass and the sword are important goods inside a burial context, but there are other objects that make the panoply exceptional which are the spear and the *harpagones* (grappling hooks). The spear can be found in panoplies that include a large anatomical cuirass (Canosa - Ipogeo Varrese, Conversano t. 10, Lavello t.669 and Timmari t. 33), while the sword is systematically associated with short cuirasses (in at least 15 out of 18 cases) during the entire 4th century BC. On the contrary, it is rare to find swords associated with large cuirasses (only in Cariati and the tomb 33 of Timmari). The presence of the spear has been related by the author to hunting (p. 153), but we should consider it as a battle weapon, as attested on red figure vases of Apulia. The *harpagones* are not associated in any other tomb with a cuirass as far as I know.

The author claims the weapons' resemblance to Greek rather than to Italic types (p. 147), although elsewhere she talks about Italic type and production (Italic-Chalcidian helmet and large anatomical cuirass). Tomb 33 of Timmari seems to present an indigenous and outstanding logic behind the association of the grave goods, as can be observed in other examples (tomb 10 of Conversano, Altamura AGIP, Ipogeo del Vaso di Dario, Ipogeo Monterisi-Rossignoli, tomba del vaso dell'Amazzonomachia, and similar to number 669-2 of Lavello and to Ipogeo Varrese - p. 132).

However, in tomb 33 of Timmari the political message is emphasized by the grave goods and the iconographic subjects of the representations on the pottery set, probably originating from a single workshop located in the Metapontine area (pp. 133-136). Depicted on the main vases are deeds of Greek heroes (also belonging to the Dionysiac world) and female funeral processions. A duality between the heroic and the Orphic worlds seems to be evident (p. 136).

After the analysis of tomb 33 of Timmari, a very precise chronology (331-330 BC) has been proposed (p. 156). This dating may not seem methodical, unless one is able to introduce some historical arguments, as the author does. She gives great importance to the panoply, which according to her includes weapons that identify the dead as a horseman. This could be a status-symbol rather than a military position, but the author also focuses on the interpretation of the *harpagones*. In this way, she cleverly proposes that the dead could have been a military chief connected to the Macedonian world, probably the leader of a 'special force', the *scalatori Agriani* (p. 147). The matter is delicate and debatable, since the author considers a royal connection possible for the dead and identifies him as Alexander Molossus dressed in Macedonian-Epirote fashion and buried with his *chlamys* (p. 153; for a discussion see Silvestrelli quoted above).

Whether Epirote or Italic, it is clear that the grave goods adhere to the behaviour of local élite. The addendum about the Epirote *condottieri* (mercenary leaders) in Southern Italy is interesting but ignores larger problems that this work should explain: the characterization of the warrior and the military structure in Southern Italy at the time of *condottieri*. Only in this way will it be possible to consider the presence of foreign elements and the archaeological evidence at the same time.

Raimon Graells i Fabregat

CAROLINE M. JACKSON/C. WAGER (eds), *Vitreous Materials in the Late Bronze Age Aegean*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2008. 232 pp., figs, colour pls; 24 cm (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 9). – ISBN 978-1-84217-261-2.

The volume is a collection of ten papers delivered at the 9th annual Round Table of the Sheffield Centre for Archaeology in 2005. The aim of the workshop was two-fold: it brought together current understandings of vitreous materials and their place in Aegean societies and suggested further directions of research.

The ten chapters are preceded by an Introduction written by the editors (pp. xi-xxiii) who review the state of research, summarise the key themes discussed in the volume and highlight some specific themes and methodological approaches considered worthy for further exploration. The key themes touched upon in the various papers are the production and origins of vitreous materials and the impact of innovation, which also implies how these new materials and technologies developed and were valued within Aegean societies.

As a prelude to the Aegean, the first two chapters discuss the faience and glass production sites from New Kingdom Egypt. Our understandings of the technology and the organization of production in New Kingdom Egypt are far more advanced, which greatly helps to set the evidence from the Aegean in context. Paul Nicholson (Chapter 1) gives an overview of the evidence, while Thilo Rehren and Edgar Pusch (Chapter 2) concentrate on the material available from one site, Qantir/Pi-Ramesse in the Nile Delta. The Near East and Egypt are considered as the places of origin for glass manufacture; however, until recently glass production in Egypt from raw materials was debated. Based on a detailed analysis of manufacturing debris from Qantir, Rehren and Pusch reconstruct a two-stage model for local glass production, which proves the existence of local raw glass manufacturing.

Two papers focus on the origins and technological aspects of vitreous material production in the Aegean: Marina Panagiotaki (Chapter 3) surveys the development of a variety of vitreous material objects (faience, Egyptian blue frit, glazed stone, glass) found in Minoan and Mycenaean contexts with the aim to properly identify the various kinds of materials, their origins including the raw materials used, and to identify local workshops. With the use of scientific techniques and experimental replication she examines the technical, compositional and stylistic characteristics shared between the Aegean, Near Eastern and Egyptian vitreous materials. Her integrated analysis proves that not only the technology of the production, but also the idea of magical properties of vitreous materials was borrowed from Egypt and the Near East. Michael Tite, Andrew Shortland et al. (Chapter 5) present their work on the identification of raw materials used in the making of Aegean faience, Egyptian blue frit and glass objects and on how they could locate the source of these raw materials with the application of different scientific methods. Compositional analysis combined with laboratory replication of production processes envisaged a complex scenario of production technology: local manufacture using locally available raw material, but with a technology brought from Egypt and/or the Near East.

The introduction and development of new technologies and objects on the palatial economies of the Aegean involved not only the transfer of technological know-how but probably the movement of craftspeople as well in which cross-craft connections played also a prominant role. In her contribution, Karen Polinger Foster (Chapter 8) emphasizes the importance of cross-craft interconnections in the development of Minoan faience production. While Helen Hughes-Brock (Chapter 6) examines how the existing tradition of seal and bead making was influenced by the introduction of glass, and in turn how already existing technologies, such as mould casting applied for the making of gold objects was adapted to glass working, i.e. for the making of relief beads. These issues also raise questions about the identity and status of seal- and bead-makers. Georg Nightingale (Chapter 4) discusses in detail Mycenaean glass and faience beads and other small objects, such as inlays. Besides presenting a useful overview on the different types made locally and imported from elsewhere (not only from the Near East, but also from the West, i.e. from Italy) and on the technological aspects, he also explores the uses and meaning of beads, including their role as markers of identity. For this he uses textual evidence (linear B and Homer) complemented by archaeological data. Value and identity of glass beads, the context of Mycenaean glass production and specifically the 'palatial' production is in the centre of inquiry of John Bennet's paper (Chapter 7). Using largely textual evidence, he argues that relief beads were palace 'brands' carrying the trademark 'Palace™' through their association with palace-based production and authority. The whole manufacture process, the access to raw material, the skilled artisans and organization of production were under control of the palatial elite who distributed these items as 'tokens' among people delivering goods and/or services to the palaces. The biography and value of these glass relief beads were thus intimately linked to the palaces. In the final paper of the volume, Susan Sherratt (Chapter 10) discusses the value and significance of vitreous materials in a wider context and compares them to precious stones (lapis lazuli). She concludes that the value of vitreous materials due to their potential of continued innovation and restricted places of manufacture, more than other materials, is especially fluid and dynamic.

A chronological chart is included at the beginning of the volume (p. x). However it would have been also welcome to include a map indicating the sites mentioned in the contributions, as well as an index. A small number of colour illustrations accompanying the various papers are collected at the end of the volume. The reason of this arrangement might be technical, but from the reader's point of view it is not practical. Aside from these shortcomings, this is an excellent book with high quality contributions, a must read for those interested in early vitreous materials.

Judit Haas-Lebegyev

NEIL BRODIE/JENNY DOOLE/GIORGOS GAVALAS/COLIN RENFREW (eds), *Horizon. A colloquium on the prehistory of the Cyclades*. Cambridge: Mc Donald Institute for Archaeological Research University of Cambridge, 2008. 540 pp., figs; 28.5 cm (McDonald Institute Monographs) – ISBN 978-1-902937-35-6.

The volume under review collects 43 richly illustrated papers of the colloquium on the prehistory of the Cyclades that took place at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research in Cambridge in 2004. It has been more than twenty years since the last major colloquium was organized and published on the topic (J.A. MacGillivray/R.L.N. Barber (eds), *The Prehistoric Cyclades: Contributions to a Workshop on Cycladic Chronology*, Edinburgh 1984). Since then many new findings and important developments have taken place in the archaeology of the Aegean islands, for which reason this volume offers a much awaited major contribution to the field of Cycladic archaeology. The papers present recent archaeological research partly arising from hitherto unpublished excavations ranging in time from the Mesolithic to the end of the Bronze Age.

The individual chapters arranged in chronological order are preceded by an introduction written by editor Renfrew. After a brief review on the history of research on Cycladic prehistory from the pioneering endeavours by Christos Tsountas at the end of the 19th century until the present day, he calls attention to the new directions of research in the field, such as the excavations of rural domestic sites, the need of systematic surveys and urging the use of contextual, diachronic perspective in archaeological research. Traditionally, the focus of Cycladic prehistoric research was and still is the Early Bronze Age, but thanks to recent discoveries our picture on the earlier prehistory of the islands is getting clearer. One of the major new developments is the growing evidence of the Mesolithic phase, which is now extensively documented at cave sites in several islands as well as in mainland Greece, and also attested by an exceptional open-air site at Maroulas on the island of Kythnos

(Sampson, Chapter 2). Although evidence of Early Neolithic occupation on the islands is still lacking, much new information is available on the Later and Final Neolithic phases. The findings at the settlement at Ftelia on Mykonos amplify our picture on Cycladic later Neolithic (Sampson, Chapter 4), whereas the discoveries of the Final Neolithic settlement at Stofilas on Andros (Televantou in Chapter 6) bring entirely new perspectives to our understandings of Cycladic prehistoric developments. The fortification wall and especially the figural representations engraved on rocks anticipate such evidences (known from Korphi t'Aroniou on Naxos) by almost a millennium.

Recent excavations of Early Cycladic settlements of shorter duration such as at Markiani on Amorgos (Marangou et al., Chapter 11) and at Skarkos on Ios (Marthari, Chapter 9) have produced large undisturbed deposits which provide much new information on domestic life during the Early Bronze Age. At Markiani successive phases supplemented by secure radiocarbon determinations have helped to confirm the already established relative chronological sequence of Early Cycladic (Manning, Chapter 7). In these settlements - as is stressed by Renfrew in the introduction - fine ceramic wares and marble objects (figurines and vessels) are strikingly sparse in contrast to the evidence known from cemeteries, but also from Dhaskalio Kavos, a site of special character and significance (Renfrew et al., Chapter 12, Sotirakopoulou, Chapter 13). Future research will hopefully shed more light to interpret this discrepancy. Other aspects of material culture, such as the use of seals and sealings (prominently documented by finds from the Zas cave on Naxos; Zachos and Dousougli, Chapter 10), raise issues about the nature of centralized organisation and administration: their distribution in settlements is all the more interesting in view that they were also found at the above mentioned domestic sites. Our knowledge of some aspects of the Cycladic Early Bronze Age is still patchy, as is shown by some closed find groups from Rivari on Melos representing an until now unknown local cultural group - named the 'Rivari group', which can be dated to the first part of the EC III period, thus preceding the Phylakopi I assemblage of the later EC III (Televantou, Chapter 21, Sampson and Fotiadi, Chapter 22). Some characteristics of the Rivari finds, such as the potter's marks and the *kernoi* are anticipating features known from Phylakopi I. The 'Anatolian' affinities of the pottery, on the other hand, show points of contact with the Kastri group dated to the same time range (Angelopoulou, Chapter 16).

Our knowledge of the Cycladic Middle Bronze Age is significantly enriched by the abundant evidence stemming from Akrotiri, Thera. Series of soundings have brought to light remains of the pre-eruption settlement dating to the Early and Middle Cycladic period (Doumas, Chapter 17 and Nikolakopoulou et al., Chapter 32). Among the large amount of pottery found in the trenches there, are some outstanding examples of figurative art (discussed separately by Papagiannopoulou in Chapter 40). The libation vessel, no 8960 (illustrated in colour and with line-drawings on pp. 441-442, Figs 40.14-20), as described by Renfrew, 'has a pictorial directness which is scarcely seen again in the Aegean until the Red and Black Figure wares of the 6th and 5th centuries BC' (Introduction, p. 6). The uniqueness of the composition lies also in the fact that it apparently predates any known example of figured painting from the region.

After the cultural independence of the Middle Cycladic period, the Late Cycladic I period is marked by 'Minoization'. The material culture of the period is abundantly illustrated by the finds from Akrotiri in its heyday, prior to the eruption, among which the wall-paintings figure prominently (Vlachopoulos, Chapter 41). After the eruption, but already before the Late Minoan IB destructions of the Minoan palaces, imports are mainly restricted to pottery which comes from mainland Greece (Mountjoy, Chapter 42), and the islands show more autonomy.

Although our knowledge of several aspects of Cycladic prehistory is still full of lacunae, the recent developments published in this collection of papers already fill many gaps: an indispensable resource for those interested in the earlier history of the Aegean islands. The references of the individual papers are collected in a bibliography at the end of the book (pp. 493-528), which closes with a detailed index (pp. 529-540).

Judit Haas-Lebegyev

PATRICIA LULOF / CARLO RESCIGNO (eds), *Deliciae Fictiles* IV. *Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy. Images of Gods, Monsters and Heroes*, (Proceedings of the International Conference held in Rome (Museo Nationale Etrusco di Villa Giula, Royal Netherlands Insitute) and Syracuse (Museo Archeologico Regionale 'Paulo Orsi'), October 21-25, 2009). Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011. 633 pp., figs, 16 col. pls, 28 cm. – ISBN 978-1-84217-426-5.

This publication covers the papers read and posters presented during the fourth issue of a series of international conferences that started, in 1990, with a Scandinavian initiative to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Arvid Adrén's landmark work *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*. Its sixty contributions, by members from a truly multinational and multilingual community, cover a broad range of subjects relating to today's architectural terracotta studies in, or from, Italy. In order to offer some focus, the conference's organizers and editors of the proceedings, Patricia Lulof and Carlo Rescigno, specifically invited contributions on acroterial and pedimental coroplastics, including figured high reliefs and ridge-pole statuary. These often exquisitely fashioned, hand-made architectural adornments form a class of finds in its own, since they do not result from easy to reconstruct, standard ways of workshop operation, and neither are the spectacular façades of especially Archaic sanctuaries run-of-the-mill compositions. Instead, one has the impression that keeping up with the Joneses through being able to come up with as much variety and *inventio* as possible played as much a part in the late 6th- and early 5th-century central and south Italic temple decoration commissioners' minds as impressing with volume, size or theme. This said, the organizers did fall slightly short of their ambitions. Only one third of the contributions concern hand-made, or rather: non-serially produced architectural terracotta dec-

oration. The others cover it only partially, or not at all. But the result may please many a palate.

The proceedings, which follow the order of presentation during the conference, are organized according to themes and regions. The general subjects cover interpretative essays on historical and socio-political aspects (Torelli), roof sytems (Edlund-Berry, Lulof), imagery (Strazzulla) and technique (acroterion bases: Winter, picked up later on for Veio-Portonaccio by Michetti and Maras, the latter also in digital form on http://independent.academia.edu/DanieleFedericoMaras/Papers), as well as what might be called character studies, such as on Nike, Amazons, Sirens/Harpies and horses/horsemen. The bulk of the proceedings, however, consists of the publication of new finds, or views on old ones, first in a regional perspective then in a chronological one. Thus, updates, regrettably sometimes in the shape of complete catalogues (Cuma, Capua, Naxos, Syracuse Museum), are presented from Archaic and Post-Archaic Central Italy, from Campania and Magna Grecia, and Sicily. I found the various serial accounts on Veio-Portonaccio, Cerveteri and Ardea especially interesting, as well as one on an enigmatic sphinx from Satriano and another throwing new light on the *anaktoron* at Serra di Vaglio. As the editors correctly point out in the preface, the very finds and their spatial distribution might be interesting in themselves, but more often than not they constitute starting points for more sophisticated inquiries yet to come, bringing to light how much work there is to be done, and how much need there is for a true diversity of approaches and voices. In this light, I appreciated the final section dedicated to posters (dubbed 'Additions'), if only because of the succinctness of the contributions, as well as the abstracts, in alphabetical order by author's name, at the end of the volume. This easy way of providing access, in our field best known from the Ecole française de Rome periodicals, deserves wide adoption.

In a review of the third *Deliciae Fictiles* conference (*BABesch* 82, 2007, 282f), I assumed the subject, though intended for specialists, to be still stomachable for colleagues in other fields. I am afraid this is not the case anymore. To judge by numbers, since 1990 the field of architectural terracotta studies has doubled, from 33 contributions on 310 pages to 66 on over 600 pages now, with a bibliography of now almost two thousand entries. The subject has proliferated, but without resulting in a well-defined body of accepted knowledge. What is needed are critical text books, using accessible language, which make sense of the myriads of observations and *ideae disiectae* in this field. Another Andrén, one would say, but then for the 21st century. But apart from content, there is form. To publish non-refereed conference proceedings on paper - admittedly executed in an exemplary way - with a two years' interval delay, is perhaps less than adequate in an increasingly digital age such as ours. These proceedings are in some cases not more that miniature catalogues, which I doubt were read as such during the conference. That may have been pardoned if only access helps as, for instance, indexes had been present, as was still the case in 1990. If the sector is to come of age, different measures are called for - Maras's web publication of his paper on the Veio acroterion bases pointing the way.

Riemer R. Knoop

GILDA BARTOLONI/M. GILDA BENEDETTINI, con contributi di B. Belelli Marchesini e D. Sarracino. *Veio. Il deposito votivo di Comunità (Scavi 1889-2005)*. Rome, Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2011. 807 pp., 79 figs, 72 pls, 24 cm (Corpus delle Stipi votive in Italia XXI. Regio VII.3). – ISBN 978-88-7689-250-9/ISSN 0391-9293.

Throughout central Italy, large deposits of terracotta models of human figures and body parts are a hallmark of the 3rd-2nd centuries BC; analysis of the cults they represent is a mainstay of Late Etruscan and Republican-era Italic archaeology (see the forthcoming *Bodies of Evidence. Redefining approaches to the anatomical votive*, Conference, British School at Rome, 5 June 2012). The deposits of Veii should tell us about the character of the settlement after the Roman conquest (a question already asked by its 19th-century excavators), and about the social aspects of votive religion and/or medicine.

On the southern slopes of Comunità (Veii's city plateau), opposite Piazza d'Armi, a massive deposit of offerings of the 5th through 2nd centuries BC was buried; today it constitutes the largest major deposit known for the region of Veii and Rome. Some 2000 finds were recovered in Lanciani's excavation of 1889 (half were retained), and emergency excavations prompted in later years by clandestine activities, through 2005, have augmented the picture (see tables, pp. 737-766). Here, the site is called 'Pendici di Comunità' - so my entry under 'Pendici Piazza d'Armi' should be amended in 'Anatomical votives,' *ThesCRA* I (2004) 365 no 318c. In fact, Cardinal Flavio Chigi probably excavated here in 1669, collecting similar statues and anatomical models now in the Florence Museo Archeologico; related material is in Bologna Museo Civico. Lanciani found objects heaped a meter deep in an irregular but carefully terraced trench 75 x 15 m, covered by a meter of earth. He thought he had found the temple of Juno Regina, but no temple has yet been located, although architectural terracottas, one with Juno's goat-horn headdress (pp. 781-782, 727-731) have been found (but see Belelli Marchesini on topography, pp. 769-777). A goddess (Juno, Menerva, Ceres/Vea) was likely worshipped here.

The project's sponsor, the Empress of Brazil, died in 1889, and many objects were dispersed, the bronzes lost. Ludwig Stieda was especially interested in the anatomicals, and purchased some which are now in Giessen. The 'dismemberment' of the deposit is fully described, with finds today in many Italian and European museums, some as far as Rio de Janeiro.

Pottery attests continuous use of the area from late Orientalizing, with some cult active in the Archaic period (architectural and ceremonial terracottas, p. 779) and 5th century (figurines, Attic vases, p. 780). After a hiatus following the Roman conquest of 396 BC, the cult re-established during the later 4th century had a new, perhaps 'plebeian,' character, demonstrated in the votive types. The rich deposit was sealed in the second half of the 2nd century BC. The decline of small farms under Roman rule ended the use of these extramural sanctuaries (p. 790).

The massive catalogue describes finds stored or documented in five major museums/collections in Italy,

with references to many dispersed pieces. Much of the analysis could only be based on formal typology previously established for mold-made votives. The offerings include statues, busts and heads of human figures, swaddled infants, and anatomical models (the received typology inserts small figurines of animals, humans, gods between the complete statues and the models of human organs). Other finds include loom-weights and pottery (for vases, see Sarraceni, pp. 707-726; 776-777).

In contrast to statues (some are rare larger-than-life-size) and heads, anatomical models are modestly represented: 1 eye, 4 ears, 1 tongue, 9 breasts, 7 uteri (15 more in Florence, Bologna and Giessen), 11 male genitals. 'Limbs' (108 plus 182 fragments) - arms, legs, hands and feet - occur in higher proportions, as in most sanctuaries; arms/hands are often in orans pose. More unusual are torsos with (6) or without (9) exposed internal organs, and models of internal organs (7 'bladders' (which I would identify as isolated testicles due to the size, shape and blood vessel evident on the upper surface, but see the authors' arguments describing a bladder, pp. 488-489, 495) and 9 highly stylized polyvisceral plaques. One other category, originally called '*cippetti*' in the *Corpus delle stipi*, but rendered in the same pseudo-naturalistic style as other human organs, are (correctly, I think) identified as stylized human hearts (pp. 693-697) matching the hearts in polyvisceral plaques and torsos made in Veii. Some small right hands have been identified as infantile; matching left hands in the Veii-Porta Caere sanctuary indicate a local workshop. Two heads, one hand, four feet and a loom-weight have incised letters (V, I, P, A, *chi*: see pl. 91). Tables (pp. 740-750) with thumbnail photos encourage comparison of the mold-made feet: (one deformed toe is said to show aging… see p. 479, pl. 67f). The presence of bunions and other deformities in a population famous for its fashionable footwear raises the issue of the Etruscan gloss (*TLE* 821) *capys*, for a man with the claw-toe condition, normally only acquired from ill-fitting shoes.

The torsos and partial statues are a distinctive feature of this deposit, rarely seen elsewhere: nude, headless and limbless, they included male and female types, many near lifesize. Since none has a mold-sibling, they are reminders that we know only the tiniest fraction of the products of the workshops of Hellenistic Veii - each mold would have produced dozens or hundreds of identical models. They remind us of modern medical illustrations; a few such bodies have (despite clothing) 'incisions' revealing extremely stylized internal organs, rendered like polyvisceral plaques, while 11 others (plus fragments), all male, represent the body from just above the navel to the feet, but with drapery covering everything in between. Parallels for these are Etruscan, at Vulcian Tessennano and Caeretan Pyrgi. These models, so different from other votives, must represent a healing specialty of the Veian cult, although it is not clear if the pre-conquest shrine had the same character, nor was there room at the site for any medical facility as at Epidauros.

The closest parallels to most Veian votives lie in nearby Faliscan Narce, Latium and Rome (or else Veian workshops supplied votives to these areas) - this material merits XRF and other laboratory analysis. Within the generalized, 'plebeian' character of the offerings, some trends are noted: it appears that the Etruscan cities did not share the enthusiasm of Latin towns for certain types, like individual eyes, but did create their own traditions of internal organs and statuary. A very high proportion of isolated heads is noted (p. 785). Whether statues and heads are depicted *capite velato* or bareheaded is sometimes interpreted as ethnic preference, Roman versus Etruscan, but if so, then this population was evenly mixed (in contrast to the Veii-Macchiagrande cult where all heads were veiled). The detailed catalogue entries and thoughtful, authoritative commentary (pp. 467-501) are invaluable for those researching other terracottas; simply browsing the illustrations will give non-specialists a very different perspective on the minds of the Etruscan and Italic masses under the Late Republic.

Jean MacIntosh Turfa

Luigi Todisco, (ed.), *La Puglia Centrale dall'età del bronzo all'alto medioevo. Archeologia e storia*. Atti del Convegno di Studi (Bari, 15-16 giugno 2009). Rome, Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2010. XVI +695 pp., 79 figs, 72 pls; 24 cm (Archaeologica 157) – ISBN 978-88-7689-249-3/ISSN 0391-9293.

This massive book records presentations from a conference dedicated to one portion of Apulia; published in very timely fashion, it serves to introduce the sites, finds and topics that will define the development of studies of Italic and Italiot southern Italy. The amount of information contained here is remarkable, although it will be difficult for uninitiated readers to glean a general background and would have benefitted from an editor's introduction, as well as a basic map (many specialized maps and plans are included).

Bibliography and illustrations for the entire volume are arranged at the end; indices are welcome, and adequate for people, places, proper names including a list of vase-painters, but minimal for other terms. The sometimes heated discussions of the original conference (pp. 545-584) are difficult to use if one was not present to hear them. Topics demonstrate the remarkable variety of the cultures and structures of this region even before the advent of Greek settlers… and the continuation through the medieval period is particularly interesting.

Articles begin with extremely brief pieces on landscape and environment (an anthropological study was disappointingly old-fashioned, analyzing cranial measurements and estimating weights of some ancient and medieval mortuary populations, cf. discussion pp. 545-552). The rest of the material is arranged in chronological sections: Central Apulia in the Bronze Age; settlement and economy of Peucetia through the Iron Age to 4th century BC, its society, cults and funerary rituals from the Archaic through Hellenistic periods, production and exchange (especially pottery and coinage); then Central Apulia in the Roman era, and ending with the Late Antique and medieval periods. (Landscape and environment recur in articles on the Roman-era population.) E.M. De Juliis, in a survey of Peucetia, as well as other authors, illustrates goldwork (pl. XVIII) and other masterpieces, including imports, from Apulian tombs, that also point up the tragic situation of plundering of archaeological sites since the 19th century.

The threads of funerary studies, cults, trade and the exploitation of the land, as well as social organization, may be traced through all periods … even jewelry has resonances (or contrasts) between the 1st millennium BC (A. Riccardi, amber) and the medieval period (M. Rizzi), when the ongoing reaction to Greek art continues, in a way, with the influence of Byzantine traditions. A.C. Montanaro, on foreign imports and resident aliens, includes evidence of warriors buried with Samnite cuirasses at Ruvo (p. 191, pl. XXIIc), with implications for military history and the Mercenary War of Carthage.

The sections on Bronze Age, Peucetian settlement, and the Roman and medieval period begin with surveys, by F. Radina, E.M. De Juliis, R. Cassano and A. Felle, respectively; F. Grelle and M. Silvestrini offer historical discussions for the Archaic through Roman eras. There is growing interest, and much new research, on the Italic and related cults of the peninsula; information relevant to this is split between different sections (D. Coppola on 'pre-Classical' Peucetian cult places, L. Todisco on Classical and Hellenistic cults, and R. Cassano on Roman-era cults and culture).

One may follow diachronically (through the patchy archaeological and textual evidence) the development of cults, from the Bronze Age, mainly funerary cult which reacts to natural features like caves, and includes such monuments as the prehistoric Giovinazzo dolmens (F. Radina, pl. VIIb) through Iron Age, mainly Archaic, cults attested by evidence of water-related sacred places, votive deposits implying cults of Demeter and Kore, and perhaps Aphrodite, not quite reconciled with the sparse ancient literary sources (e.g. an Artemision that held a dedication by Diomedes). The sanctuaries show melding of cultural traits, e.g. in the 5th-century silver *fibulae* dedicated in Greek letters by Messapic Rhamia and Myrtho (F. Ferrandi Trioisi, pl. XVc, d). In the Hellenistic through Roman eras, down to the 4th century AD, there is scattered evidence of temples (as on the acropolis of Egnazia, pl. LVIa) and a steady process of importation (along with staples and luxury merchandise) of foreign cults such as that of Magna Mater, recognized in votive figurines of funerary cult at Egnazia. Several articles in the last section touch on medieval Christian funerary ritual, while other, ancient funerary studies also obviously include information on cults.

This area was already attracting visitors and wealth in the Bronze Age, as demonstrated in finds, sparse but emerging with increasing frequency, of painted pottery and other imports from the Aegean and Baltic (G. Recchia). Archaic exchange and commerce are well attested at Monte Sannace and Gravina, in imports of Late Geometric painted wares, then of Corinthian and Corcyrean fabrics, and colonial versions of 'Ionian cups', with bronzes gaining in popularity through the 6th century BC (where the survey of A. Ciancio stops).

A significant number of articles deal with ceramics, especially painted or luxury wares. Bronze Age pottery and studies of its manufacture are treated (by G. Recchia and I. Muntoni) for their application to the study of trade and social organization. Iron Age and later vases figure large in the funerary repertoire, and also in the identification and analysis of specific artists' fabrics and styles: Sub-Geometric (A. Amatulli), Iapygian Geometric (A. Amatulli, A. Ciancio, S. Vania), Italiot painters and workshops (G. Gadaleta), pre-red-figured fabrics (M. Maggialetti), Peucetian iconography (C. Roscino), overpainted ceramics (V.M. Soleti), Roman-era ceramic manufacture (M.D. De Filippis; R. Conte on amphorae in trade); also importation of Attic vases (C. Lucchese).

In the survey of monumental painting by G. Gadaleta, readers who may only know the famous Dancers of Ruvo may be surprised by the number and quality of architecturally elaborated and/or painted tombs. Unfortunately, this and other surveys are not well illustrated, so general readers will need to consult older encyclopedic works such as Scheiwiller's Antica Madre series, *Italia omnium terrarum alumna* (Milan, 1988), *Megale Hellas* (1986) and *Italia omnium terrarum parens* (1989).

This volume will be a mine of timely information and food for thought - mainly for experts in the archaeology of southern Italy: the articles are brief yet extremely dense and packed with data from recent excavations and research, but they will be daunting to readers not familiar with South Italian history and specialist archaeological jargon.

Jean MacIntosh Turfa

JORMA KAIMIO, *The Cippus Inscriptions of Museo Nazionale di Tarquinia*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2010. xii + 217 pp., numerous photos, facsimiles in text; 24 cm (Archaeologia 154/Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia XVIII). – ISBN 978-88-7689-242-4.

Etruscan cities manifested unique identities in traditions like the inscribed funerary cippi of Tarquinia. It appears that, as customs changed at the end of the 4th century, and a burgeoning middle class shared places within large tombs, new means developed to mark the identity of the deceased. Small stone cippi, with or without inscriptions, were erected near the entrances to group tombs. The custom became popular first at Praeneste, then at Caere, Vulci and Tarquinia, variously implemented: at Caere, gender is shown in the form of a gabled, house-like block for females, a cylinder/pillar for males. Kaimio estimates about 1200 inscribed cippi known in total, about 1/3 in Etruscan, the majority in Latin, as the tradition continued through the 1st century BC and sometimes beyond.

Kaimio has personally identified 323 cippus inscriptions preserved in the collection in the Museo Nazionale of Tarquinia (including a few that now cannot be located). The section titled 'Edition' comprises several unpublished texts (14 Etruscan, 26 Latin), as well as 35 previously published Etruscan and 39 Latin epitaphs, followed by a simpler listing, inconveniently mingling Etruscan with Latin, of most other Tarquinian inscribed cippi, including some from Tuscania, listed by previous corpus numbers (*CIE*, *CIL*), plus 46 cippi from the Fondo Scataglini excavations. These represent many families of Hellenistic Tarquinia; most are simply names, many record age at death.

Kaimio modestly combines archaeological/art-historical and epigraphic/linguistic studies, as both text and carrier are meaningful. Items he autopsied are thor-

oughly catalogued, with photos, squeezes and facsimile drawings. Pp. 7-14 discuss typology. Tarquinian cippi show no gender differentiation like those of Caere; of the 87 cippi that Kaimio was able to study intensively, the majority were of 'shoulder type' rising from a broad base. Format ranges from block forms to double-columns and 'portrait' heads, like the famous head of Arnth Paipna (*CIE* 5428, *ET* Ta 1.2; pp. 7-8 with small photo); unfortunately, this cippus is not in Kaimio's catalogue, presumably omitted because it is sculptural, dated to the late 4th century, while all the cippi here are of the 2nd-1st century (see O.J. Brendel, *Etruscan Art*, New Haven 1995, 399 fig. 307). Note also a striking, primitive version, no 96, of the freedman C. Quintius Iucundus, with rudimentary, slit-like features, not at all resembling a 27-year old man.

At Tarquinia the first cippi appeared in the second half of the 4th century; until mid- 3rd century all inscriptions are in Etruscan. During the 2nd century Latin was phased in, and all were Latin by the 1st century; the practice ceased in the second half of the 1st century BC. The Tarquinian corpus includes eight *quattuorviri* including Etruscan families such as the Vettii and Volumnii. In the use of Latin one might expect an influx of 'carpetbaggers' with Latin names taking over the region after the wars with Rome, as *minores gentes* gained political power at the expense of the aristocracy. Instead, most names may be traced to local, southern or general Etruscan origins, even when Latinized; it appears that many citizens simply Latinized as quickly as possible after the Roman takeover.

Tarquinians remained Etruscan at the core, however, with a good 40% of the inscribed cippi naming women (similar ratios applied in those inscribed in Latin, and in epitaphs of other cities.) Kaimio warns of statistical pitfalls: the cippi attest to 90 Tarquinian *gentilicia*: he estimates a Hellenistic population of 20,000-40,000 inhabitants; over the six generations when tombs and cippi were in use, the total population would have been between 150,000 and 200,000 souls. We know 130 epitaphs for this entire period - he estimates that 1000 *gentilicia* must have existed, so our current picture may be unrealistic.

With one possible exception (no 317, p. 192), no Etruscan epitaphs indicate 'unfree origins'; in the Latin epitaphs many freed-persons appear, nearly half of them female. Among the curiosities: no 14 is an Orvietan conical basalt cippus of Lartia Tusnui, a woman who presumably married into a Tarquinian family, pre-264 BC (?). One man, Arnth Apries (no 45, *ET* Ta 1.174) was a *trutnuth*, practicing divination (see J.M. Turfa, *Divining the Etruscan World*, Cambridge 2012, 47-51 on this terminology); another, L. Papinius, was a *haruspex* (*harispex*, Latin no 163, 1st century BC or AD).

Aule Ursumnas (no 72) had been *zilath* (*zilachnu*) before he died aged 56 in the later 2nd century; his name seems to match that of the aristocratic woman with mirror depicted in the Tomba Bruschi (see *ET* Ta 7.86, V. Vincenti, *La Tomba Bruschi di Tarquinia*, Rome 2009, 101-102, pl. X). In Latin we find other professions, including *opstetrix* (no 164), *flamen* (no 297, also *quattuorvir*), *tibicen* (no 165). Another Tarquinian name, *Orclnia Auli filia*(?) (no 93) is surely close to the name of Urgulania and her granddaughter of Augustan-era fame: here is a case where Kaimio's squeezes have allowed correction of a dubious reading of this worn cippus. Several names reflect the great families of the past, the Aninas, Curunas, Vipinas, Spurinas et al.

The practice of recording age at death is prominent in Tarquinia and Volterra; the Latin cippi of Tarquinia continue the tradition and considerably augment this data. Children are commemorated in both language categories, from age 2 on; longevity appears rather better among Latin epitaphs. Etruscan cippi record three individuals deceased at age 60, while Latin cippi cite twelve individuals of 60 years, another eleven of 65 years, and six aged 80-81, contrasted to one octogenarian Etruscan man. One wonders if counting age was as precise in these later generations, or if 60 and 65 were convenient approximations. Latin cippi name men of 85 and 86 years - and two women of 94 and 95 years (Spurinnia and Netia daughter of Sextus, ethnically Etruscan by their names). High ages recorded for women in Etruscan epitaphs are rare.

Kaimio raises questions that cannot - yet - be definitively answered - but it is indeed time to begin the process. Statistical and comparative studies have a wealth of demographic data to offer, one topic being the presumed Romanization of Hellenistic Etruria. A wealth of raw data (like no 15, 11-year-old Eleutheros slave of the Caesennii, or no 20, T. Julius Eytycana married to his former owner) await scholars in this corpus, made much more accessible by Kaimio's careful recording and analysis.

Jean MacIntosh Turfa

BABETTE BECHTOLD, *The Pottery Repertoire from Late 6th-Mid 2nd Century BC Carthage. Observations based on the Bir Messaouda Excavations. Carthage Studies* 4. Ghent: Department of Archaeology, Ghent University, 2010. 82 pp., 37 figs, 30 tables (some color maps, graphs); 24 cm. – ISBN 978-90-78848-05-9.

This is the fourth brief volume publishing interim results of studies on the University of Amsterdam's Bir Messaouda site, treating the pottery, in unexpected quantity and variety, of the Middle and Late Punic strata, down to the Roman sac of 146 BC, and suggesting some avenues of statistical inquiry into Carthaginian history and economy. Bechtold has documented the pottery from the Hamburg, Amsterdam and Belgian-Tunisian excavations of the past 24 years and brings this to bear in the current work. She speaks here with considerable yet modest authority on material from closed contexts. Pottery distribution is beginning to support a characterization of the diverse residential neighborhoods; figs 1-2, maps showing all three excavation sites, would be more useful when oriented on a full-city map. Bechtold furnishes a chronological table of periods: Early Punic = Archaic - Late Archaic (periods I-V of the Hamburg Decumanus Maximus excavations), 760-480 BC, with subdivisions; Middle Punic spans 480-300 BC and Late Punic 300-146 BC. Middle Punic II.2 covers an entire century (400-300 BC) as does Late Punic I (300-200), and one hopes that these eras of great historical interest will one day be better defined

chronologically, in spite of problems of stratigraphy and preservation. The relative paucity of diagnostic material for the 5th-4th centuries was explained by Roald Docter (in *Atti V Congresso Studi Fenici e Punici*, Università degli Studi di Palermo 2005, I, 269-279, cited here) by reference to a change in the municipal trash collection system: from about 550 BC onwards, trash was no longer used as terracing fill, but was carted beyond the city limits.

Much information presented here will be of use for those making intensive studies of specific pottery fabrics, workshops, or vases found elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Data on forms and fabrics are assembled from selected contexts: Bechtold is painfully honest on the amounts and drawbacks of different deposits; presumably, complete tallies will appear in the final report; illustrations consist entirely of profile- and line-drawings, of obviously fragmentary vessels.

Some details: The Ionian bowls, so familiar across the Mediterranean, find abundant parallels in the Punic, native and Greek (Megara Hyblaea) settlements of Sicily, but Carthage finds have extended the chronological life of the group to cover virtually all of the 6th century from about 580 on, with negative implications for use in dating. Attic Black Gloss (especially lamps and drinking vessels) appears early in the 5th century (on evidence from the Hamburg excavations - it is much scarcer in Bir Messaouda). Attic lamps quickly supplanted Punic double-wick lamps.

By the Middle Punic period, Archaic Red Slip and Bichrome wares are pretty well phased out, with Red Slip developing into Punic Red Painted ware (leading in turn to Middle Punic Painted ware). The fabric seems to have begun as early as the 7th century in closed forms, but open forms do not appear until the 5th century. In locally made kitchen wares, Greek-style *chytra* and *lopades* appear in mid-5th century (p. 19), supposedly influenced by Greek Sicily: this phenomenon goes deeper than random fashions, however, since such casseroles belong to a different cuisine, and may indicate changes in the ethnic complexion of Carthage at this time. Fragments of *tabouna*-ovens illustrate Punic/Levantine food styles through the 5th century (continuing, at least in Sardinia, into the 2nd century BC).Most transport amphorae are local; a small number represent the impressively wide area of the sources: Andalusia, Calabria, Corfu, Punic Sardinia, the south Tyrrhenian, Ionia and Phoenicia. The later 5th-4th centuries see northern Aegean amphorae and an increase in Sardinian imports, indicative of the political situation in the central Mediterranean. In the same period, Attic wine services increase, especially cups, possibly attesting Punic adoption of the Greek *symposion*. Attic Black Gloss with superposed white ('Picazo class'), produced specifically for the Iberian, western and central Mediterranean markets, was quite popular in Carthage and Sardinia, especially in the 5th century; Bechtold (p. 26) suggests it was exported through Carthage. From early 5th until mid-4th century, Attic Black Gloss seems to have been the preferred fine-ware for Carthaginians; in the second half of the 4th century, Italian Black Gloss is substantially imported.

The Late Punic era (300-200 BC) sees Greek imports drop off dramatically, but in the city, 3rd century contexts are very rare (pp. 37-38). A variety of Punic and Graeco-Italic amphorae appear; some retain black deposits, possibly resin, implying wine (p. 63), but what other contents are attested - oil, fish/*garum*, other? One hopes that the final report will publish spectrographic or other analyses. A great deal of material represents the last days/years before 146 BC, as may be expected at any destruction site. This includes various Italian Black Gloss wares, and small amounts of Spanish fabrics (Tarraconensian Grey Ware jugs and distinctive Iberian Painted Ware *kalathoi*). Amphorae, forming 20% of domestic deposits, illustrate retrenchment, with use of local, North African products instead of imports (pp. 60-65); Campanian Black Gloss tableware, however, dominates the domestic profiles of the 2nd century. Bechtold suggests (p. 65) that shiploads of Italian goods passed through Carthage: Black Gloss was siphoned off for the metropolis, but Italian amphorae - and their contents - were transshipped to the western Mediterranean, along with fresh Carthaginian products.

One lapse in Carthage bibliography: Vegas 2002a and 2002b, cited notes 9 and 21, are not in the bibliography.

The city of Carthage was for centuries a leading metropolis in the Mediterranean world, driven by its great commercial families, its factional politics and the civic pride of its distinctive neighborhoods. We might expect to see diversity, wealth and cosmopolitan tastes in the materials uncovered by excavation - and we do - but to a lesser extent than projected. The Roman destruction and later imperial-era prosperity have contributed to a skewed picture of its former life; the final reports of the various foreign and Tunisian archaeological missions should one day amend this picture. Bechtold's preliminary analysis of pottery from the Bir Messaouda sites points us in the right direction to begin such investigation.

Jean MacIntosh Turfa

L.B. van der Meer, *Etrusco Ritu. Case studies in Etruscan ritual behaviour*. Louvain/Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2011. 167 pp., ill.; 27 cm (Monographs on Antiquity, vol. V). – ISBN 978-90-429-2538-0.

The recent publication of proceedings of congresses, monographs and collaborative works gives evidence of a renewed general interest in the religions of pre-Roman Italy, as shown for instance by volumes such as N.T. de Grummond, E. Simon (eds), *The Religion of the Etruscans* (2006), L. Bonfante, J. Swaddling, *Etruscan Myths* (2006), M. Becker, M. Gleba (eds), *Votives, Places and Rituals in Etruscan Religion* (2009), N.T. de Grummond, I.E.M. Edlund-Berry (eds), *The Archaeology of Sanctuaries and Ritual in Etruria* (2011), and on a larger scale by J. Scheid's project 'Fana, Templa, Delubra. Corpus des lieux de culte dans l'Italie antique'.

At the same time, some important achievements in the comprehension of ritual and religious issues relating to the antiquity have been obtained by comparative studies, putting together methods of anthropology, philology and archaeology. A most recent exposition of the *status quaestionis* has been presented in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion*, edited by T. Insoll (2011).

This is the context in which the reviewed book be-

longs, as a courageous attempt to catch in an overall vision the whole material on Etruscan rituals.

Apart from some short chapters at the beginning, dedicated to theoretical and methodological issues, the subject is divided into three branches, related respectively to family rituals, funerary contexts and public events, delving into some significant issues and pieces of evidence, and thus collecting and examining case studies, as declared by the subtitle of the book.

The intention of the author is to show a list of possible applications of ritual in the Etruscan civilization, clearly not owing to collect a complete corpus of the disposable evidence. Nonetheless, one of the major merits of the volume is its possible use as a sourcebook of ancient sources and modern studies on ritual in Etruria.

Dealing with different kinds of ritual behaviours the author makes use of different sources, having as main reference texts of Classical authors (though much later than the Etruscans), and comparing them with archaeological finds, iconography, and epigraphy. It is thus apparent to the reader the complexity and extent of the subject, which envolves almost any aspect of the society and can be investigated from several points of view.

As a result, the presentation of evidence regarding each topic is extremely variable and, although the eloquence and clarity of the author allows to follow easily the thread of the exposition, it is often difficult to understand the level of likelihood of every single piece of evidence.

For example the presentation of wedding rituals is mainly founded upon iconographic evidence coming from an archaic cippus from Poggio Gaiella, as compared to a late-archaic mirror from Sestino, the late-Orientalising bucchero olpe of *Metaia* from Caere and the Hellenistic *tympanum* from Civitalba. The list shows how desultory and dispersed in time is the evidence at our disposal to reconstruct rituals and ceremoniality of wedding, and some very interesting and valuable achievements of the author will surely arouse further discussion on the argument.

Further passages refer to birth, adoption and transition to adulthood, which are mainly investigated by means of iconographic material of engraved mirrors (subject in which the author shows his mastery and experience): the results of this survey can be usefully compared with the archaeological evidence coming from funerary contexts, and from votive terracottas and offerings relating to fertility-cults and cults of transition found in sanctuaries.

Healing and divination have been included amongst family rituals, presumably regarding them as related to individuals, a choice that actually diminishes the presentation of the latter, which has been considered as the most important Etruscan ritual practice until the Late Antiquity.

Being more linked to archaeological evidence, the chapter on funerary rituals is structured in a very different way: it is divided into paragraphs dealing with evidence from different periods, analyzed and compared in order to show the evolution in the deposition of grave-goods in burials. The presentation is perhaps too simple and short to give an account of the huge evidence disposable; but in the context of a reference book on the subject of ritual, it is sufficient to explain to the reader how the material is geographically and chronologically distributed. Further paragraphs on literary, epigraphic and iconographical evidence for funerary cults have been added to make the picture clearer.

The last part of the volume is dedicated to public rituals and is mainly composed of short paragraphs on calendar rituals (documented by original Etruscan sources, such as the *Tabula Capuana*, and the *Liber* of *Zagreb*), and on the so-called *Libri Rituales* recorded by Classical authors, but also on processions, games and initiations.

A prominent exception is the paragraph on the foundation of planned cities, which constitutes one of the most important and useful parts of the volume, as it provides much reference material and presents hypotheses and suggestions, which will certainly stimulate scientific discussions on the subject. Literary sources are here commented and integrated with the results of modern studies on the organization of founded towns and on the archaeological evidence for *cippi* and oriented buildings and roads. The relationship and opposition between Etruscan *haruspices* and Latin *augures* is also discussed.

Some final words are to be spent about what is missing in the volume. As we pointed out, except for funerary rituals, evidence of archeological contexts is generally little treated, with special regard to sanctuaries and votive religion: for instance the reader could find strange in a book on ritual the absence of a chapter on sacrifice or on offerings. Moreover, there could have been place for all sorts of further profane rituals, from institutional roles and functions to the symbols of royalty, and from ceremonial dress to the triumph, as a specimen of military rituals.

But far from affect the reading of this book, these lacks are as many suggestions for a further volume, relating to the continuation of the author's work: after all it is impossible for us to separate definitely religous and ritual behaviour from any other aspect of public and private life in ancient cultures.

Daniele F. Maras

LAURA AMBROSINI, *Il santuario di Portonaccio a Veio III. La cisterna arcaica con l'incluso deposito di età ellenistica (scavi Santangelo 1945 - 1946)*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider, 2009. 353 pp., 69 figs, 75 pls; 33.5 cm (Monumenti antichi, 67; Monumenti antichi. Serie miscellanea, 13). – ISBN 978-88-7689-246-2.

This impressive, well documented and illustrated volume presents artifacts which were found by Maria Santangelo in the archaic, cylindrical cistern and *pozzo* between the temple and the altar in the Sanctuary of Portonaccio at Veii in 1945 and 1946. Cistern and pit probably were one and the same unit. Santangelo never published the results. Using Santangelo's handwritten diaries and the labels of artifacts in the stores of the Villa Giulia Laura Ambrosini, under the *aegis* of Giovanni Colonna, could trace most items. Unfortunately, the exact position or layers of finds in the pit had not been registered by Santangelo so that original contexts of deposited materials are unknown. The main importance of the research is the fact that the cistern con-

tained artifacts almost all of which can be dated after the Rome's conquest of Veii in 396 BC. They show the continuation of cultic activities after that year and provide precious information about the social, economic and artistic networks of the city. The core of the book is an excellent *catalogue raisonné* of 546 vases with countless profile drawings, 43 terracotta votives (among which arms, hands and feet) and five unidentified architectural terracottas, as well as four bronze artifacts (no mirrors). The pots are described according to ceramic classes: *ceramica a fasce* (with black horizontal stripes), Attic black-gloss, Etruscan red-gloss, and red-figure ceramics, vases with black ornaments, black-gloss vases with overpainted decoration, black-gloss ceramic (271 items), and unpainted fineware, *unguentaria* (for perfumes), *ceramica grezza* (Middle Republican coarse ceramic but not identical to Gjerstad's archaic coarseware), and Internal-Slip Ware, all with subdivisions into groups, types, painters or productions. Each class description is preceded by an up to date introduction to the production place(s), development(s) and chronology. Very useful are the comparisons with vases found in known contexts elsewhere in Veii, Etruria, Sardinia, Corsica, Latium, Campania and Spain. In view of the catalogue and countless other recent ceramic studies, J. Beazley's monograph *Etruscan Vase Painting* (1947) should be rewritten, the more since M. Martelli's *Ceramica etrusca* (1987) only deals with painted vases. Some classes, e.g. red-gloss ceramic, need more study (p. 42). Ambrosini's publication on unpainted fineware (p. 167) is forthcoming. No bucchero was found but it did influence many forms (p. 166). Most vases date from the end of the 4th century to ca 250 BC. The most recent ones may show that the depositions ended around 200/150 BC (p. 286). They indicate that Veii went into decline in the 2nd century BC. Cultic activities around the altar also stopped at the same time. Among the causes probably were the effects of the Second Punic War on the *Ager Veientanus*. It is likely that the cistern was dug and its superior part built around 550 BC (p. 305), while later it was reutilized as a votive deposit inside the sanctuary (*favissa*). Because many vases are unbroken, they may have been carefully deposited or, less likely, if thrown, water may have broken their fall (p. 284). There are slight indications that materials from different periods were deposited together (p. 283). A problem is how the vases were used before the deposition: as votives, for the temple service, for sacrifices (offerings of food and libations), and/or as banquet and/or symposium ware? By whom were they used or given? Most comparable materials have also been found on four other sacred places at Veii which suggests that the bulk was of votive character. The fact that colorless ceramic usually has closed, and black gloss has open forms points to a combined ritual use during banquets and symposia (p. 166). Few vases mention a dedicant and/or a receiving god: for example an *olpetta* (cat. no 385) reads: *L. Tolonio(s) ded.(e) Menerva* (' Lucius Tolonios gave to Menerva'; ca 300-250 BC). The author deals at length (as in former publications) with the interpretation of the well known terracotta votive group of a war elephant, her baby and a probably opposed Cerberus (symbol of death), originally probably standing on a circular base (pp. 223-225; 234-247, 288, fig. 51, color pl. 75). Her suggestion is that the group refers to the Battle of Benevento in 275 BC where a small elephant of Pyrrhus of Epirus was wounded. The group may have been given to the sanctuary by a Roman soldier after the battle. A separate chapter is dedicated to materials formerly preserved at Isola Farnese which may originate from the *pozzo* excavation in 1946 (p. 255). Ambrosini has studied 49 finds. They are similar to those mentioned above, apart from a *thymiaterion* of *impasto* and three miniature thrones of terracotta (p. 277). Another, last chapter presents, after the Conclusions, the results of the rediscovery of the cistern in 1996 and 2006, dealt with by Barbara Belelli Marchesini. She enlightens us on the structure of the pit which had a capacity of at least 91,000 liters; for comparison: the one at Piazza d'Armi in Veii could contain 300,000 liters. The 49 new finds studied by Ambrosini include two *bucchero* vases, and some pieces belong to the four centuries before 396 BC. The appendix offers a biography of M. Santangelo (1913-1998) written by Maria Letizia Arancio and Santangelo's bibliography made by Ambrosini. Finally there are useful indices. There are some small deficiencies. For example A.J. Nijboer's studies mentioned on p. 287 are not included in a note or in the bibliography. If there are conflicting opinions, e.g. about the status of Tolonios and Menerva (pp. 169-171 and 287), the Author does not always take a clear position or give her own interpretation. A map with the exact position of the cistern in the sanctuary is missing. Ambrosini's research almost took two decades and the results are remarkable. Especially, the catalogue is very useful for those who excavate or study Republican sanctuaries, cisterns, tombs and settlements in Italy. Now we await Colonna's delayed part II on the Portonaccio sanctuary.

L.B. van der Meer

PETRA AMANN, *Die antiken Umbrer zwischen Tiber und Apennin unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Einflüsse aus Etrurien*. Wien: Verlag Holzhausen, 2011. 476 pp., 134 figs, 1 separate colour map; 24.8 cm. – ISBN 978-3-85493-185-0.

This very tastefully edited, voluminous book of Petra Amann, her *Habilitationschrift* (2010), is dedicated to the western part of Umbria, more specifically, the area between the Tiber and the ridges of the Apennines, from Ocriculum in the south to almost Mevaniola, Sarsina and Sestinum in the north (the later Augustan *Regio VI Umbra*). The Tiber was, until Augustus, never a stable frontier between Etruria and Umbria (see the double hatched areas on the map p. 29, and the most recent results of the Cambridge Montelabate project in the area between Perugia and Gubbio (http://www.arch.cam.ac.uk/projects/montelabate/). The period dealt with spans from the Bronze Age until ca 90 BC. Amann focuses much of her attention on the influences coming from Etruria. She brings to light most aspects of West Umbrian culture in a modern, up to date, systematic and compiling manner. Chapter 1 presents the state and scope of the research, 2 the geographical area, 3 the 'thorny' question of the beginnings in connection with

the ethnic formation of the Etruscans, 4 Umbrian expansion towards the Adria and the Po valley, 5 cultural development from the 9th to the 1st century BC, 6 settlements and urbanization, 7 funeral ideology, 8 socio-political organization, 9 economic evolution and life style, 10 religious phenomena, and 11 finalizes the work with concluding remarks. The Appendix contains 45 inscriptions in the Umbrian language, listed according to find-spots, all brief and dated after ca 400 BC, a dramatically low number compared to the more than 10,000 Etruscan inscriptions. Although there are some exceptions, very few inscriptions are private. Summaries of the long texts of the seven famous *Tabulae Iguvinae* (the Bronze Tables of Gubbio, dated to ca 220-100/80 BC) are presented on pp. 219-220, 280-285; 291-293; 361-372. An excellent bibliography, an index of names, subjects and ancient authors, which makes a quick consultation easy, conclude the volume. The book is lavishly illustrated with many colour photos, many made by Amann herself, and excellent, new colour maps. In short, it is a goldmine for everyone interested in the material and immaterial aspects of 'minor Umbria'. The eastern, Adriatic part of Umbria (the Augustan *ager Gallicus*) is not taken into account because of its very mixed cultural and less continuous character.

Striking is Amann's sober and critical approach, her hard tackling of all kind of former hypotheses and speculations (pp. 54-57, 62, 207, 221, 294-296, 391). She holds that large parts of Umbria and Etruria had a common material culture in the Protovillanova period (p. 42; ca 1150-1000 BC). Around 1000 BC, at the transition to the Iron Age, both regions went their own way. Whilst Etruria practiced mainly cremation (until ca 750), Umbria preferred inhumation. It seems that transhumance took place until a late date, certainly in northern Umbria. The general picture of the West Umbrian material and artistic culture compared to that of Etruria can be characterized as poor, probably because of the lack of mineral resources. The process of urbanization occurred in Etruria far earlier and more thoroughly than in Umbria, which had mainly fortified villages before the 4th century, and typical mountain top sanctuaries with a good visual control of the landscape. Most stone city walls, usually very difficult to date, were probably not built before Rome's conquest of the area, though Tadinum (Gualdo Tadino), Tuder (Todi), Amelia (Ameria) and probably Iguvium may have had an urban character as early as the 4th century. As for a 4th-century site with a polygonal wall, city walls and gates of Gubbio see D. Manconi (ed.), *Gubbio. Scavi e nuove ricerche* 1. *Gli ultimi rinvenimenti*, Città di Castello 2008, and for Tuder see C. Berichillo, *Ostraka* 18,1 (2009) 9-97. In that case they are not pre-urban as Amann suggests (p. 263, n. 108). She argues that the Umbrian word *tuta* (from Indo-European **teuta*) first meant territorial group/community, and later city (community) including its territory. The word *trifu* (cf. Latin *tribus*) would mean territory. There was never a political or religious Umbrian federation. The *Tabulae* only mention strong connections between Iguvium and direct surrounding places. Apart from the Umbrian language and religion there are few signs of ethnicity. Gods like Iupater were of Indo-European origin. As for religion few Etruscan influences are present, except for the countless small schematic votive bronze statuettes from 6th to 4th centuries, often showing warriors but hardly Hercules (p. 340). Whether rituals mentioned in the text of the Etruscan *liber linteus zagrabiensis* (ca 225-150) were influenced by Umbrian rituals, remains questionable (p. 143). In conclusion, apart from some names of gods (e.g. Vesuna) and words (e.g. *cletram*), few other Umbrian religious influences can be found in Etruria.

In the Nera valley (southern Umbria) social differentiation took place in the 7th century, hierarchization in the 6th, and adoption of Etruscan elite banqueting in the 5th, earlier than in the central-northern area. From ca 550 until 350 *Volsinii veteres* (Orvieto) exported artifacts (maybe also the famous so-called bronze Mars with an Umbrian inscription) to *Tuder* (Todi). There even may have been Volsinian Etruscan fore-posts between the Tiber and Todi. The more southern settlements imported from and were influenced by the Etrusco-Faliscan area. Gubbio borrowed the Etruscan alphabet from Perugia, Arezzo or Cortona, between ca 350 and 300. The Umbrian, right-left writing was very gradually replaced by Latin. Rome conquered Umbria between ca 308 and 240; soon afterwards it built the *Via Amerina* and *Via Flaminia*. Central Etruria and Umbria became areas with a common cultural *koinè* and a strong social and economic mobility. In the 3rd century Umbrian bronze coins were struck at Iguvium, Tuder and perhaps Amelia. Some Umbrian series follow the North Etruscan weight system (which follows the Roman one). Epigraphic evidence shows that countless Umbrians settled in Etruscan Perugia during the last centuries BC. They adopted the Etruscan language. Perugia had fore-posts (Bettona and Arna) in the Valle Umbra. In its hinterland (Bettona, Arna, Bevagna, Assisi) stone urns with reliefs in Etruscan style were made.

A few words of criticism. Amann does not pay attention to the phenomenon of hybridization, depicted by artifacts showing local and external influences (see e.g. p. 94, fig. 25). The inscription reading *vukes sestines* (fig. 70) should not be translated as Latin *vici Sestini* but as *luci Sestini* because Sestine may be the name of a deity. The Etruscan mirror from Sestinum should not be dated to the 5th century (p. 77, n. 38), being one of the oldest, now dated by A. Maggiani to ca 530-520. Finally, it is clear that much research (e.g. on frontier studies) is still going on or has to be done (see e.g p. 234 on stone circle graves and p. 238 on 2000-3000 unpublished tombs at Fosso, San Lorenzo). All in all, the opus magnum of Amann, based on old and modern excavations and surveys, should be present in archaeological libraries.

L.B. van der Meer

ANGELOS CHANIOTIS (ed.), *Ritual Dynamics in the Ancient Mediterranean. Agency, Emotion, Gender, Representation* (HABES 49). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag 2011, 390 pp., 57 b/w ill.; 24 cm. – ISBN: 978-3-515-09916-5.

This book contains seven papers of a panel of the conference 'Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual' which took place at Heidelberg in 2008. The focus of this

publication is on ritual agency in the Mediterranean world. The editor invited seven more specialists to contribute to the proceedings volume. The essays, all case studies and very loosely connected, not presented in chronological order, are in well written English, each provided with an excellent bibliography. As the book title suggests, the focus is on changes in ritual behavior. The topics vary strongly in culture, place and time, from the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity. The subtopics agency, emotion, gender, and representation, however, are not present in all essays. In the Introduction Chaniotis analyzes the contributions from the subtopic view. He explains the negotiability of rituals by changes through human agency (individuals, communities) or without (inscriptions, objects, landscape). Rituals would transform those who perform them (p. 10). Chaniotis does not define the term ritual. Some authors, however, do pay attention to theoretical aspects of rituals, be it in a very different way. A. Verbovsek, for example, uses the common definition of 'culturally encoded' as being constant, stylized, stereotypical, repetitive and canonized forms of act of and speech, without excluding diachronic variability or ritual dynamics (pp. 235-240). M. López-Bertran rejects this definition and prefers Catherine Bell's concept of ritualization, based on Bourdieu's 'practice theory': 'human activities as strategies that reproduce and reformulate cultural settings.' Rituals should be studied in connection with everyday life activities (pp. 43-45). The latter approach, however, is problematic, because F. Staal has shown that participants often do not know the meanings of their rituals. Other interesting approaches of (aspects of) rituals can be found on pp. 85, 139-140, 179-180, 204-206, 265-267, 291-292, 374. As for the Greek world the problem is that ancient authors do not have a word for rite or ritual. They use among others the word *patria* (ancestral customs), which are not so well defined as Roman *ritus* (rites/rituals). In addition, how can we see the difference between incidental cultic activities and fixed ritual behavior, religious or not? Whoever analyzes all the essays, will conclude that rituals are primarily reconstructed on the basis of epigraphic and literary sources. Based on the archaeological records alone (apart from representations) reconstruction is hardly possible. Because few contributions are archaeological I present a brief summary of these papers. E. Perego explains the agency of women in (only) one of the pre-Roman sanctuaries (Baratella) and cemeteries of Este in Veneto (9th to 1st century BC). The men had a martial role, the inscriptions on styluses, however, only mention women which may mean that the latter were literate. Bones and grave goods were manipulated after the first deposition. M. López-Bertran introduces a new term: 'ritual mastery'. It appears from the context and clay figurines that rural Phoenician-Punic sanctuaries on the Balearic Island Eivissa (7th to 3rd century BC) had no official (urban) priests but specialists (masked persons) and non-specialists (praying persons). In a similar vein P. Martzavou presents the term 'sacerdotisation': female worshippers of Isis in Roman Athens who may have had a priestly or Isiac role without being official priestesses. She also highlights the Eleusinian influence on the Isis cult. E. Stavrianopoulou casts light upon the role of tradition in the forming of rituals in ancient Greece, concluding that, notwithstanding ritual dynamics, the (reinterpreted or reinvented) tradition always played an essential part in the present. F. Graf explains three cases of ritual restoration and innovation in the Greek cities of the Roman Empire, two at Ephesos and one at Akraipha, all based on epigraphic evidence. I. Patera reconstructs changes and arrangement in the Eleusinian ritual based on changes in spaces and buildings of the sanctuary (8th to 1st century BC). S. des Bouvrie, using a very broad concept of ritual, states that continuity and change in the Attic ritual theatre (5th to 4th century BC) took place with social but without individual agency. In a comparable way F. Frisone underlines the importance of the construction of consensus in the case of rules and change in Greek funeral rituals (7th to 1st century BC). M.M. McCarty enlightens the 'meaning' of ritual change at Hadrumetum (Sousse), based on the six layers of an open-air sanctuary (*tophet*; 8th century BC to 1st century century AD) and the changing representations on its *stelae*. Due to Roman influence the rites became communal, including common sacrifices instead of individual ones. A. Verbovsek shows the correlation of rituals, especially mourning, emotions and literature in ancient Egypt in the 2nd millennium BC. Editor Chaniotis himself pays attention to the emotional effect of rituals, often intended as communal repression of tension. He defines Greek initiates, citizens, and pilgrims as 'emotional communities'. F. Létoublon presents the highly ritual character of speeches of supplication and gestures of prayer in Homer. By using inscriptions, Pausanias and other authors, J.B. Connelly offers very suggestive reconstructions of how spaces in landscape and sanctuaries may have been used for ritual movement and performance. M. Icks exemplifies that Roman historians mention ritual failure in the case of elevating unworthy emperors.

The book is not without printing errors (e.g. p. 286: *thesosebeis* > *theosebeis*) and wrong word breaks. The captions of fig. 4 and 5 on p. 29 are reversed. In fig. 1, p. 131, pyres A-C are not indicated. The index, unfortunately, does not cover all theoretical or methodological concepts. The list of contributors is without addresses. For those who are interested in the dynamics of rituals this rich book stimulates further research, also because several essays show interesting anthropological, cross-cultural approaches.

L.B. van der Meer

ELISA MARRONI, *I culti dell'Esquilino*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore 2010. 338 pp., 6 figs, 30 pls; 24 cm (Archaeologica, 158. Archaeologia Perusina, 17). – ISBN: 978-88-7689-245-5.

This is the first monograph on public and private pagan cults on the *Esquiliae* (*mons* or *collis Esquili(n)us*) in Rome. Marroni's book consists of four chapters, a bibliography, indices of names and modern topography, and black and white photographs, including maps of the hill. There is no introduction with a theoretical-methodological approach and explanation of research questions, e.g. why would one study cults dating from ca 700 BC to 400 AD on a hill, consisting of sub-hills (Oppius, Cispius) which has a very complicated ceme-

tery-, settlement- and building history? Chapter 1, going *in medias res*, is dedicated to the topography and urban development of the Esquiline until modern times, with special attention to the ancient streets, the necropolis, the transformation into a residential zone in the Augustan period, and the elite gardens. Chapter 2 presents the appearance of Esquiline cults in the shortest possible way. From the archaic period would date the enigmatic ritual of the Argei, the cults of Strenia, Libitina, Iuno Lucina, and Fortuna, from the 5th century BC mainly Spes, from the middle republican period Tellus, Minerva, Mefitis, and Bellona Rufilia, from the Augustan period Apollo and Concordia, from the 1st and 2nd century AD Diana and Silvanus, and finally, from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD various oriental gods. Chapter 3 includes the database of the research, a catalogue listing sacred places (*sacraria*) of the Argei and in alphabetical order 53 deities (from Apollo to Vulcanus) who had one or more cultic places. Each item mentions, if known, the Augustan *regio* III, IV or V, ancient literary sources with translations, the regional catalogues *Curiosum* and *Notitia*, the Greek, Latin and bilingual inscriptions (but only those of the *CIG* and *CIL* VI) on *cippi*, tables, altars, bases, dated as far as possible, but without translation, and archaeological data, including fragments of the marble *Forma Urbis* from the Severan period. This set of data is sometimes followed by a short description of possibly related votive deposits, a short comment on the character and function of a deity, and supposedly correlated deities, and the identification of cult places with *comparanda* in and outside Rome. In Chapter 4 Marroni attempts to make an extremely detailed reconstruction of rituals and cults until late antiquity from a broad historical perspective. Its paragraphs focus on the archaic period (the Equus October, Argei, Tigillum Sororium, Strenia rituals), the monarchic time (cult of Iuno Lucina), the 'personal' cults of Servius Tullius (Diana, Fortuna), the republican period (Minerva, Venus), the conflicts in the late republican time and the choice of specific gods (Hercules, Tellus), the Augustan reform (Lares (in *compita*); Apollo), the tutelary gods of *equites* (Genii) and oriental cults (Isis, Caelestis, Jupiter Dolichenus, Mithras). Marroni concludes that the *Esquiliae* was a marginal area within the *urbs*, peopled by strangers and *plebs*. This multi-ethnicity even persists today, as may appear from the strong presence of Chinese and other non-Italian people in the Rione Esquilino.

Some critical remarks have to be made. The identification of cult places (*luci*, *sacella*, *aedes*, *templa*) is problematic, because many have collapsed, were destructed or overbuilt. Their artifacts with inscriptions usually have not been found on the original place or even are lost. In fact only few places of the catalogue (less than 30%) are firmly localized: 11, 14, 15, 19, 23, 26, 27 (?), 31, 32, 40, 41, 44, 45, 46, 48, 53 and 54. Although the plates 22-30 suggest known locations, hardly one archaeological context is preserved with certainty: two votive deposits near S. Antonio, may be related to Libitina (no 40; pp. 148-149). Not a single trace of the *Aedes Fortunae Seiani* 'reconstructed by Nero' in the area occupied by his *Domus Aurea* (pp. 91-92) has been found. Few places can be found on the *Forma Urbis*. A most interesting, unusual *lararium* of Isis-Fortuna in a *domus* of the Constantinian period near S. Martino ai Monti is illustrated by a drawing of L. Ronci (p. 101, fig. 2). Its cult statues are in the Museo Capitolino (pls 8-11).

The almost total absence of archaeological contexts (apart from scattered artifacts) due to unscientific 19th century excavations, and the many undated inscriptions are the weak spots in Marroni's evaluation. In addition, Varro and other authors may have used information about archaic rituals and cults from later, republican sources (p. 37). Another weak point is that many inscriptions are roughly dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Most deities were worshipped also elsewhere in Rome. Therefore the unanswered question is: what makes the cults on the Esquiline so special? The multi-ethnicity cannot be the reason since strangers lived also elsewhere, for example Etruscans in the Vicus Tuscus.

Marroni discusses respectfully recent hypotheses of experts like Carandini, Coarelli, Gros, Torelli, and Rodríguez-Almeida expressing her own preferences or interpretations in a very tentative, prudent way. Hazardous, however, are her countless attempts to correlate, associate or assimilate rituals (e.g. the Argei and the burying of a Gallus, Galla, Graecus, and Graeca (p. 46)) and deities (e.g. Summanus/Vediovis/Aeneas/Pater indiges (p. 189)). The most valuable part of the book is the catalogue which will be useful for future excavators.

L.B. van der Meer

MARINA SCLAFANI, *Urne fittili chiusine e perugine di età medio e tardo ellenistica*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2010. 384 pp, 7 graphs, 8 figs, 46 b/w. pls; 23.5 cm (Tyrrhenica. Studi archeologici sull'Italia antica, VII; Archaeologica, 160). – ISBN 978-88-7689-255-4.

This book deals with Hellenistic relief-decorated terracotta ash urns from the territories of Chiusi and Perugia which are present in the archaeological museums of Asciano, Chianciano Terme, Chiusi, Florence, Palermo, Perugia, Rome (VG and MEG) and Siena. It consists of a bibliography and chapters presenting the history of urn studies, from 1723 to the recent exhibition catalogue *Chiusi Siena Palermo. La collezione Bonci Casuccini* (2007), the production process, the typological classification of urn lids made by stick, hand and/or mould (8 groups each with sub-groups), of chests made in similar ways (17 groups and 13 tiny groups with rare themes), iconographic reflections on 30 different, mythic and non-mythic themes of the painted reliefs, *unica* (e.g. the famous urn in the Worcester Art Museum), the production at Perugia, its continuity and innovation in relation to the production at Chiusi, the chronology, the catalogue (401 urns (chests with lids), 105 chests and 63 lids), conclusions, a general index, an index of urns with inscription and observations on contexts, an epigraphic index, and concordances. The context of most urns is unknown.

Based on recent studies of G. Colonna, A. Rastrelli, M. Michelluci, L. Ponzi Bonomi and the author herself on (reconstructed) tomb associations and the position of urns in tombs (e.g. M. Sclafani, *StEtr* 65, 2002, 121-161), studies of A. Maggiani and E. Benelli on epigraphy (graphic forms) and prosopography (genealogical recon-

structions), Sclafani shows that terracotta urns, often monumental prototypical ones (longer than 40 cm), appeared in tombs together with urns of alabaster, travertine and limestone after ca 250 BC. At the end of the 3rd century the alabaster urn production came to a halt (or around 180 BC; see N.L.C. Stevens, *BABesch* 76, 2001, 101-113; *BABESCH* 85, 2010, 77-110); thereafter only travertine, terracotta urns and bell-shaped *ollae* were made. Sclafani dates reclining male lid figures with (a garlanded) nude breast before 186 BC, the year of the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*, those reclining and dressed in tunica and mantle, unveiled or veiled after 186 and the most common type, flat lying men and women to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. The women also may be unveiled of veiled after ca 186 BC. Five terracotta urns mentioning a *lautni* (Lat. *libertus*) are dated between ca 150 and 100 (without arguments), and twelve having Latin inscriptions (p. 174) between ca 100 and 50 BC (see however p. 68 and 91: to the end of the 1st century BC). In the last phase urns were often very small (l. 20-30, h. 14-20 cm).

The most frequent themes illustrated on the chests are the Fatal Duel between Eteocles and Polynices and the so-called Demon with the Plough, formerly interpreted as Echetlos at Marathon or as a local farmer resisting land appropriation by the Romans in the Gracchan period. The latter explanation appears to be incorrect since the prototypes can be dated to the 3rd century BC. Most urns were made by moulds of different size. The smaller sizes usually are not more recent than the large ones as was previously thought (apart from the 'Latin' ones). The mass-production started already around 200 BC.

Few terracotta urns compared with the mass of travertine ones have been found at Perugia. Some may have been made by itinerant artisans from Chiusi. Chest and lid types showing couples were almost exclusively made at Perugia; they would belong to the local tradition.

In the analytical typology of the chests, Sclafani lists prototypes of each theme, often with subgroups, e.g. nine in the case of the Fatal Duel. As the latter are rarely or not dated, this classification has a limited value.

As for the meaning of mythological themes, the author follows the ideas of F. de Angelis. Scenes like the Fatal Duel would warn against the dangers of family conflicts. It remains, however, doubtful whether after the period of prototypical urns they still had a meaning other than being associated with fatality or the threat of death.

The catalogue (with many unpublished items) mentions context, the former collection, measures, state of preservation, traces of painting, inscriptions (*CIE* and *ET* numbers) and coded 'typologies' (groups/themes), unfortunately without reference to the relevant pages. There are hardly date propositions for single urns. In addition, it is rarely made clear why a certain lid would belong to a certain chest.

In the conclusions Sclafani does not summarize her results but tries to link types of urns to social classes. The earliest urns would belong to the elite gentes, presumed land owners, those in the first half of the 2nd century BC to an elite-middle class, new emerging *gentes*, and the mass-produced urns in the last period to farmers in the wide environment around Chiusi. Tomb architecture suggests a similar development. The oldest tomb buildings are large family graves with a long *dromos*, back and side rooms and niches, the later ones only corridors with small niches. The inscriptions, however, hardly mention one title or function so that the status of individuals is rarely certain.

Several questions remain unanswered in this study despite their relevance for the understanding of this class of urns. Why did alabaster (*gesso* or *marmo alabastrino*) fall in disuse? Where was it exploited? Did the mine(s) get exhausted? An indication might be that some *scalpellini* working in alabaster moved from Chiusi to Volterra after ca 250 BC. When did the terracotta urn production stop, around 50 BC or at the beginning of the 1st century AD? Sclafani repeatedly speaks about sumptuary laws which might explain changes around 200 BC but gives no references to relevant sources, which might be the *lex Metilia* of 217 and the *lex Oppia* of 215 BC. Further research is possible, for example on polychromy, on painted *ollae* (which appear after ca 190 BC), and the Tomb of the purni (p. 173, n. 24). There are some flaws, e.g. on p. 170 Paris is mentioned as killer of Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus. The title of the book is misleading since also urns from the *alto ellenismo* are dealt with.

Sclafani has done much antiquarian research (also on urns in museums outside Italy) and collected a mass of unknown data. Quick consultation is difficult, because a general index is missing. Dates of groups, subgroups and urns, if present, cannot easily be found.

Finally, the book is well illustrated with black and white photographs which show a useful selection of all urn types.

L.B. van der Meer

GEMMA C.M. JANSEN, ANN OLGA KOLOSKI-OSTROW, ERIC M. MOORMANN (eds), *Roman Toilets. Their Archaeology and Cultural History*. Leuven: Peeters, 2011. 224 pp., ills; 27.5 cm (BABESCH Supplement 19). – ISBN 978-90-429-2541-0.

Since R. Neudecker's magisterial work in 1994, latrines sunk into oblivion until recent years with the edition of general (B. Hobson, *Latrinae et foricae. Toilets in the Roman world*, London 2009) or regional (A. Bouet, *Les latrines dans les provinces gauloises, germaniques et alpines*, Paris 2009) monographs. The book under review builds up a synthesis and goes a step forward. As an edited volume, it achieves the challenge of not being a mere collection of papers after the initial workshop that took place in Rome in 2007. Instead, it is a truly collective work, linking up some thirty-three contributors - the only issue in this promising experience being the difficulty for the reader's mind to shift from English to German, Italian and French almost from one page to another. The illustrations, rich and fully coloured, are more than pleasant. Twelve chapters are dealing with all possible topics associated with toilets, all of them being illustrated by one or more case studies on an empire-wide range, from the Hadrian wall to Syria and from the Netherlands to North Africa (main cases presented: *Oppidum Batavorum*, Rottenburg, Poitiers, *Augusta Emerita*, *Thugga*, Timgad, Villa Hadriana, Ostia, Herculaneum, Pompeii, *Carnuntum*, Kos).

After a brief introduction exposing the research history on toilets and the process leading to this volume, chapter two presents methodological matters in a multidisciplinary sense. Beyond broad questions about location and use of the toilets, field techniques are underlined. To recognize and understand all steps in use, and then to recompose ingested and rejected elements - up to bacteria - a careful excavation, including sieving and sampling, is needed.

In order to provide comparison data, chapter three briefly summarizes the actual knowledge on toilets in Pharaonic Egyptian, Classical Greek and Hellenistic worlds. Naturally far too restrained, this part would be an appeal to other specialists to write the same compendium about their own periods.

The fourth chapter presents textual sources, starting with a complete - but non analytical - catalogue of the few (fifty-three) texts dealing with collective toilets, completed by detailed examination of Jewish and Christian perceptions of those places, that share a certain proximity of view.

Architecture of domestic and collective toilets is dealt with in the fifth chapter. As an urban ornament, latrines might have a Hellenistic origin. Their construction grows from the 2nd century BCE, but they don't seem to have ever been an essential component of urban landscape. The lack of epigraphical evidence remains problematic. On the other hand, their decoration shows the same diversity as in any other building, beyond a non indifferent tendency towards mise en abîme representations. Toilets belong to private or public architecture and thus should be studied as such.

Chapter 6 is focused on water problems, adduction and evacuation. Flushing did not rely on any link with the pressure water network; it was either continuously using the overflow of a basin or a *labrum*, or occasional. For instance, in baths, flushing might be performed when emptying basins. Anyway, only used water seems to have been employed in toilets. The whole architecture of latrines was designed to the advantage of cleaning and flushing. Finally, the sewer was not compulsory, but its presence depended greatly on the geological nature of the site where the city settled.

The 7th chapter exposes usages. Chamber pots should have been far more frequent in Roman times than accounted for in archaeological literature, since they were mainly used in absence of toilets. As underlined, defecation position is strictly cultural and might be linked both with clothing and self-cleaning. Hence, the Roman toga and the use of a sponge-stick had architectural implications such as the seats, their wide frontal opening and the gutter running before them.

Chapters 8 (location and context) and 9 (social matters) should be read in continuity, in order to obtain a more complete view. A first point is that collective latrines might have been public and opened, and as a consequence accessible, they had to remain a discrete place. Their collective character also raises a gender issue, still to be resolved. Baths and *scholae* are developed as examples. In households, there is no clear pattern in toilets location, but given using those spaces might have been linked with social hierarchy, proximity with kitchens would plead for a broader use of chamber pots for *domini*, thus avoiding them to be seen in latrines. In workshops, if no clear rule appears in Pompeii, it has to be underlined that Ostian examples show no toilets despite a greater number of workers involved in production. Eventually, military forts show differences according to ranks while their construction shows a clear knowledge of know-how but a lack of engineer after initial layout.

The economical uses of urine and excrements constitute the core of chapter 10. The latter might have served as manure, but their real use depended greatly on natural soil fertility and thus changed from one site to another. As for urine, after aging - that allowed sterilisation - it could be used for agricultural or veterinary purposes. 'Industrial' use is broadly discussed; mainly through fulleries. If it is attested that urine served, quantity cannot be assessed. While Vespasian's tax had a strictly commercial application - toll or import transactions - the urine collection and storage remains an open problem once and for good discarded the idea of amphorae set in the streets for this purpose.

The 11th chapter rightly refuses any hygienic idea in Roman minds. Instead, it clearly shows that Roman toilets were not the sign of a healthy civilization as our romantic and cleaned view of them would suggest. On the contrary, they might have been an important vector for disease spread.

As chapter 12 demonstrates, some religious and superstitious believes were attached to toilets, and their need for divine protection would have been an understanding of the disease risk through exposure to demons. Despite this threat, defecating outside toilets was considered an uncivilized behaviour and, therefore, a short stay would have been preferred.

As a conclusion, this volume goes far more beyond the handbook label given by its editors. It constitutes a broad and deep introduction to faecal matters and ought to be a new start for toilets studies.

Nicolas Monteix

GIOACCHINO FRANCESO LA TORRE/MARIO TORELLI (eds), *Pittura ellenistica in Italia e in Sicilia. Linguaggi e tradizioni*. Atti del Convegno di Studi (Messina, 24-25 settembre 2009). Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2011. XIV+606 pp.,185 figs, 42 pls; 25 cm (Archaeologica 163). - ISBN 978-88-7689-254-7.

The two-days colloquium in Messina of September 2009 was a very tiring experience, if all 37 papers presented in this thick book were really read to the audience. The editors (and then organizers) take 'pittura' very broadly by including ceramics, mosaic and wall paintings, while the geographical borders are wide as well, encompassing the entire Hellenistic koine. The accent, however, lies on Italy, where most material comes from (p. XI). There are five regional sections, to begin with the Hellenistic empires (in which it is strange to find a brief essay by Malcolm Bell on the Morgantina mosaics), followed by Sicily, Apulia, Etruria, and Rome-Campania. While most papers present case studies, the reader misses an overarching essay; the mentioned editorial note is too brief to fulfill that wish. Therefore, I

cannot fully follow the conclusion of the editors that the book 'fotografa lo stato degli studi' (p. XIII), unless research about painting is indeed nothing else than analyses on micro-level. I cannot but briefly present some major papers and have to omit a lot of the articles. Paolo Moreno's contribution about Greece and its contacts with Rome as well as Françoise-Hélène Massa Pairault's piece on Pergamon are deservedly placed at the beginning. In a series of brief sections dedicated to periods and topics, Moreno tries to connect painters known from written sources only with extant and often rather inferior and/or distant works; he includes sculptures in his records. As in his other works his enthusiasm is compelling, but not convincing in all cases. He draws no clear conclusion from this exercise and does not demonstrate whether this method is justified. Massa, who has published various studies on Pergamon in the last decade, follows the same method: Pergamene works of art known from literary sources are retraced in paintings from a much later time, especially in figural scenes in Pompeii. Considering that the texts do rarely say specific things about composition, style and colours, it is a risky enterprise the results of which are highly hypothetical. After a technical essay on the application of mural paintings by Françoise Alabe, the reader finds a fine essay on a painted frieze on the façade of the Tomb of Agios Athanasios in Macedonia by Tiziana D'Angelo. This exquisite, almost four metres wide representation shows three scenes: a banquet (reconstructed in 3D), a group of Macedonian guardians, and a festive party of riders and walking assistants. All figures are characteristic of the Macedonian aristocracy during the late 4th century. Alexia Latini discusses the iconography of mothers who die in childbirth and analyses both classical sculpted and Hellenistic painted stelae. Another contribution on narrative language on funerary monuments, by Monica Baggio and Monica Salvadori, concentrates on the topic of gender depiction by means of arms and trinkets. Paul Meyboom, finally, analyses some animals on the illustrated Artemidorus Papyrus and finds parallels from Hellenistic tomb paintings in Marisa up to the mosaic of the Great Hunt in Piazza Armerina. He stresses the Aethiopian provenance of these beasts.

Three of the Sicily contributions are on polychrome vases (Claudia Lucchese: Lipari Painter, Fabrizio Mollo: polychrome vases, Elisa Chiara Portale: Centuripe), one - here irrelevant - on a relief depicting a banquet scene according to an iconography known in painting as well (Giovanni Di Stefano). One of the most substantial papers in the volume is an analysis of stucco cornices from first-style complexes by Lorenzo Campana, who observes correspondences with sites all-over the Mediterranean. His approach is followed by editor La Torre, who presents a tentative history of mural painting in Sicily. In his thorough contribution he notes the absence of painted tombs and a hegemony of palace decorations as the source of inspiration for domestic interiors. Alessio Toscano Raffa and Massimo Limoncelli present attractive reconstructions (also in 3D) of rather recently discovered interiors from houses in Licata in the province of Agrigento, which belong to the 2nd century BC. Again, the cornices illustrate the use of generally accepted forms in and outside Sicily. Caterina Greco continues her long-lasting research on the paintings and mosaics from Solunto, which have been studied more thoroughly over the last decades than other Sicilian complexes. She proposes a slightly later dating of the Room of the Masks, viz. at the same time as the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale. With the help of many parallels presented in long notes (unfortunately full of misspellings of foreign words) she sketches the development of decorations in some other houses, which makes her paper very important for the history of wall painting in Sicily.

Concerning Apulia, there are three essays on vase painting by Giuseppina Gadaleta (polychrome pots in Hellenistic Daunia), Carmela Roscino (composition schemes of the Darius Painter), and Luigi Todisco (presentation of a research project on red-figured vases). Clearly, all this material dates to the second half of the 4th century. As to the polychrome vases, it is interesting to note a correspondence with both red-figured ceramics and local painting. Gadaleta makes no link to mural decorations.

It has been a good thing to include Etruria, a territory dear to editor Torelli, on which, however, the three studies are somewhat disappointing, since two of the three confine to small themes: Valeria Vaccaro on painted mock doors (entrances to Hades) and Maurizio Harari on bearded drakes. Francesco Franzoni tackles the complicated question of the 'high' or 'low' chronology of the tomb paintings from Tarquina (see the clear table of proposals, pp. 371-373) in an interesting essay on which experts will certainly discuss in the near future.

In Section V, Rome is poorly presented, while Pompeii and Herculaneum are the usual suspects broadly treated. One would like to see presentations of other sites from central Italy as well. Pompeii's treasures are displayed in the form of contribution on 'new' first-style paintings come to light in various new projects. There is a fine focus on the Villa of the Papyri, on which during the last five years more publications came to light than ever before since the first discoveries in the 1750s onwards: Maria Paola Guidobaldi and Domenico Esposito make the reader still more curious about the fragments found during the most recent excavations which belong to the mature Second Style and stand at the end of the Hellenism envisaged in this book. However, Umberto Pappalardo crosses these borders and discusses mural paintings in Pompeii's Insula Occidentalis up to the Vespasian era.

The book is rather well edited and has come out rather swiftly after the venue itself. Despite my quibblings, it is an important collection of essays that, I hope, will find its way to the students of ancient painting and of Hellenistic art in general.

Eric M. Moormann

VOLKER MICHAEL STROCKA, *Die Gefangenenfassade an der Agora von Korinth. Ihr Ort in der römischen Kunstgeschichte*. Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2010. 95 pp., 138 pls; 29.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-7954-2403-9.

The still very productive professor emeritus from Freiburg, Volker Michael Strocka, tackles in this slim and ele-

gantly edited volume a complicated problem of Roman decorative architecture in *Graecia capta*. A façade that once adorned one of the buildings along the Agora of Corinth and was named after the dominant presence of captives standing in the upper storey against square pillars has received some scholarly attention, yet without reaching *communis opinio* as to its chronology and reconstruction. The blocks were found in 1900, and published in 1941 by R. Stillwell who dated the façade after AD 155. Especially H. von Hesberg dated back a part of the construction to the age of Augustus, with additions of the late 2nd century. In this book, Strocka proposes a construction briefly prior to 66/67, the period Nero resided in Corinth and other places in Greece, especially on the Peloponnese. To reach this chronology, Strocka meticulously analyses the architectural elements and their decorations and assesses their stylistic features. Since there are no other data (inscriptions, find context, cf. pp. 69-70) serving as a valuable point of departure, this method is the only one he can adopt. Parallels for architectural and decorative elements are found all-over the Roman world, but relatively few of them in Greece itself. Striking Corinthian parallels are presented at the end, when the Large Baths next to the Lecheion Street are attributed to the same time. The stylistic and iconographical analysis of the sculptures themselves - the two preserved captives, two female heads and fragments - is extremely convincing.

This detailed stylistic study is followed by a brief research of the original setting, which may have been the front of the entrance hall (*chalcidicum*) of the second Basilica at the north side of the Agora, which cannot be dated, again, on the basis of hard criteria, but should belong to a Neronian building programme. Strocka's reconstruction - relatively briefly presented - slightly differs from Stillwell's old one, but has certain advantages and matches façade construction of the late Julio-Claudian and Flavian era. The iconography of the barbarians stands in a long tradition of representing defeated foreigners and seems to refer to Parthians, still 'Angstgegner' of the Romans at that time.

Strocka resumes the few data we possess on Nero's stay of approximately fourteen months between late summer of 66 and late 67. He describes contemporary building activities in both Greece and Asia Minor (where Nero was expected to travel, heading for Alexandria). In Corinth itself, an arch was erected next to the basilica cum façade as well as the afore-mentioned Large Baths along the Lechaion Street. The latter commodity is usually dated to the Severan age (see appendix 2). Concerning the honorific arch a long digression on Nero's ideological connection with Sol at first sight leads us away from the main topic, since the façade does not display any hint at that realm, but Strocka's ambition clearly is a full assessment of Neronian solar ideology over the years. This implies that his discussion has the ambition of a fully Neronian reshape of the monumental centre of Corinth. Personally, I find this interpretation very convincing and see no flaws that detract from its probability. Certainly, the author is aware of the traps and possible opposition, for which reason he inserts some pages of probable contrasting arguments.

Although the study is firstly important for the history of Corinth, it also brings to life an aspect of Nero's impact in the last years of his reign. Students of stylistic matters in architectural decoration can learn a lot about the do's and do not's of stylistic comparisons. The rich set of excellent photographs is of great help to follow Strocka's reasoning and to make one's own comparisons. In sum, an attractive essay, worth to be studied carefully by students of imperial Roman art and architecture.

The façade surely will keep going on the discussion; in the AIA congress of 2012 Aileen Ajootian proposed a dating under Lucius Verus, as L.B. van der Meer pointed out to me (http://corinthianmatters.com/2011/01/10/the-corinthia-at-the-aia-2011/).

Eric M. Moormann

MARTÍN ALMAGRO-GORBEA/JORGE MAIER ALLENDE (eds), *De Pompeya al nuevo mundo. La corona española y la arqeología en el siglo XVIII*. Madrid: Real Academia de la historia, Patrimonio Nacional, 2012. 424 pp., ills; 30 cm. – ISBN 978-84-15069-38-6.

This collection of essays is not the result of a conference, but presents contributions by specialists, mainly from Spain, invited by the editors, on the practice and impact of classical and archaeological studies on Spanish society in the Age of Enlightenment. As the title and a brief essay by editor Almagro-Corbea makes clear, the various kings - Philip V (1700-1746), Ferdinand VI (1746-1759), Charles III (1759-1788) and Charles IV (1788-1808) - actively followed discoveries and stimulated research, which encompassed a vast area, from Pompeii to Latin America (cf. J. Maier Allende's conclusive paper, pp. 333-360). It is impossible to discuss all papers extensively, for which reason I highlight some papers on classical antiquity. Various contributors (M.A. Elvira Barba, G. Mora, J.M. Luzón Nogué) write about the formation of collections of antiquities, mainly sculptures which partly stemmed from the collection of Christina, the former queen of Sweden, and the impact of iconography and style, the latter especially after the publication of Winckelmann's seminal studies on that topic. All broken marbles were restored and repieced, as was usual until the early 19th century. The royal collection would be integrated into the Prado in 1819-1820 (p. 73). Among private collections were those of cardinal Despuig and count Azara. Towns like Sevilla, Cádiz and Córdoba still foster old municipal and private collections of ancient sculptures. The activities under Charles of Bourbon in southern Italy (1734-1759) who would become king of Spain have been studied previously in great extension, but cannot fail here. The first excavations in Herculaneum are well discussed by M. Del Carmen Alonso. Early publications on Paestum are the topic of a paper by P. Moleón Gavilanes (see also the very rich PhD study of Sigrid De Jong: *Rediscovering architecture: Paestum in eighteenth-century architectural experience and theory*, Leiden 2010). He was the most arduous inspirer of archaeological research and called 'el Rey Arqueólogo' (p. 22). Winckelmann and the painter Anton Raphael Mengs (contribution by J.M. Luzón Nogué, already mentioned) were instrumental for the divulgation of classical knowledge among the Spanish intellectuals. Other directions of research were numismatics (I. Rodríguez Casanova) and epigraphy (H. Gimeno Pascual),

since long important branches of antiquarian studies (see also I. Rodríguez Casanova and J.M. Luzón Nogué). His successor Charles IV would be instrumental in the expansion of classical archaeology like work at Mérida, with Manuel Godoy as one of the most important protagonists (A.M. Canto).

Spain's rich archaeological remains were deservedly explored. J.M. Rodríguez Hidalgo writes on Itálica, 'la Pompeya española' (p.123). He begins with the 20th century, but then returns to the Middle Ages and the first recordings of the 16th century, among which that of the Flemish Anton van den Wyngaerde (1567, p. 127). A fascinating essay by Carmen Manso Porto describes the search for Spain's old roots by geographical studies. Prehistory, among which rock paintings at Fuencaliente (M. De la Rasilla Vives), Phoenician settlements like Tartessos de la Bética, and the explanation of the old Punic alphabet (A. Mederos Martín) were as important new research areas as early Christian archaeology (R. Corzo & M.A. García). For most not-Spanish readers the chapters on Islamic and Jewish archaeology are among the most thrilling contributions. The editors (M. Almagro-Gorbea, J. Maier Alende) describe the inception of Islam archaeology, which first only consisted of the study of inscriptions and coins, but gradually focused on excavations and study of objects. A five-years sojourn of the royal family in Sevilla and Cordoba, from 1728 onwards, stimulated the investigation of the great Andalusian monuments and less known architectural remains like the castle of Vascos (p. 238, fig. 9). Objects were to be published in the format of the famous *Antichità d'Ercolano* launched by Charles as king of Naples. As to the Jewish past, the same categories were now studied, after centuries of silence and neglecting Jewish heritage. The problematic relationship of the catholic Spanish authorities with the (expelled or forcibly converted) Jews could be ameliorated thanks to the more liberal mentality of Enlightenment. J.A. Eiroa Rodríguez highlights activities of some intellectuals like Francisco Pérez Bayer, who studied inscriptions, linguistic history as well as the Toledo synagogue (p. 249, figs 3-4). His publications on 'Jewish' coins caused a fierce debate with a Danish colleague, O.G. Tyschen, who denied the genuineness of these objects. Another scholar, Juan José Heydeck, also worked on inscriptions and linguistics; yet, he would get fame by the alleged invention of a vaccine against smallpox.

These are good and for many readers entirely novel elements, conveying introductions into other archaeologies than the traditional ones. Outside Spain we see the study of remains of pre-Latin cultures in Latin America (P. Cabello Carro), the seminal works by Alexander von Humboldt on the 'new Spain' which influenced Latino-American and Spanish scholars alike, while the linguistic studies of his brother Wilhelm on the Basque language had a great impact in Spain (S. Rebok et al.). The introduction of classical art and culture, i.a. by the import of gypsum casts (fig. 8) brought the new Humboldtian attitude to Mexico.

The book is edited in an attractive form, with many high-quality colour illustrations. A lengthy general bibliography and an excellent index of persons conclude and ameliorate this work. For the reader who is not familiar with Spanish, brief English summaries open each paper. Therefore, the book will hopefully meet the approval and interest of a greater audience than Spanish scholars only.

Eric M. Moormann

VINCENT JOLIVET, *Tristes portiques. Sur le plan canonique de la maison étrusque et romaine*. Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2012. 343 pp., 171 figs; 29.5 cm (B.E.F.A.R. 342). – ISBN 978-2-7283-0875-0.

In the run of the 19th century a standard plan of the Roman *atrium* house was developed on the basis of the principal classical source, Vitruvius' *De architectura*, and the excavations of Pompeii. This plan and three-dimensional renderings would become basic elements of text books, popular guides, and scientific studies. Jolivet traces back this model in the first, epistemological part of his book and asks whether it is (still) valuable. In the second half the phenomenon of the 'Italic' house is debated on the basis of archaeological material, mainly from central and southern Italy. It is a welcome book, since in many essays the canonical plan is tackled and dismissed, while being taken seriously in other studies.

The 'culprit' of the plan, in which the focus of the house consists of the *cavaedium* or *atrium*, is Johannes Overbeck in the third edition of his voluminous *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst* (Leipzig 1875). Among Overbeck's modern sources was François Mazois, the first important scholar to try to match literary and archaeological sources. *Les Ruïnes de Pompéi* (1824-1838) are still fundamental and Mazois' own popularisation, the learned novel *Le palais de Scaurus* (1819) gives a summa of these findings. I miss Sir William Gell's *Pompeiana* of 1819 and its sequel of 1832, highly influential in the Anglo-Saxon world as well as among scholars from other countries. Here, as in Mazois, one finds the nowadays almost entirely forgotten term *cavaedium*, which Jolivet puts forward as the more neutral and therefore proper word for the *fulcrum* of the Roman house: it indicates an open area, while the *atrium* is a determined space covered with a roof and always including *compluvium* and *impluvium*.

Overbeck was quite original with his proposal which defined this house type as an Italic phenomenon, probably heavily relying on Etruscan shapes. Jolivet makes clear that distinctions like Samnite house (e.g. Casa Sannitica at Herculaneum) are unnecessary, since they are variations of the Italic house with *cavaedium*. The quibble about Italic or Etruscan can be traced back to the fascist era (p. 18-19), when, at any rate, the type was coined an invention of the Italian peninsula. It also features in the 'urban' part of villas. Jolivet now inquires the genesis, regional differences and/or differences, and chronological development. For this reason he examines all houses known and connected with the scheme, beginning with hut and oblong houses. He places the beginning in the 7th century in Etruria. Marzabotto and Gonfienti are important hallmarks. Through the time, the number of houses increases, as does the area in which they appear within Italy. The reader gets a very rich dossier, always containing maps (in which the orange indication of the determining *cavaedium cum annexis* might define Jolivet's reading of the plans a lit-

tle too much). Pompeii, the traditional archaeological starting point, comes in as late as the 3rd century (Jolivet follows the modern lowered chronology instead of dating back to the 4th century). In later ages the model of the *cavaedium* house does not need to be a fossil, but still fits the living world (p. 102: 'habitation traditionnel romain'), while peristyles become a new element in the run of the 2nd century BC. I wonder why Jolivet, though critically, includes the supposed House of Scaurus next to the Arch of Titus (p. 124), mostly relying on later literary gossip. The abundant references to each case are handy tools for further research and show Jolivet's masterly knowledge of the material (I only missed references to Pietrabbondante, p. 136).

This first part of making up the inventory is followed by a 'Mise en contexte et logique spatiale' in Part II (p. 179). Since the house with the *cavaedium* cannot be seen as an isolated phenomenon - still so in Part I for clear reasons - Jolivet now examines the political, societal, and religious contexts within the Etruscan world which could have determined this specific format. Thanks to external input, especially from the east-Greek world, the archaic Etruscan society gained a high economic and military power, in which urbanisation was a major factor. He points at the importance of the women and their position within the house, contrasting it with the presence of slaves who also dictated the demands of the house shapes. But all these things do not suffice, until one brings to the fore the importance of religion and astrology. In this view, the *cavaedium* is in the centre of the cosmos around which all activities of the family are concentrated (see various schemes figs 135-137).

Jolivet analyses plans and shapes of temples and tombs, of course the best known expressions of Etruscan architecture and both tightly connected with the sacred. Although he clearly points out the tripartite character of the Italic temple (three *cellae* or one *cella* and two *alae*) as the mainstream typology, I fail to see morphological correspondences with the houses he is looking for, since tripartition (cf. p. 233) is not enough. Correspondences are more evident in tombs; he gives abundant examples from the 6th century onwards from Caere and other sites. The equation of house and tomb as dwellings for, respectively, the living and the dead, which may have the same articulation is well-founded. In this way, this study clarifies the correlation between the development of various architectural schemes in a similar way for the three closely related groups of members of Etruscan (and, later, other Italic societies), which are gods, living and dead.

Chapter 7 investigates the development of the *domus* and its parts through the ages. Both ancient texts (often dismissed as unreliable) and archaeological evidence serve to establish the function of the rooms, in which analysis we have to take into account changes over years or decades (Jolivet highlights the 'périlleux' example of Pompeii, p. 243). Profound discussions of the *fauces*, *cavaedium*, and, more extensively, the combination of *tablinum*, *triclinium*, and *oecus* are very convincing. I like how Jolivet, with great erudition and eloquence, gives larger space to the women in the family than often is done (p. 264 pointing at giving a 'part écrasante au dominus' in modern discussions). He sees the *oecus* as their domain, whereas the *triclinium* is, like the Greek *andron*, that of men. As comparisons he also uses Etruscan tombs, which, again, endorse the hypothesis of an Etruscan origin of the house with *cavaedium*. He dismisses the *hortus* as one of the old features.

In the epilogue, Jolivet picks up all conclusions and defines the reign of Augustus as the very end of the development of the *cavaedium* house. The palace of Augustus on the Palatine - deservedly called so, not being at all as modest as suggested by Sallustius - and the 'House of Livia' maintain some old elements but develop into new fashions.

It may be clear that this is a captivating book on an important subject in Etrusco-Roman archaeology. Despite his explanation Jolivet's title is obscuring the contents, as does the - witty - photo on the cover. But let these miniature flaws prevent no scholar interested from reading and using this monograph.

Eric M. Moormann

CHRISTOPHE BOCHERENS (ed.), *Nani in festa. Iconografia, religione e politica a Ostia durante il secondo triumvirato*. Bari: Edipuglia, 2012. 216 pp., 61 figs; 29.5 cm (Bibliotheca Archaeologica 26). – ISBN 978-88-7226-646-3.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Bocherens' research in the Schola del Traiano at Ostia, his team presents one of the most spectacular finds in recent Ostian archaeology: a painted frieze with figural scenes that crowned the main zone of a banquet room, *oecus* g. It was found in the debris of the House of the Fabii located in the peristyle of the Schola, the house that replaced the House of the Bucrania, erected around 60 BC and demolished in the 20s BC. At this time the entire level of the town was heightened and the debris of the house was used as fill for the foundations of the later building. The paintings are attributed to Beyen's phase IIa, viz. 40-30 BC, and are considered to be a restoration of the House of the Bucrania. After a rather sketchy note by Domingo Gasparro on the representation of ugliness and the force of fragmentation (aiming at the incomplete state of the frieze), Bocherens discusses the historic circumstances at Ostia relevant for the building. The house was part of a new quarter expanded in the mid-1st century BC; he underscores that the *gens Fabia* already could have possessed the House of the Bucrania. Thomas Morard and Thibault Girard present the house and its paintings. Remarkably, there are no images or maps of the excavations and a distribution map of the paintings is an unfortunate omission (a small sketch on p. 105 should have been referred to from the beginning). Even the consultation of various contributions in B. Perrier (ed.), *Villas, maisons, sanctuaires et tombeaux tardo-républicains: découvertes et relectures récentes* (Rome 2007, 13-109) did not yield clear data about the exact location, measurements, and finds from this room. The paintings are compared to those in the House of Augustus on the Palatine and the House of the Cryptoporticus at Pompeii. Much of the pictorial language of the Villa of the Farnesina in Rome, however, should also be taken into account and would not have presented a chronological problem (see S.T.A.M.

Mols/E.M. Moormann, *La villa della Farnesina. Le pitture,* Milan 2008). In these paintings Bocherens observes a pre-Actium pro-Octavian language, not yet showing the future princeps' absolute supremacy, while hinting at his rise (pp. 43-45). Frankly, I fail to recognize such political symbols within the decorations unless we consider the ship prows (*rostra*); nevertheless they also pop up in many Second-Style decorations and are stock elements rather than specific indications.

The frieze fragments show small dwarf-like people (see V. Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, Oxford 1993) and not the more frequent caricature pygmies in a set of scenes which can be distinguished as indoor and outdoor activities thanks to the colors of the background, viz. black and white respectively. The restoration of these tiny fragments (which I saw shortly after their discovery) must have been a painstaking job and we cannot but congratulate the archaeologists and restorers with the results. Although the illustrations are of a beautiful quality and allow us to admire the pictorial quality, there are essential gaps in the documentation that prevent a full assessment of the material. No measurements are given in the documentary illustrations, in which the photographs are accompanied by drawings sketching the outlines of the fragments and the figures. Therefore, they do not help the reader to understand the fragmentary images themselves. The frieze's height must have been approximately 40 cm (as, finally, said on p. 161; at a height of 3 to 3.5 meters, p. 171). The brief description in the appendix (pp. 179-181, with figs 12-18) is of no help either, since it gives no neutral record of the things to be distinguished in the images; instead we find the interpretation developed by Jean-Marc Moret and repeated in the figures' captions. This serious bias hinders the reader from making his own interpretation, having no free choice, as it were, to see things in a different way than the interpreter does.

The lion's share of the book goes to Moret: four chapters in all. His interpretation of the frieze is a masterpiece of intellectual reasoning, displaying an enormous wealth of knowledge regarding the Roman religious and mythical traditions with which he wants to connect the images. He sees a series of images related with Roman feasts, sometimes expressed in the form of ceremonies (*Artificum dies*, *Liberalia*, *Poplifugia*, and *Quinquatrus-Tubilustrium*), sometimes showing episodes of the oldest history of Rome (Hercules and Cacus, Anna Perenna, Sabines and Romans), to be connected with other feasts. Most of them pertain to Mars and fall in March, but some are later. The order is not chronological, but, as Moret says, circular or dictated by association. Next to Mars, Hercules is seen as the principal hero/god worshipped, which gets its momentum in the long chapter IV on Hercules and his cult in Rome and Ostia. Chapter V treats the topic of dwarfs in art and culture of the late Republic. Both are rich in erudition and display of scholarly research. Moret sketches, often with long excursus in both text and (long) notes, the importance of Hercules for Ostia, from its origins onwards, and uses this observation to put Ostia on the same religious level as Rome. He seems to forget the connection with the frieze, in which the Cacus scene would form the connection with the cult of Hercules, until he refers to the relation of this scene to the Salii (p. 125), presumably present in the *Quinquatrus* scene. Here he, correctly, warns against a forced correlation of everything with everything, although his own reasoning often seems to display that vice. The chapter on the dwarfs is more relevant for Moret's discourse, since it describes the impact dwarfs had on Roman society, especially after their physical introduction by Mark Antony in Rome in 40 BC. He states at the beginning of this chapter (p. 137) that in art of this era politics are never far away, and argues that we must search for the political message present in a coded form in the painting. Dwarfs represent the summa of the very Alexandrian luxury (*tryphe* and Dionysiac exhibition) that Octavian, Antony's antagonist, detested. Antony offered a self-destructive tool, despite his popularity *in urbe* until ca 36 BC - a fact that Octavian apparently did not fail to grasp. It would be a rather logical step from the dwarfs in Antony's entourage to those in the Ostian painted frieze: they are plain allusions to him as an enemy of the nation, no longer a Roman; the dwarfs are 'romanized' in that they perform things Roman and have Roman faces and hairdos. Moret reads this allusion as a pure political message, well understood by the owner of the house and his friends. Within the framework of Moret's reasoning this suggestion is very attractive.

The last chapter, again by Moret, analyses the pictorial style and language, as well as the color palette of the painting. Moret praises this unknown artist with great enthusiasm, which I can only share. The paintings show a great ability to represent movement, depth, spatiality and the rendering of materials by means of colors. He does not enter into the debate on a workshop, although at p. 143, note 65, he suggests a direct connection with a workshop recognized by Domenico Esposito that might have been active in Rome and Campania alike.

Academically there is a lot to criticize. There is not any direct indication in the scenes to justify a religious and/or political reading. Dwarfs are, as Moret himself makes clear, ubiquitous in the arts of the first century BC. Starting from the stratigraphically established chronology, 40-30 BC, the decorations *must* reflect the turmoil of the time, an idea that permeates the whole book, including the sections on the *gens Fabia*. Apart from the immense problem of correctly understanding this enormous puzzle with many more lacunae than the reconstruction justifies, there are interpretations that do not have a sound basis. One of the starting points is a dwarf carrying a yellow (gilded or bright bronze) helmet in his hands and sporting a similarly-colored yellow headdress. The headdress is supposed to make him one of the Salii, whose iconography is barely known, acting in the *Quinquatrus*. This is one of two feasts related to the beginning and end of the war season, when the weapons were ritually cleaned. The second one, the *Tubilustrium*, would be visible in the next scene. The only clear detail here is the presence of *tubae* at the right, being played instead of being cleaned. The scene with people running to the right gets the label of the feast of *Poplifugia*, commemorating, on July 5, the murder of Romulus and the subsequent flight of the Romans. A brown construction at the left would be Romulus' hut, which is a fancy proposal. Who would be the person standing in the entrance? Some heads in the background look forward and are not moving, as if they fail to notice the fleeing people. It is very far-fetched to see the recum-

bent man on the right side as a person described by Horace in a poem published decades later (pp. 63-64).

In the 'Sabine scene' we have the problem of the sex of the dwarfs fetching the children. Moret's first thought of the Sabine women reconciling Romans and Sabines sounds good, until one notices that at least some of these people with children are not women but sturdy, dark-skinned nude men with short curly hair (figs 8, 10, 29). The presence of fragmentary horse's legs incites Moret to a lengthy discourse on Mettius and Marcus Curtius (pp. 76-77), which brings us far away from the scene itself.

It is pure rhetoric and unfounded to see in the following fragment a reclining, half-nude woman a dark-brown nude man with a sword as Anna Perenna and Mars. If the sword is indicative, the nude male may represent Mars, but the woman is not as old as Anna Perenna in her story (p. 77): she rather is a fine 'Rückenakt' and looks like one of Vermeer's fine girls; she wears a yellow cap and glances back over her shoulder. She also seems to lack dwarfish proportions.

The last scene in the open would show Hercules slaying Cacus with the assistance of the monster's sister Caca (fig. 27). At the left side whitish birds would be cranes next to the Porta Trigemina, which I do not recognize in the tiny dots preserved. The birds, of course, bring us to the land of the Nile, the biotope of the dwarfs. But then, we would rather expect Romulus and Remus found by Faustulus as in the well-known frieze of the Esquiline tomb (now Museo Nazionale Romano). The Porta Trigemina is Moret's only argument to see Hercules as a main character in the house's ideology (p. 68).

The indoor scenes, referring to the *Artificum dies*, *Liberalia*, show a *fullonica* and a *caupona*, if we may believe Moret. Thanks to the *atellanae* and mimes, fullers were popular and could be connected with religion and with various gods (pp. 90-93). However, the only indication of such a workshop would be the fabric hanging on a pole. The person entering from the left with a bowl does not surely carry an ingredient for fulling. The second interior indeed seems to display a café. But why it would be the *Liberalia* of March 17? Finally, the use of dwarfs to represent these important ceremonies and feasts is seen as a pun against Mark Antony (see above), which at first glance looks fine, but makes me ask: how would a visitor react, if he did not know this connection? The scenes would be quite offensive and blasphemous, if venerable rites and feast were meant to be seen in the shape of parodies, even if the messages apparently were cryptic. In my opinion, these hypotheses raise more doubts than they provide solutions. In sum, while reading I became more and more skeptical about this series of evocative and interesting readings, and I really doubt whether such allusions would have made sense in a private oecus in the house of an important family. The dwarfs certainly are playful jokes, but can be innocent pastime themes discussed and laughed at during a social meeting in this festive room (I thank John Clarke for discussing and improving this review).

Eric M. Moormann

FABRIZIO VISTOLI (ed.), *La riscoperta della Via Flaminia più vicina a Roma: storia, luoghi, personaggi. Atti dell'Incontro di Studio*. Rome: Edizioni Nuova Cultura, 2010. 190 pp., ills, maps; 28.5 cm (Fors Clavigera 1). – ISBN 9788861345393.

FABRIZIO VISTOLI (ed.), *"Tomba di Nerone". Toponimo, comprensorio e zona urbanistica di Roma capitale. Scritti tematici in memoria di Gaetano Messineo*. Rome: Edizioni Nuova Cultura, 2012. 364 pp., ills, maps; 28.5 cm (Fors Clavigera 2). – ISBN 9788861345683.

This pair of studies concentrate on the study of the suburban parts of the main ancient roads leaving Rome towards the north, Via Flaminia and Via Cassia, and have a lot in common. Vistoli has stimulated various colleagues to highlight hitherto neglected aspects of ancient hodology and includes archival and art-historical sources to gain as much information as possible on the monuments studied. Both books are dedicated to one of the most important scholars on this area, the late Gaetano Messineo (1943-2010; see obituaries and memories in *Tomba di Nerone*, pp. 18-31).

Three scholars have contributed to the first book of what might become an attractive collection of 'Clavigerae'. After a brief introduction by Messineo, Vistoli presents the Via Flaminia, beginning with a testimony of the Dutch traveller Arnold van Buchell from 1587, and formulates a list of questions to be investigated; in a second essay he discusses the *horti* of Ovid and the tomb of Tor di Quinto. F. Laddaga gives a brief history of the road and also highlights the famous battle of Constantine and Maxentius in AD 312 near Saxa Rubra. M.P. Partisani, finally, renarrates the story of the discovery of the Villa of Livia *ad Gallinas albas* and the transport of the famous garden frescoes and other finds to the Museo Nazionale Romano. Vistoli rightly points at the regeneration of the old splendour and dignity of the Flaminia, often destroyed and prey of neglect and vandalism as other historical roads and their monuments. Laddaga's history starts with the construction and maintenance of roads by the Romans and focuses on Flaminia's history from its foundation in 223 or 220 BC by C. Flaminius Nepos as a consul or a censor. It served both military and economic goals and its history is comparable to the more or less contemporary Via Appia. Laddaga also tells a lot about the later use of the road and some of its stretches more distant from the *urbs*. As said, Vistoli focuses on the alleged villa of Ovid not far from the Milvian Bridge, as pointed out in old sources. Recent excavations at Tor di Quinto, 'collina Fleming' have revealed conspicuous remains of a suburban villa, including mosaics and mural paintings, which marvellously well correspond with Ovid's chronological data! Another monument is the turret-shaped tomb at Tor di Quinto, Via Nomentana, studied by Giacomo Boni to whom a large part of the paper is devoted. This scholar and architect made the tomb a sort of folly inside the park of Villa Blanc. Vistoli adds two more turret-like tombs in the same area and gives many relevant documents.

The second volume studies the so-called Tomb of Nero, which in fact is a 3rd-century sarcophagus for Publius Vibius Marianus, as is told in a monumental inscription on its front, along the Via Cassia (fig. 32). The large house-shaped chest stands on a sort of base, and formed a hall mark in the empty landscape of the campagna in the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Nowadays it is systemised in a small yard along the modern road and, recently, cleaned and made more presentable than in the last decades. The book has three parts. Part I (Il comprensorio) discusses the area, stories connected with it, and some particular sites. There are amusing stories about the connection with Nero who committed suicide outside Rome after his fall from power in June AD 68. We know from various sources that he was entombed in the properties of his family, probably in the zone of the S. Maria del Popolo, at the northern border of the Campus Martius and/or upon the west side of the Pincio. A large nut tree upon the grave ('Noce di Nerone') would house demons and ghosts, only expelled by the brave pope Paschalis II, after which a church could be erected. 'Popolo' would not refer to people but to the *populus* or poplar growing on top of the *sepulcrum Domitiorum*. This is an example of the interest in the tomb's and Nero's fortune from the Middle Ages onwards, discussed by A. Locchi. The knowledge gained from the important 1984 monograph on the tomb itself by E. Equini-Schneider is enriched by archive material, old prints and paintings, which explain the tomb's popularity over the ages as a hallmark for travellers coming to Rome from the north; the monument is topic of Part II (Il monumento). It even got a place in Roman poetry; a poem by Belli of 1831 is a proof of it (p. 59). As in the other book, Vistoli advocates thorough studies in archives and gives a large amount of unpublished documents which shed light on the past. I only mention inedited maps of the Via Cassia of great importance discussed by R. Niccolò (pp. 129-131). Vibius' tomb is not an isolated monument: other tombs as well as villas are known from old sources and excavations. Nowadays it forms a nice set with churches and other complexes, stemming from the past and the present (L. Annesi and R. Niccolò on modern architecture, pp. 343-353). These spaces are subject of Part III (Approfondimenti tematici).

There is, unfortunately, a lot of repetition in this second monograph, since the various contributors over and over use the same documents and/or refer to the same topics. To give one example, the finds of excavations in the late 18th century, under pope Pius VI Braschi, a man highly interested in archaeology, are discussed in a catalogue (G. Spinola) and in separate contributions on these excavations, on epitaphs, and on sarcophagi. Notwithstanding these doubles and triples, the book and its counterpart are pleasant and highly informative works; their attactiveness is enhanced by the tasteful lay-out and the incredible treasures of illustrations in black-and-white and colour.

Eric M. Moormann

GUNNAR BRANDS/MARTIN MAISCHBERGER (eds), *Lebensbilder. Klassische Archäologen und der Nationalsozialismus* 1. Rahden/Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2012. 256 pp., figs; 29.7 cm (Geschichte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts im 20. Jahrhundert; ForschungsCluster 5; Mensche – Kulturen – Traditionen 2.1.). – ISBN 879-3-86757-382-5/ISSN 2193-5300.

While in several countries the ideas of denazification after the Second Worl War are assessed in various ways, this book is one of the first attempts to assess the diverse roles scientists – in casu archaeologists – played in the fatal era 1933-1945, both in and outside Germany. The project was launched by the German Archaeological Institute (here DAI), but does not form an institutional history. By means of highlighting principal protagonists more or less connected with this paramount organization - favoured during the NS time with large sums of money - the reader gets insight into the circles of persons who made the DAI, which may provide preliminary data for further assessments of the role and development of the discipline of Classical Archaeology during the decades before the rise of Hitler, the period 1933-1945, and the aftermath. The authors of the contributions - archaeologists as well as historians - are not burdened by the bias of personal involvement as those who wrote biographical sketches in the 1970s-1980s for the uncritical *Archäologenbildnisse* of 1988 and other publications (see their brief biographies on pp. 255-256).

Gunnar Brands opens with a lengthy and very important essay (pp. 1-34) on German academia and, in particular, the position of Classical Archaeology in the Third Reich and the consequences. Germany was the leading nation in this discipline until the 1930s and had an exemplary function abroad. Many projects had a strong international character and attracted scholars from other countries. Although archaeology was ideologically not the most important branch of research (as a matter of fact, humanities stood on a low grade of the academic scale under the Nazis), it made itself a fine 'spokesman' of the new order by turning research towards racial questions and the bond of Mediterranean Aryans and Germans, definitions of Greek and Roman superiority in comparison with oriental cultures, presentations of ancient monuments as examples for modern (i.e. fascist) behaviour and society, and so on. Most German university professors easily adhered the new regime in 1933, which had no ideas at all regarding Antiquity, and many silently accepted the expulsion of Jewish and politically dissident colleagues. The Nazi ideology seemed to meet with approval among scholars and to provide new possibilities for research, now reactionary, antidemocratic, nationalistic, and racist in various ways. In brief: many academicians were 'systemloyal' (p. 9) and, even without being forced, collaborated by publishing works emanating the new ideas. This even continued in various cases after 1945, while little was done to stimulate the return of exiled colleagues. It is striking that these victims often did not protest during or after their cruel experiences (e.g. Georg Karo) and some of them even helped the 'brown

brothers' by writing positively to the denazification committees (e.g. the Jewish Hermine Speier in favour of Armin von Gerkan, see below). The former 'browns' often reacted extremely coldly and legalistically to their exiled colleagues: old or new rules formed good hiding places for authorities, also when replying to exiled colleagues like Karl Lehmann-Hartleben who would only accept a membership of the DAI again in the late 1940s, if Nazi members were expelled (p. 27). Brands discusses the post-war effects of denazification and punishment, which were almost zero: many archaeologists held their positions or gained good ones after a brief period of expulsion. The benevolent acceptance might be explained by the fact that the pupils of the older generation were establishing their own positions and could barely discard the old *Doktorväter* and senior colleagues, which may make this a problematic generation in itself, when we want to judge the scientific standard and integrity (pp. 20-21). This new approach meets with approval from researchers in other countries and has resulted in a new bunch of publications like *Fragmenta* 2 edited by Nathalie de Haan, Martijn Eickhoff and Marjan Schwegman (see S. Marchand, *BABESCH* 85, 2010, 209-210) and the long essay by Hubertus Manderscheid in *Hephaistos* 27, 2010, 41-69 (see my review, *BABESCH* 87, 2012, 226-227).

The biographies rely on thorough research of archive documents, publications of the portrayed persons and other testimonies and all show a profound knowledge of the topic and the difficulties connected with the genre of biography. In no case oral testimonies have been used, simply because the involved persons almost all passed away a long time ago, but also out of principle. In this review no deep analysis of these studies can be given. I only mention some of the most striking results. Most persons portrayed leave us with an ambiguous record, few of them being not only 'black' or 'white'. Giulio Emanuele Rizzo, sketched by Rachele Dubbini, for instance, was expulsed from the highest Italian ranks by the Italian fascists, but held his belief in the old doctrine. Marcello Barbanera analyses Alessandro Della Seta's absolute belief in Italian supremacy in eastern-Mediterranean archaeology endorsed by the Mussolini regime. As a Jew, he was dismissed from the Scuola Italiana di Atene in 1938 because of the new racial laws. Since almost no personal data are known of the remainder of his life, until his death somewhere in Liguria in 1944, we cannot fully judge Della Seta's thoughts, while his deeds irrevocably show a ferrous commitment to the fascist ideology. A similar ambiguity rises in Paul Jacobsthal's portrait by Frederick Jagust. He effectively stimulated research on Classical Archaeology and Prehistory in the University of Marburg until he was licensed in 1935 as a 'Volljude', although, without apparent problems, he collaborated in the early Nazi years, even embracing the political declaration academic professors had to sign. Thanks to his warm friendship with Sir John Beazley he would get an appointment in Oxford and, finally, became a British citizen. Otto Brendel, who had a Jewish wife, fled to the USA and accomplished a brilliant career after several years of hardship. His impressive portrait - strangely lacking images apart from a bronze bust - is by Katharina Lorenz.

Wilhelm Otto von Vacano was also an arduous collaborator of the German regime, mainly working in youth organisations like the Hitler Jugend and the Adolf Hitler Schulen, while his two wives fulfilled similar functions in the Bund Deutscher Mädel. His meagre academic work during the NS years partly aimed at proving the racial supremacy of the Spartans in comparison to other Greeks, but he mainly wrote pamphlets for the youth on racial subjects. After the war he gradually got esteem by his popular books on the Etruscans, seen as Italics in the vein of Massimo Pallottino's *italianità*, in which he left out racial (or racist) parameters. In the University of Tübingen and international circles Vacano became an acclaimed scholar and his obituaries would forget to mention previous stages of his life. Martin Miller, the author of the biography, recalls his own warm meetings with Vacano on Etruscan matters in the early 1990s. Hence, we meet, again, a hybrid character.

Mathias René Hofter sketches the life of Ernst Buschor, an important *Vasenforscher*. His Nazi interest might correspond with his sympathy for 'völkische' and anti-civil tendencies as propagated by the Nazis. Nevertheless, he never was a NSDAP member. His influence on younger generations (e.g. Wrede, see below) was great. His scholarly work during the Nazi years includes *Vom Kriegertum der Parthenonzeit*, while he also gave classes in the Adolf Hitler Schulen. After the war he was briefly suspended, but could take up relatively easily his old job and in the 1960s many of his pupils occupied important chairs of Classical Archaeology.

The complicated situation as to loyalty to the regime, on one hand, and personal agenda and friends, on the other, is illustrated at best in Gerkan's career within the Third Reich. He held the high position of director of the DAI in Rome, wrote booklets for the German soldiers, did not hesitate to push excavation projects into dubious new directions, but seemingly helped immediately inflicted colleagues like Speier. Thomas Fröhlich masterly retraces Gerkan's long trip through dangerously moving Skylla and Charybis-like monsters. The aftermath (1945-1969) lacked new scientific and organizational activities; the fall of the Third Reich and its consequences must have been a final blow for him personally.

Gerkan coined ten (former) colleagues as 'braune Sünder' (p. 223). One of them was Siegfried Fuchs who was Gerkan's colleague in Rome from 1936 until 1945. He was active in organizing local NSDAP parties and shared the SS, in which duty he fought in North Africa and Corsica. His scientific research concentrated on the Longobards and the Goths in Italy and their ties with the Nordic races. Apparently he felt no sorrow after 1945, but his career was out. He is sketched very skillfully and impressively by Marie Vigener as a fanatic, unpleasant person, only pursuing his own and the party's interests, without any personal concern for possible victims like Speier.

Walther Wrede was a fanatic NSDAP member, although he became a member as late as 1934. As the leader of the German Nazi's in Athens, in combination with the directorate of the Athenian DAI, he was seen as an important force by the government in Berlin. Since his scientific production was low, the appointment to the directorate in 1937 must have had high protection, probably of Goebbels himself. Michael Krumme describes the discussions and problems risen about his appoint-

ment in great detail. Wrede seems also a sort of scapegoat after the war, getting on his shoulders all guilt. He still lived 45 years, being active in local archaeology in the environment of Tübingen and characterized as a friendly, modest man.

The German patriarch of archaeology, Gerhardt Rodenwaldt, and the full-fledged Nazi Hans Schleif committed suicide in 1945 (though in different circumstances; Schleif first killed his wife and children). Especially Schleif's biography, written as a very black crime story by Stephan Lehmann, reveals the deep involvement in the NS organizations of terror and destruction. Archaeology played no role any longer in this arduous administrative work in high-ranking SD offices.

Franz Miltner (portrayed by Martina Pesditschek) and Fritz Schachermeyr (to be portrayed in volume II) wrote racism-burdened archaeological studies, but would be able to continue their academic careers after the war, though after some difficulties to be superseded. The Austrian Miltner already illegally became a NSDAP member in 1937, that is before Austria's *Anschluss*, and would defend Germany's search for *Lebensraum* and the study of races as a scientific discipline. His purely racist *Germanische Köpfe der Antike* of 1938 would be reprinted until the 1970s. Another Austrian is Camillo Praschniker who, as is made clear by Gudrun Wlach, was president of the Austrian Archaeological Institute (ÖAI) from 1945 until his death in 1949, combining this job with the professorship in Vienna's university during the same period. After 1945 he defended his NSDAP membership and related activities as necessary to keep up the ÖAI, which had been transformed into a *Zweigstelle* of the DAI. Since almost no personal documents are known, Wlach prudently concludes that, indeed, Praschniker was an opportunist who tried to achieve the best possible for his work and the institutions he led, but not a tenacious NS follower.

Martijn Eickhoff's Alexander Willem Byvanck - one of the founders of BABESCH and its long-lasting chief editor - remains more or less vague as to his commitment to Nazism and Italian fascism, which is not the author's fault, but depends on the lack of personal documents illustrating his private opinions. Clearly, Byvanck did not stay away from Italy in the 1920s and 1930s and also participated in the international archaeological congress at Berlin in 1939, where he must have observed the oppressing, propagandistic character the Germans tried to give it. This portrait gives more clues concerning this period than Eickhoff's previous contributions on this theme.

I do not understand the inclusion of a portrait of Wolfgang Volbach by Wolfram Kinzig. This fervent anti-Nazi was an art historian, mainly working in late antiquity and medieval studies and principally writing catalogues of museum collections. He had neither strong bonds with the DAI nor with others portrayed in this book. His *vita* is very interesting, showing deeds of resistance in Rome by a real *Lebemann*, who had enormous networks, many friends and, apparently, various love affairs next to his three marriages.

Even if there are some editorial flaws like references to not included Lebensbilder and missing page numbers and typos, the book shows an impeccable editorial homogeneity and organization. I cannot wait to read its sequel, expected very soon. With that volume the project comes to an ends, but suggestions of and references to other relevant 'candidates' may lead to other volumes as well. We still entirely miss French, British, Greek and Turkish archaeologists active in that era. But let me not be too impatient.

Eric M. Moormann

MARIA WIGGEN, *Die Laokoon-Gruppe. Archäologische Rekonstruktionen und künstlerische Ergänzungen*. Ruhpolding & Mainz: Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, 2011. 324 pp., 154 ills, 3 Beilagen; 27 cm (Stendaler Winckelmann-Forschungen 9). – ISBN 3-447-0646-3.

The reconstruction of the find spot of the Laocoon and, what seems, a plausible connection with Tiberius as the owner of the statue by Rita Volpe (*BCom* 110, 2009, 81-109), was not yet known to Maria Wiggen, when she brought to the press her manuscript on the history and validity of the Laocoon reconstructions through the ages. Yet, it would not have been a topic, since this book, originating from a PhD project in Frankfurt, uniquely focuses on the material reconstruction of the fragmentarily preserved group of Laocoon. It is a fascinating book about the way scholars and artists tried to complete the group, found in January 1506, that missed the right arm of Laocoon himself and, what is less known, much more. We are all accustomed to the repiecing Filippo Magi made in 1957-1959 of the Laocoon, with a bent right arm, found and identified as pertaining to the group as early as 1903-1904 by the art dealer Ludwig Pollak. He and others pleaded for a reconstruction in which Laocoon's arm was not stretched, as was the case with the various completions from the middle of the 16th century onwards. Although Magi was careful, knowing that he radically changed the icon that was Laocoon in the traditional form, Wiggen makes clear that even this action was burdened with biases and mistakes. An important and convincing conclusion is that the Pollak arm may belong to another Laocoon (as has been suggested previously), but is decidedly not part of this one due to the different proportions (esp. pp. 36-49, 151). Another right arm of Laocoon himself, a Renaissance not completely smoothed 'bossierter Arm', makes it appearance next to Baccio Bandinelli's reconstruction of the group with a similarly bent right arm. Since both are similar, they match fairly well the modern ideas about the original shape of the Laocoon. Wiggen's meticulous analysis makes clear that Magi and other scholars were almost blinded by the genius of the unknown artist, consequently seen almost surely as Michelangelo, and got an inspiration to consider the Pollak arm as the genuine missing part. Wiggen, therefore, practices a thrilling sort of detective work to reveal the way of thinking and working of Magi and others.

Another vexed question is the reconstruction of the right upper arm of the oldest (right) son, which has to do at the same time with the reconstruction of his position next to the father. Wiggen makes clear that the various attempts depend on previous one, although authors pretend to give new and independent solutions. They often make use of old documents that seem reliable, but also include alterations made over time. The third restored item is the right arm of the younger boy, which has its

relevance for the reconstruction of the right outline of the whole group. Also in this matter, all reconstructions - either virtual or real (Magi) - have their flaws. The main weakness is that the remains of the upper arm as preserved in the bronze cast made by Primaticcio around 1540 have not been taken into account.

A third main problem is that of the reconstruction of the upper snake ('obere Schlange'), which has to do with the position of its head (biting the left flank or the shoulder of Laocoon) and the position of the left hand of the younger son. Again, the various attempts at reconstruction seemingly are fresh, but in fact heavily rely on the existing images, beginning with ancient representations of Laocoon's punishment by the two snakes. These testimonies, according to the author, cannot be used at all, while each reconstruction should start from the statue entirely stripped of the 'crust' of additions, completions and reconstructions the statue underwent over the ages. The early bronze cast by Primaticcio clearly shows that in some places, esp. on the right shoulder of Laocoon, there was more left than in later phases, which can be explained as the consequences of recutting and piecing new elements.

The working method is rather wide-winding since after an in-depth analysis of the various proposals of reconstructions, interventions (virtual and real), and real completions, Wiggen gives 'Kommentare' in which many of these data come to the fore again, but now mixed with her scientific analysis and personal opinions. It may be laudable to separate the factual stories of the followed procedures from the commentaries; yet the latter are not only juicier to read than the reports, but also better understandable. Wiggen accuses most of the 20th-century scholars of inaccurate methods, often not going beyond observations on one or two particular problems (especially Laocoon's right arm) and not being aware of the influence old interventions exert on their reconstructions. As said, no one starts with a Laocoon as found in 1506, that is much more damaged than it presents itself from the middle of the 16th century onwards. The author finishes her rigorous account, which even sometimes reads as a detective story, with the verdict that Magi's Laocoon, the one we all have in our mind, is in no way the original statue. It is a construct as are almost all reconstructions we make, but here it is most serious, since the old shape seems no longer be traceable at all.

Eric M. Moormann

KLAUS MÜLLER, *Die Ehrenbogen in Pompeji. Mit Beiträgen von Valentin Kockel*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2011. 140 pp., 115 figs, 23 pls; 33 cm (Studien zur antiken Stadt 10) – ISBN 978-3-89500-817-7.

A great lacuna in the large field of *pompeiana* has now finally been filled, namely the documentation and study of the honorary arches of Pompeii. They feature in many guides, papers on urbanism, and studies about honorary monuments, whereas they exercised a great appeal on Pompeii travelers. Since they stand on and nearby the forum, they are known from the excavations in the second decade of the nineteenth century onwards. The initiator of the project, Valentin Kockel, sketches in his introduction the discovery and old documentation of the four arches on and nearby the Forum and the fifth at the entrance of the Via Stabiana. An attractive set of documents is a bunch of hitherto unpublished drawings by Sir William Gell (1777-1836), who is well-known for his important Pompeii books. These sketches (now in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art in Paris) provide fresh images of the monuments not yet restored or damaged by the excavators or the injury of time. Kockel also reconstructs the third arch torn down in Antiquity, of which traces can be seen in the pavement on the right (east) side of the steps of the Temple of Jupiter, in line with the western arch. He quotes Gell's hypothesis of the existence of this arch, but is wrong in assuming a reconstruction by Gell on one of his drawings (p. 20, fig. 8): the right arch is number 4 next to the Macellum, well recognizable thanks to the deep niches and the position in the background, so that we have images of the two arches also visible on the earth quake reliefs in the House of Caecilius Jucundus. This drawing illustrates what Le Corbusier wrote in 1911 on a sketch of the northern side of the Forum: *'l'inégalité des 2 arcs de triomphe déterminant 1 rythme et 1 équilibre correspondants'* (in A. M. Berritto, *Pompei 1911. Le Corbusier e l'origine della casa*, Naples 2011, 43). At the end of his introduction Kockel formulates the goals of this study. Next to the documentation and proposals for reconstruction, the arches should be seen in their urban environment, and especially within the setting of the forum. Mere guess work is that about possible (imperial) founders of the arches, for which sometimes wild proposals have been published. Better no suggestions than fool ones, Kockel rightly advocates.

The architect Klaus Müller has taken up Kockel's questions and presents a meticulous and thorough documentation of the arches. In fact, there are three real arches, one arch torn down, a heavy arch-like basis (all on the Forum and the nearby Via di Mercurio), and a *quadrifrons* of which almost nothing exists any longer on the crossroad of Via Stabiana and Via dell'Abbondanza. Müller presents all monuments in detail and gives suggestions to reconstruct their original shapes. Strikingly, almost nothing of the original marble revetment has been preserved: were the arches under construction or restoration in AD 79, were slabs taken away briefly after the eruption by robbers, or did the excavators strip the structures? The latter suggestion seems hardly probable, if we may rely on Gell's drawings, although pieces fallen off could easily have been removed by the excavators immediately and reused elsewhere. Neither Müller nor Kockel succeed in interpreting all arches as honorary, liminal or triumphal monuments, so that even the definition 'Ehrenbogen' in the title of the book remains doubtful in several cases. The only inscription known and associated with an arch, *CIL* X 798, should pertain to the monument between the Temple of Jupiter and the Macellum. This might be true or not (p. 78), so that even this arch remains anonymous. It rather was a monumental façade separating the forum track from the roads behind and monumentalizing this part of the public space. The arch at the Via di Mercurio surely was a hon-

orary arch thanks to the bronze equestrian statue found next to it. Müller convincingly rejects the traditional interpretation of the rider as Caligula and sees him as a local elite member, probably from the time of Tiberius.

In sum, the work is a welcome addition to the often not well-documented and therefore poorly investigated public monuments of Pompeii. It may invite other scholars to discuss the function of the arches in the future, who can make use of the thorough documentation and sound thoughts brought forward by both Kockel and Müller.

Eric M. Moormann

TYLER JO SMITH, *Komast dancers in archaic Greek art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. xxx+358 pp., 5 figs, 42 pls; 25 cm (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology) – ISBN 978-0-19-957865-8.

This monograph is based on the 1997 Oxford dissertation by Tyler Jo Smith, of the University of Virginia. In it she presents a very thorough account of a specific type of imagery that is fairly prevalent in archaic Greek art, mostly in black-figure vase painting, much more rarely in other media: what she calls 'komast dancers'. The author makes short shrift of the confusing array of designations for these images in older literature, such as 'padded dancers' or 'Dickbauchtänzer': such labels can be shown to fit only a small subsection of the imagery. So we are left with the single neutral designation of 'komasts' for all of these dancers. That seems to be a very practical solution, presupposing that we accept the definition given by Smith: a *komos* is an event at which dancing and/or reveling takes place, and a komast is any individual who is participating in such an event (p. 2, n. 8). I would find this very general definition easier to accept if, as Smith suggests, these komasts dancers were the only human (as opposed to the Dionysiac *thiasos*) dancers in archaic Greek art. This is, however, not quite correct, although they certainly are by far the most common ones. We will have to come back to this issue.

After a short introductory chapter, Smith offers seven chapters that deal with different centres of image production: Corinth, Athens I (Komast Group, Siana cups and the Tyrrhenian Group), Athens II (Lydos to the Swing Painter), Laconia, Boeotia, Aegean islands and Asia Minor (Chian, Fikellura, Clazomenian), and Magna Grecia/Etruria (Caeretan, Campana Group, Chalcidian). Then follows an even shorter concluding chapter. The volume continues with a number of tables summarizing the distribution of the three main iconographic themes that Smith pursues throughout her text (dress and attributes, poses and gestures, and context) across her geographic categories and subcategories (excluding Corinth for which the reader is referred to the work of A. Seeberg); a comprehensive bibliography; an index of museums/collections; and a general index. The book is completed by some 60 pages of illustrations (not true plates, despite the 'list of plates' on pp. xxiii-xxvii). A single 'plate' can be, confusingly, distributed across several pages.

The 20 pages of introduction and conclusion frame some 225 pages of what is in fact a catalogue of komast vases, conceived in a Beazleyan vein (not surprising when one considers the background of the author in Oxford, with John Boardman and Donna Kurtz - of the Beazley Archive - amongst her mentors). Only, the material is not presented as a catalogue, but as a continuous account, thus forming a kind of running commentary on the 700 vases discussed here, out of the over 1000 catalogued in the original dissertation of the author. That has its advantages: the author wants to do much more than offer a bare bones catalogue (we will come back to what exactly it is that she wants to do), and having 225 pages and no catalogue gives her much more room to comment on the material she collected than would have been possible otherwise. There are setbacks as well. I would be lying if I recommended this book as a good read: it is a very dense text packed with detailed descriptions of ancient imagery, interspersed with passages that offer some relief in the way of an interpretative discourse that ranges beyond artists, workshops and so on. So this is very much a book by a classical archaeologist for classical archaeologists with a comparable interest in (cataloguing) Greek vases. But they might have preferred a true catalogue, one that offered more information about individual items, and especially more illustrations. Now, a few more than 150 vases out of the 700 discussed are illustrated - and not always in a completely satisfactory manner. We get photographs of complete vases, often quite small, as opposed to detailed views of (part of) dance scenes on other vases; of some vases both sides are illustrated, of others we get only a single-side view; there is no indication of relative size; in general, these are rather greyish low-contrast images - though of acceptable quality.

As already said above, it is not Smith's intention to provide us with a mere catalogue. She states explicitly that she does not intend to replicate the work done by A. Seeberg for Corinth (*Corinthian komos vases*, London 1971), but seeks to enlarge its scope by including the komast imagery produced in other centres. What she does aim at is a remake of A. Greifenhagen's *Eine attische schwarzfigurige Vasengattung und die Darstellung des Komos im VI. Jahrhundert* (Königsberg 1929), indeed the most recent book-length study that tried to bring together all the relevant evidence. In just over 100 pages, Greifenhagen discussed Attic black-figure komasts, put these into a wider iconographic context by discussing comparable images from Corinth, Chalkis, Boeotia, Laconia and 'elsewhere', and offered several ways of interpreting these images, including their possible relationship to early drama. He also added a (rather summary) catalogue of 367 items. That looks very much like the book by Smith, except that compared to 1929 the number of relevant objects has trebled. But also our knowledge of production centres and dating has become much refined. What Smith offers us, is up-to-date scholarship on Greek vase painting - and that shows that we have come quite a long way since 1929. And there is more: Smith's work is also illustrative of big changes in the interpretative field. Where Greifenhagen operated from an essentially 19th-century conviction that collecting all the evidence and analyzing it will lead inexorably to an unambiguous understanding of what this is all about, Smith is a modern author who feels that we cannot come to any conclusive results. Although she duly notes in her intro-

ductory chapter that the literary sources for the komos should also be looked at afresh, something she did not get round to doing (p. 5), she does know very well - versed as she is in the history of dance in the ancient world - that the written sources are hardly any help. The problem with Greifenhagen and many others (by the way, it is a pity Smith offers no extensive historiography: the many contributions to the subject are now hidden away in footnotes and the bibliography) is, that they interpret dance imagery in the light of texts that are gathered left and right, from Homer down to Byzantine lexicographers, and which in the large majority of cases cannot be proven to have any bearing on the imagery at all. So Smith does wise to stick to the imagery. But at the same time she has to refrain from all kinds of speculative interpretation - because she has no texts to lead her there (lead her astray). All she can do is list her options. This is not a post-modern stance of 'anything goes', as the author has been accused of taking, but it is simply honesty: there are a couple of possible interpretations, and the one image fits the one interpretation somewhat better than the next, but that is as far as we can go.

In the above, what we have been talking about is, of course, the way these images relate to 'real life', as Smith puts it: we want to find out the 'proposed function of the komos in....Greek life' (p. 2), we want to 'disentangle the imagined context on vases from the real one of the dance', and 'the komast belongs not only to the visual culture of Archaic Greece, but to the performance culture as well' (p. 8, cf. p. 13). So one of the things the author would like to get at is real dance as seen through the medium of the painted pot. Smith knows, better than most others, what 'the medium of the painted pot' means: it means that we can never hope to reconstruct an ancient dance in its kinetic shape from the imagery (or from any other source for that matter); all we can hope for is a general idea of what kind of dance befitted what kind of occasion. And it is even that which often proves difficult. In this case, too difficult to come up with a single unambiguous solution.

Obviously, there is quite another way of looking at our komasts: as a 'stock figure'. Smith states that for the artist conventions, technique, and market are more important than 'the desire to communicate a formal dance routine' (p. 6). These are issues that something *can* be said about, and with her unique acquaintance with this material, this is something that Smith does with great acumen. The way in which a certain theme, a figure in art, is passed on from the one generation to the other, from the one region to the other, and the dynamism of this process, is something that Smith can show beautifully by way of our komasts. This might, however, be seen to conflict with the idea that this imagery translates one way or another real life performances: are we speaking of performances that travel with the images, or of performances that were a widespread phenomenon, waiting, so to speak, for the patterns by which they could be represented to arrive? And by mentioning the market, we have also raised the question of what the attraction of this particular theme might have been: why have people been so eager to have komast imagery around them? What could be the meaning of these vases? The one thing that is obvious is that the meaning will be different, if these are indeed representations of performances in observable reality, from what the meaning might be, if they are not. This kind of questions crops up in every chapter of this book, but Smith does not always address them explicitly, and we are left to solve by ourselves the possible clash between imagery that is self-referent, and imagery that refers to occurrences in the outside world. Smith sums up (p. 12): these images refer to live human behaviour, they are not merely the product of artistic convention. 'These are real dancers, in actual settings, inspired by true events.' I tend to agree with her (although with a number of qualifications), and I think that in the light of the whole iconographic corpus with its peculiarities this makes sense - but she, and I, would be hard put to prove that this is indeed the case.

Smith rightly asks why these images should have a single meaning: they could have multiple meanings (p. 9). It seems that she goes one step further down this rather slippery slope (however justified this approach may be): on p. 6 she asks herself whether different schemes on the painted pots could mean that we are dealing with a different event, or a different dance? I find it a pity that she has not pursued this line more explicitly. When she shows that 'Dickbauchtänzer', 'padded dancers', 'danseurs rembourrés' are labels that hold good for only a small part of the komast imagery, when she suggests that a few examples seem to point to a religious festival, or other cult occasion, when she allows for a number of images to be interpreted as some kind of play acting, and so on, I would hazard the hypothesis that there is no such thing as the one category of komast dancers. Smith's general definition (a *komos* is a dance event) supports the notion of this diverse, but still singular category, and of course the weight of a century of scholarship, whether they mistakenly called all of these dancers 'padded' or 'fat' or not, is behind it. I would suggest that here we have images representing a number of different dances being performed in different contexts - just one of these contexts (admittedly an important one) is the *komos*. Smith seems so close to this conclusion: she offers all the arguments for it, she states that 'no single explanation presents itself' (p. 243), but she never ends up at the bottom of that slippery slope where I am waiting for someone to join me.

This is a book that should be on the shelves of anybody who has a serious interest in archaic Greek vase painting. A substantial set of material is discussed here in a very intelligent manner that illuminates the way in which imagery develops and travels. Considering that the komasts are in several instances the first humans depicted in archaic vase painting, this study is quite relevant for the development of the human figure in Greek art in general. To those with an interest in dance history the book will be difficult reading and the results will be disappointing. Maybe they should read Smith's contribution, The corpus of komast vases: from identity to exegesis, in E. Csapo/M.C. Miller (eds), *The origins of theater in ancient Greece and beyond. From ritual to drama*, New York 2007, where all her conclusions are set out in a neat 30 pages. On the other hand, those interested in the dance rather than the vases, should maybe read this book after all. Because it is so honest, or unprejudiced, as Smith herself calls it: out there, there is a lot of speculative talk on ancient Greek dancing, from the Renaissance down

to Steven Lonsdale - whom I single out because Smith dedicated her book to him. She may be indebted to him, but nevertheless she operates quite differently from Lonsdale or others like him who jump at conclusions. She very carefully dissects the evidence, to conclude, and rightly so, that there is no single overarching explanation that will cover all of it. This book can teach anyone how difficult it is to 'read' this imagery and to relate it to what we think we know about archaic society.

Frederick G. Naerebout

RICHARD VEYMIERS, *Ἴλεως τῷ φοροῦντι: Sérapis sur les gemmes et les bijoux antiques*. Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 2009. 608 pp., 28 pls, 12 maps; 28.5 cm (Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques, Collection in 4o, 3e série, vol. 1, No. 2061). – ISBN 978-2-8031-0261-7.

This book, a complete catalog of all carved gems and jewelry (along with some small objets d'art) featuring Sarapis, fills a hole in the scholarly literature on this god by collecting and exploring in depth a source for his worship that has not previously received proper study, and also represents an important contribution to our knowledge of Sarapis's iconography. While statues, busts and reliefs of Sarapis have tended to receive the majority of attention, these much smaller objects - of which nearly 1350 are now known - are no less informative regarding how the god was perceived and represented by his worshipers throughout the Greek East and Latin West, as Veymiers ably demonstrates. Moreover, many of these items also have value as finely crafted works of art, formed from a range of materials which includes roughly 50 types of gemstone or mineral, precious and non-precious metals, various types of glass, and clay. This volume, therefore, should be welcomed not only by scholars of ancient religion, but also art history. (In addition to the 1218 items cataloged in the book, Veymiers has produced a supplement devoted to 121 objects that he publishes for the first time or were published by others during the years 2007-2010: R. Veymiers, Ἴλεως τῷ φοροῦντι: Sérapis sur les gemmes et les bijoux antiques. Supplément I, in L. Bricault/R. Veymiers (eds), *Bibliotheca Isiaca* II (Bordeaux, 2011), 239-271.)

Following a brief overview of the history of the cult of Sarapis (pp. 13-18) and discussion of these objects that covers testimonies, previous scholarship, dating issues and their purpose (pp. 18-22), Veymiers launches into a 200-page, exhaustive analysis of the god's iconography that is arranged so as to correspond to the sections of the catalog. This catalog is organized by typology, with every entry assigned to one of six categories: 'Têtes et bustes,' 'Trônant,' 'Debout,' 'Allongé sur la *klinè*,' 'Accompagné d'autres divinités,' and 'Assimilé à d'autres divinités.' Following the catalog proper is an 'appendix' devoted to 41 similar items that name Sarapis but do not represent him, which is valuable for its collection of epithets and formulas used to express belief in the god's powers or invoke them. The entries in both catalog and supplement are thorough and detailed, presenting iconographical information, bibliography, provenience, current location, and other essentials. These entries are complemented by 77 black and white and 28 color plates that typically feature twelve images each, many of outstanding quality. Accompanying these are several tables that break down the iconographical elements in terms of frequency, maps that illustrate geographical as well as chronological distribution (to the extent possible), and extensive indexes that anticipate the reader's needs.

As Veymiers notes, in most cases there is insufficient information to determine precisely what had motivated a worshiper to wear one of these objects. A small but substantial number do, however, bear short texts that reveal their purpose in the form of a prayer (e.g., 'Sarapis, conquer jealousy [i.e., the evil eye]' (no A.11), 'Sarapis, save me' (nos A.25, A.39), 'Protect (me)' (I.AB 187), or 'There is one Zeus Sarapis, may he be propitious to the wearer' (A.10), from which the book gets its title), theological statement of the god's nature or stature (e.g., 'Great is the name of Lord Sarapis' (A.37), 'There is one Zeus Sarapis' (various), 'The one who listens conquers' (V.BBC 1)), or some other indication of the god's powers (e.g., 'The believer; a remedy' (V.AD 1)). Though the majority of the inscribed gems reflect mainstream religious beliefs and practices, many bear *voces magicae* or other textual evidence indicating use as magical amulets. Similarly, the overwhelming majority have images of Sarapis that are typical for the god's cult, but a small number feature iconographical elements associated with Greco-Egyptian magical gems. This catalog, therefore, represents a useful source for the 'magic vs. religion' problem, as these objects were mostly meant to be worn by people wishing to have the god's support and protection, but some are more 'magical' than others. Due to the god's multifaceted iconography on these 1218 objects, his frequent representation in the presence of other gods, and the inscribed texts that reveal much about the god's nature and what was expected of him by his worshipers, the catalog provides a valuable source for the study of Sarapis's cult, as the author's accompanying discussions show.

The work's one drawback - and it is admittedly a subjective one - is the system for numbering the objects in the catalog, which makes finding individual entries take longer than normal. Each of the six typological categories is itself subdivided, and most of these subdivisions are further subdivided, and a number of these secondary subdivisions are themselves subdivided, so that ultimately the six main categories contain 74 specific iconographical types, and the numbering system depends on these: thus, for example, nos VI.EAB 1-3 are the three intaglios that feature Sarapis with the iconography of Ammon, Asklepios and Helios, leading to the categorization of each as 'Assimilé à d'autres divinités' (VI), 'Sérapis panthée' (E), 'Bustes de Sérapis panthée' (A), 'Bustes de Sérapis-Ammon-Asklépios-Hélios' (B). While this system for arranging the catalog is perfectly logical and not itself a problem, it takes longer to find individual entries under this alpha-numeric coding system than it would if all of them had simply been numbered 1-1218. This system does, however, have the benefit of making it easier to supplement the catalog and assign new or overlooked objects to their proper category, as Veymiers has already done.

Recent years have seen a surge in the publication of

works devoted to 'magical' (or 'Gnostic') gems, including an ongoing project aimed at cataloging them (A. Mastrocinque (ed.), *Sylloge Gemmarum Gnosticarum* (2003-)). These works generally focus on individual collections or geographical regions, but Veymiers's approach shows the great value of collecting and analyzing all of the specimens representing or naming a specific divinity. It is to be hoped that studies will soon appear for the other divinities commonly represented on gems and jewels, and that these will use *Ἵλεως τῷ φοροῦντι* as their model.

Gil H. Renberg

MASSIMO FRASCA, *Leontinoi. Archeologia di una colonia greca*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2009. XVIII+182 pp., 28 figs, 23 pls; 24 cm (Archaeologica 152). – ISSN 0391-9293. ISBN 978-88-7689-239-4.

This book tells all there is to know and gives all literature up to 2009 about the Greek colony of Leontinoi on Sicily, founded by settlers from Euboian Chalkis. Leontinoi and the other Chalcidians in Naxos and Katanè owed their wealth to the possession of the plain of Catania (400 km^2) with its cereals, viticulture, horse-breeding (the local elite of archaic Leontinoi was formed by *hippeis*), fishery in rivers and sea, and sheeps' wool and cheese. Schubring, in 1874, was the first to identify the site of Leontinoi with the help of its description in Polybius: south of the modern city of Lentini, on the hills of S. Mauro and Metapiccola. Paolo Orsi, who else, was the first to excavate: Sikel cemeteries in 1899, Greek fortifications in 1930. Its site was inhabited before the Greeks came. The settlement on S. Mauro hill shows uninterrupted use from the Castelluccio phase at the end of the 3rd millennium BC up to the Iron Age and the arrival of the Greek colonists. The vicinity of other centres dated like S. Mauro suggests that it was no exception. In Thucydides' account of the Greek colonisation (6,3,3), the indigenous population of the region of Leontinoi was forcibly removed immediately, but Polyainos says that the two groups coexisted peaceably at first, up to the arrival of Megarians in the city. For the indigenous settlement on Metapiccola hill, with its seven excavated huts, it is not clear whether it still stood as the Greeks arrived. Cemeteries in the flanks of the same hill, though, do have indigenous Finocchito phase (730-690 or 650) graves with pottery of Greek production or inspiration. Mainland Ausonian influences seem to be present.

The oldest Greek graves are missing and were probably destroyed by later fortifications. We get a tantalising glimpse of a destroyed elite grave in a bronze *deinos* with rams' heads from Leontinoi, now in Berlin. Between 728 and 495 BC, Leontinoi remained the city of the colonists from Chalkis. Little is known about the tyrant Panaitios, who took power in Leontinoi 615 or 609 BC. He might have founded the subcolony of Euboia, short-lived according to ancient authors, which has been identified by the author with Monte S. Mauro on the western edge of the plain of Catania: a really Greek city with laws on bronze tablets existed there, supplanting an indigenous settlement, from the end of the 7th century BC up to the beginning of the 5th.

Hippokrates of Gela's conquest of east Sicily in 495 BC puts an end to the most glorious days of Leontinoi. The 5th century was troubled, between Syracuse and Athens, with a rapid succession of blows with which Syracuse, restructuring entire east Sicily, took its autonomy away. In 476, all Chalcidian inhabitants of Naxos and Katanè were settled in Leontinoi. In 433, the city renewed an alliance with Athens; elite and populace fell out; it has been suggested that Leontinoi played a role in the disastrous Athenian invasion of 415. In 406, it is a fortified city with a heterogeneous population. After two more years of independence, it surrendered to Dionysios during a siege and the entire population was settled in Syracuse. Between 403 and 214 BC Leontinoi was a city of the mercenaries. With 10,000 mercenaries settled in Leontinoi, it becomes one of the fortresses defending Syracusan territory. It then follows the vicissitudes of that city. In 338, after the death of its leader Hiketas, the walls are again demolished and the population is settled in Syracuse. The city is again populated with mercenaries. Then follows the time of the struggle between Carthage and Rome; from a treaty with Rome in 263 until 215 a long period of peace and prosperity follows. Marcellus conquered the city in 214. After that, it declined; during the Sicilian Slave Wars, its territory was confiscated, but it still thrived on the fertility of the plain. In the 2nd century AD, Pausanias saw with his own eyes that it was inhabited again. By the 3rd century, it had a large Jewish community and Christian martyrs, and by the sixth it was a fortified place around religious buildings.

Every chapter discusses its subject in historical and archaeological detail and ends with a handy synthesis. A few examples: the nature of two sanctuaries and the intricacies of the fortifications are treated thoroughly. In her preface, Paola Pelagatti, former Superintendant of Antiquities of East Sicily, stresses the importance of this study: it will help the survival and future studies of the site of Leontinoi, it passionately tells the life of the ancient city, it is written by a student qualified by earlier studies of indigenous cemeteries nearby, such as Monte Finocchito and Monte Casasia, and of the archaic Greek settlement of Monte San Mauro near Caltagirone, which he convincingly identified with the sub-colony Euboia. In his presentation, Mario Torelli puts the present study in the perspective of those of the great cities of ancient Italy and points out that many important sites are still awaiting the presentation of their complete history and archaeology, such as Frasca's study presents in a prudent way for the Chalcidian colony of Leontinoi. The author, who took part in many excavations of the University of Catania on the site, sets himself a modest goal in his introduction: to reconstruct in great lines the archaeological history of Leontinoi, without pretending to solve all outstanding questions.

The final section of the last chapter is dedicated to the route the visitor might follow on the site, to praise of the local museum, to lamentation of the incroachment of buildings on the archaeological terrain, and to hopes for a long awaited Archaeological Park of Lentini, with all the possibilities of research and restoration.

Two criticism on maps must be made.The reader's understanding of Leontinoi's exact sphere of influence

would have been greatly helped if the map of Fig. 12 had given all geographical names mentioned in the text. A similar remark must be made on the network of roads from Leontinoi: it is described in detail; a map is alas not given.

D.C. Steures

ELENA CALANDRA, *The Ephemeral and the Eternal: The Pavilion of Ptolemy Philadelphos in the Court of Alexandria*. Translated by S.A. Burgess. Athens: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 2011. 191 pp., 28 figs; 24.5 cm (Tripodes: Quaderni della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene 13). – ISBN 978-960-98397-8-5.

Elena Calandra's study of Ptolemy II's renowned banqueting pavilion is a welcome addition to a growing body of literature concerned with court culture and palatial architecture in the Hellenistic empires. The pavilion (*skēnē*) was erected in the palace gardens of Alexandria for the occasion of the first celebration of the Ptolemaia Festival, which took place at an uncertain date somewhere between 280 and 260 BCE (Calandra favors 279/278 BCE). It was described in rich detail in the second half of the 3rd century BCE in the book *On Alexandria* by Kallixeinos of Rhodes, who probably drew upon an illustrated account of the festival commissioned by the court to keep the memory of this ephemeral event alive. Fragments of *On Alexandria*, including this famous *ekphrasis*, have survived in Athenaios' *Deipnosophistai* (Ath. 196a-197c = Kallixeinos *FHG* III 58). The huge, temporary structure, which could hold 130 couches, was entirely covered with a canopy resting on huge wooden pillars. It was richly decorated with expensive purple dye, 'Persian' carpets, the pelts of exotic animals, painted panels, marble statues, and beautifully elaborated military equipment. The gold tableware, meant to be distributed as *symbolon* gifts among the king's guests at the end of the feasting, had a total worth of more than 10,000 talents. The ritual feasting in the pavilion took place in between the procession (*pompē*) and the games (*agōnes*) that were part of the festival, too. Although the pavilion merits analysis in its own right, Calandra rightly emphasizes the influence of Ptolemaic court culture on Roman architectural design for the public representation of power, drawing parallels particularly between Ptolemy II's pavilion and the architecture of the basilica.

The volume under review was translated from the Italian by S. A. Burgess. It has two parts. Part one provides an historical context for the banqueting pavilion, discussing the source tradition, the pavilion's architectural antecedents, and the banquet's place in Ptolemaic court culture. The second part is devoted to the reconstruction of the pavilion. After reviewing various earlier attempts (pp. 65-94), Calandra offers her own proposal for reconstructing the pavilion (95-118), and analyzes at some length the decorations, furnishings, and tableware that Kallixeinos describes (119-130).

Although acknowledging possible Egyptian and Achaemenid influences, Calandra rightfully points to Greek and Macedonian models as the principal antecedents of the pavilion's design and the banqueting that took place in it (although it is questionable whether contemporaneous observers will have looked at the pavilion with such rigid cultural classifications in mind). The ideological origins of the pavilion as a locus for monarchical representation is traced back to the tents of Alexander, which in turn were modeled on Persian examples. Interestingly, Calandra emphasizes the religious backdrop to the architecture of the pavilion, which was constructed after all for ritual feasting in the context of the Ptolemaia Festival, with its manifest Dionysian imagery: 'the *skené* (sic) had, above all, a sacred function … which means that we must begin our analysis from a religious perspective' (p. 49). It is somewhat disappointing that Calandra does not really pursue this point, fatally undermining in the conclusion her own promising observation with an essentially a-historical, zero-sum distinction between sacred and profane, as she presumes without further argumentation that the procession and the banquet had moved away from a 'strictly religious' (139) to a 'socio-political' sphere (10, cf. 45-48). Neither does she elaborate on the probable connection between Ptolemaic ideology and the cosmological symbolism of the pavilion that she notes on pp. 51-52, and the blatant royal and imperial iconography displayed by means of the 'works of art' exhibited in the *skēnē*. The book would have benefited from the use of literature concerned with religious festivals and imperial ideology. Court ceremonial, too, is a subject that could have merited a more focused treatment: Calandra assumes that the banqueters were royal *philoi* who were already at court (and includes the legendary seventy wise men who created the *Septuaginta*, p. 42); but the fact that the pavilion was a temporary structure constructed for the occasion of a big festival distinctly points towards the presence of guests from outside Alexandria, particularly the Aegean world (though they, too, could have had the status of *philos*).

This said, there is much to commend the archaeological second part, 'A proposed reconstruction'. This is the strongest section of the book. Kallixeinos' description of the physical appearance of the *skēnē* has induced varying reconstructions, particularly in the 1910s and 1980s, by among others Leroux (1913), Studniczka (1914), Tomlison (1984), Winter/Christie (1985), and Salza Prina Ricotti (1989). Calandra critically reviews these and other treatments. Where possible, discussion of the various reconstructions is accompanied by the original images of the respective proposals. All of these one way or other work from the detailed study by Studniczka from 1914 - whose line drawings of the pavilion are still the most widely known - as does Calandra herself (paragraph A.1.l, at pp. 92-94: 'Returning to Studniczka'). In the past century, Studniczka influential proposal has been both the 'binding starting point' and a 'hindrance to the development of reconstructive hypotheses' (27). With Calandra's detailed new reconstruction, this barrier has now been overcome.

Rolf Strootman

Books received

MARTÍN ALMAGRO-GORBEA/JORGE MAIER ALLENDE (eds), *De Pompeya al nuevo mundo. La corona española y la arqeología en el siglo XVIII*. Madrid: Real Academia de la historia, Patrimonio Nacional, 2012. 424 pp., ills; 30 cm. – ISBN 978-84-15069-38-6.

PETRA AMANN, *Die antiken Umbrer zwischen Tiber und Apennin unter besonderer Berucksichtigung der Einflüsse aus Etrurien*. Wien: Verlag Holzhausen, 2011. 476 pp,. 154 figs, 1 map; 25 cm. – ISBN 978-3-85493-185-0.

LAURA AMBROSINI, *Il Santuario di Portonaccio a Veio* III. *La cisterna arcaica con l'incluso deposito di età ellenistica (Scavi Santangelo 1945-1946 e Università di Roma «La Sapienza» 1996 E 2006)*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2009. 325 pp., 69 figs in text, LXXV pls; 34 cm (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Monumenti Antichi, Serie Miscellanea XIII (LXVII della Serie Generale)). – ISBN 978-88-7689-246-2/ISSN 0391-8084.

ANNA ANGUISSOLA (ed.), *Privata luxuria. Towards an Archaeology of Intimacy: Pompeii and Beyond*. München: Herbert Utz Verlag GmbH, 2012 (Münchner Studien zur Alten Welt 8). 239 pp., ills, 5 pls; 24.5 cm - ISBN 978-3-8216-4101-7.

Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene vol LXXXVIII, Serie III, 10, 2010, *Lemno dai 'Tirreni' agli Ateniesi*. Atene: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, 2012. 537 pp., figs; 31 cm. – ISSN 0067-0081.

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JOSÉ M.A. BLÁZQUEZ MARTÍNEZ (ed.), *Historia económica de España en la Antigüedad*. Madrid: Academia de la Historia, 2011. 234 pp., figs; 23 cm. – ISBN 978-84-15069-23-2.

MARIA GABRIELLA ANGELI BERTINELLI, *Lunensia Antiqua*. Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 2011. 502 pp., 146 figs; 24 cm (Serta Antiqua et Mediaevalia XIII). – ISBN 978-88-7689-257-8/ISSN 1590-4210.

CAITLÍN E. BARRETT, *Egyptianizing Figurines from Delos. A Study in Hellenistic Religion*. Leiden: Brill, 2011. 731 pp., figs+pls; 24.5 cm (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 36). – ISBN 978-90-04-20797-4.

CHRISTOPHE BOCHERENS (ed.), *Nani in festa. Iconografia, religione e politica a Ostia durante il secondo triumvirato*. Bari: Edipuglia, 2012 (Bibliotheca Archaeologica 26). 216 pp., 61 figs; 29.5 cm. – ISBN 978-88-7226-646-3.

ADOLF H. BORBEIN/MAX KUNZE (eds) *Statuenbeschreibungen, Materialien zur „Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums", Rezensionen*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2012. XX+488 pp., figs??; 26.5 cm (Johann Joachim Winckelmann - Schriften und Nachlass 4, 5). – ISBN 978-3-8053-4569-9.

GUNNAR BRANDS/MARTIN MAISCHBERGER (eds), *Mensche – Kulturen – Traditionen* 2. *Lebensbilder. Klassische Archäologen und der Nationalsozialismus* 1. Rahden/Westf.: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2012. 256 pp., figs; 29.7 cm (Geschichte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts im 20. Jahrhundert; Forschungs Cluster 5). – ISBN 879-3-86757-382-5/ISSN 2193-5300.

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